HUMAN GROWTH AND EDUCATION

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DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introductory Statement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION I - DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I The Democratic Ideal</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Education and Democracy</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Generalizations</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION II - SOCIETY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV Social Control</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Opposing Theories of Social Control</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Summary and Generalizations</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION III - THE INDIVIDUAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII Issues and Tendencies in Individual Growth</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII Unifying Theories</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX Generalizations</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix to Section III | 258 |

**SECTION IV - GROWTH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X Exploration of Characteristic Aspects of Growth</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI An Elaboration and Re-definition</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII Generalizations and Applications</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix to Section IV | 311 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix to Conclusion</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autobiography</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The Problem

"The growth of the individual in the democratic society" is a concise and accepted statement of the inclusive purpose of education in America. This statement has four major terms - growth, individual, democratic, and society. It is the problem of the present work to discover the characteristic meanings of each of these terms as they are used in the recent literature by scientists and other writers who employ them. It is necessary for this purpose to examine the hypotheses and assumptions which underlie the terms. It is also desirable to consider them in relation to each other and to the whole process of education.

Therefore, a second part of the problem is to formulate generalizations based on the characteristic meanings of each term. These generalizations should then be functional. They should be such that they have implications for current educational practice.

Thus, a third part of the problem is to discover and indicate how the generalizations may be related to the educative process.

It will be seen that this is an exploratory, descriptive and interpretative study.

Origin

The writer's interest in this problem has grown through extensive experience in experimental education, including an opportunity to work intimately with schools and teacher training institutions over a wide area.
of the country. This experience has intensified the feeling that more of available knowledge should be put to immediate use in clarifying educational purpose and making it operate more effectively. This feeling was strengthened in the fall of 1941 by a preliminary undertaking.

At that time Professor W. W. Charters of Ohio State University was employing "growth of the individual in the democratic society" as the concise statement of over-all purpose in education to which he related his work in curriculum techniques. He assumed that the meanings of each of the four concepts in the statement profoundly influenced the structure of the educative process and its curricula. At his suggestion a study of one term - individual - was undertaken. Through a survey of available literature in the field of psychology, a check list of characteristic meanings of this concept was compiled and it was discussed by Mr. Charter's seminar. This experience made it plain that on the negative side, no inclusive list of the sort had been offered in the literature, so far as any member of the group knew. On the positive side it offered hope of discovering and synthesizing available knowledge and opinion in useful fashion.

A further search of the literature has failed to reveal any systematic treatment of the terms, relationships, and implications of the statement. The opinion of advisers of special competence in a variety of fields confirms the absence of such treatment.

At the same time, there have been many valuable contributions which are available for the present exploration. A brief review will show the nature of these contributions, and at the same time the existence of a gap to be filled by such a work as this one.
Psychology: General

The general field of psychology, young as it is, has given us many theories about human beings. At the first, the speculations of classical and idealist philosophers inclined attention toward mind as an entity by itself. This had its effect on Locke and his theory of mind as a tabula rasa. It was evident in Spencer's theory of progressive improvement due to original nature. Herbert's associationistic concepts were predicated on the existence of a special, somewhat mysterious mental organ or receptacle. The mystery remains to this day, but there are now few who would follow the enshrinement of the mystery in such a form as Bergson's \textit{elan vital}, or McDougall's early theory of instincts. There has been a steady development of inquiry into how things work. Galton influenced the course of this inquiry toward statistical treatment. Binet and his successors have carried forward in the field of mental testing which is especially popular with educational psychologists like Terman and Toops. Wundt influenced inquiry toward controlled laboratory experiment, and may, at the same time, have encouraged a concept of man as an additive result of component parts.

The fact that there were conflicting schools of thought began to show its real value in affording hypotheses for investigation. Pavlov in Russia, the Loeb brothers and John B. Watson in America fought the battle for objective research into individual reactions. Unfortunately, they insisted on a mechanical concept of conditioned reaction which did not fit all the facts. E. L. Thorndike developed a position which was intermediate between mechanism and instinctivism, and which relied on the concept of an \textit{S - R} bond, developed by experience but connected with instincts and
traits as motive power for seeking experience.

A common criticism of much of the latter work mentioned was that it was atomistic, or additive.

Four great lines of thinking and investigation now current, appeared to set up new lines of development. William James and later thinkers like Dewey and Bode tied mind, body and emotion together with philosophic pragmatism. The destruction of mechanical Behaviorism by the work of Lashley and other animal surgeons gave a telling impetus to the search for a new unifying concept of human and natural behavior. The theory of relativity and the concept of a field in which the direction of energy moved according to gradients supplied a vital underpinning for such a unifying concept.

A second line of investigation which has proved fruitful is that of the geneticists, stemming from biology and from such early studies of child consciousness as those of William Stern and Piaget. The geneticists have done a great deal to make us conscious of the continuity of human growth - as a continuous process in both time and space. Their studies (excellently summarized to 1934 by H. S. Jennings) have also shown that heredity and environment are inseparable aspects of organic development. Men like Wright of Chicago and the Woods Hole biologists have continually enlarged knowledge of the how of growth and have made important qualifications of Mendelian "law." They have not attempted, however, a comprehensive and related survey of the terms and applications dealt with in the present study.

A third great force now at work stems from the psychiatrists and allied workers. Freud, Adler, Rank, Jung, Stekel and others have elabora-
ted brilliant theories of motivation and expression. However, to the present writer, their contribution of exhaustive case study techniques is at least equally important. It is here, that the modern clinical psychologists represented by Allen of Philadelphia and Rogers of Ohio State have added so much to a more pragmatic, less theoretical study of human behavior, and to inferences regarding the growth process. But in the work of these men, the preponderant interest is placed on the individual, with comparatively little discussion of the relationships of society, democracy and institutional education. It is significant that Rehl, of Wayne University, and psychiatrically minded social psychologists are now turning in the latter direction.

A fourth development has paralleled that of pragmatism and relativism in the past quarter century. It is the idea of patterned behavior - Gestalt, and allied theories of total personality (Köhler, Koffka, Whitehead, Wheeler and Perkins, Allport, Murray).

The student soon discovers that the alternation of theory and investigation implicit in the work mentioned above, has now reached a point where there is strongly felt a need for general synthesis of opinion and evidence. To meet this need, there have recently been written a number of books - Stern's General Psychology, 1938; Mursell's Educational Psychology, 1939; Wheeler and Perkins' Principles of Mental Development, 1932; Gordon Allport's Personality, 1937; Murray and others' Explorations in Personality, 1938; Young's Personality and Problems of Adjustment, 1940; Thorndike's Human Nature and the Social Order, 1940.

These books present large arrays of experimental evidence and interesting theories of human personality. Each contributes in varying
measure to an understanding of one or more of the terms in the present
discussion. Wheeler and Perkins do indeed discuss individual psychology,
involve laws of organismic development and apply them to education in a
most effective way. Thorndike, employing a late modification of his S - R
bond theory offers psychology for the social sciences, but makes only
passing reference to education. No one of the books takes as its
province a systematic account of all four terms - growth, the individual,
society, and democracy as they may be related and applied to education.

In connection with social psychology it should be said that the
experiments of Lewin and his students at the University of Iowa, and
such psychotherapy as is practiced by Moreno, employ group experience
and so move toward social meanings and the testing of the democratic
hypothesis. Lewin's group in particular has successfully designed and
carried out several experiments involving small social units, compara-
tive individual behavior, democratic practice and education. Lewin's
theoretical work collects personal insights, often brilliant, which have
resulted in effective new tool concepts such as social space and its
representation through topology. As yet, however, this group has made
only limited generalizations and has not attempted a systematic organiza-
tion similar to the present effort.

Education: Social Sciences: Philosophy

Except as represented by genetics, it will be noted that no mention
has been made in the previous section of the work of physiologists and
neurologists like Child and Coghill. This is because the writer has
relied for his information about their work on the portions which have
already found their way into the literature of the fields mentioned.
The point is made here, because in surveying the fields already covered, as well as those represented by the heading of Education, etc., it was not possible to read nearly all of the relevant material. Accordingly, a highly selected bibliography of only about three hundred titles has been employed, and within that, a still smaller number have been used as constant reference.

From these selected sources, it seems possible to derive the following conclusions.

In the field of education, recent literature abounds in statements of democratic philosophy, objectives, special methods and new forms of testing, but there is no broad-scale review of evidence, and no set of generalizations and suggested applications identical with those attempted here. The need for them, and a real contribution toward them is shown by recent working documents produced by H. B. Alberty and committees of the University School of Ohio State University.

The anthropologists and the historians have offered comparative studies of a variety of cultures, differentiated in space and time. They have at the same time employed more and more of the statistical treatment so successful in the economic studies by institutions like the University of London and Brookings, and also become more and more interested in biographies of single persons which may illuminate cultural influences on individual development. But again, as shown in Barnes and Becker's pioneer summarization of Social Thought from Lore to Science, there is so far no systematic examination of the various aspects of life treated here, and, particularly, little suggestion for the contemporary school program.

The philosophers, the poets, the novelists and other artists do provide syntheses of knowledge and intuition which are the more useful
since they treat of acute problems as organic wholes. They help to
clarify the meanings of life; the possible uses of human intelligence.
However, the philosopher is generally not greatly concerned with the
basic how or the underlying processes. John Dewey has gone farther than
any one of them, perhaps, toward including all the instruments of purpose
in his discussion of purpose. Dewey saw early - in the 1890's - that
growth was the aim and end of living; he delved extensively into the
individual and social psychology; he is a prophet of democracy and
education. Dewey's life work, then, has been the development of a concern
for the matters included in the four terms of our initial statement as
applied to education. But nowhere has he made a compact organized
synthesis.

In view of the wealth of valuable material now available, therefore,
and in view of the absence of systematic exploration, generalization and
suggested application of the four terms in "the growth of the individual
in the democratic society," the present work has been attempted. It is,
itsel, only a preliminary exploration of the humblest kind. The effort
has been made to see that the generalizations are all well supported by
the weight of evidence and opinion. Thus there is warrant for employing
them at once in practice. But it is to be hoped that further studies*

*It is expected that the studies of Prescott's Human Development
group at the University of Chicago, as yet unpublished, will deal with
this subject.

may both carry the analysis further, on the one hand, and on the other,
illumine and simplify the synthesis.
Method of Procedure: General

In order to explore characteristic meanings of the four terms, to develop functional and related meanings, and to indicate how the generalizations may apply to the educative process, the following steps of general procedure have been taken:

1. To search for the accepted uses of each term in the following order: democracy as a special form of social order shaped by a special ideal; society as a more inclusive concept of a variety of relationships established by individuals in relation to each other and to the universe; the individual, as the basic concern of the democratic purpose; growth, as descriptive of the democratic social purpose for the individual.

To examine the hypotheses and assumptions which underlie the uses of the terms.

To consider their meaning in relation to each other and to the whole process of education.

2. To formulate generalizations based on the characteristic meanings of each term.

To consider how these generalizations may be functional in the process of education.

3. To discover and indicate how the generalizations may be related to the educative process.

The Technique of Work

In taking the steps listed above, the following techniques of work have been employed:

1. The establishment of criteria for the general nature of this study. They are:
1.1) It must give promise of being socially useful;
1.2) It should fit in as a workable part of the processes of educational development as now going on;
1.3) It should not be atomistic - in concept or in form;
1.4) It should draw on the deepest concerns and experience of the writer;
1.5) It should point to future possibilities.

These criteria were used in choosing the topic of this dissertation.

Following the choice of topic came step

2. The outlines and bibliographies employed were subjected to critical examination and revision throughout the progress of the work. The resources of several libraries, the criticism of competent advisors, and the development of the findings herewith presented were employed to refine and select the materials employed.

3. More than a dozen complete outlines were developed, and were used to organize a preliminary list of concepts of democracy and its educational ideals. These in turn were used to guide the writer in his selection and organization of material.

As the literature was examined, notes and quotations were accumulated on cards indexed by key symbols. These were at first filed under author and title. Later, they were grouped and re-grouped according to headings functionally employed in outlining and writing the dissertation.

4. After the first draft of the introduction, and of the outline of the sections on growth and democracy and education had been made, and after survey of some 150 references had been made (to make sure that the dissertation was not a repetition), a more complete rough outline of the
sections on growth, individual, society, and democracy was compiled. This involved stating the first tentative hypotheses as to classifications of material. They were based in part on a research study made by the author in the fall of 1941 under the direction of W. W. Charters having to do with Individual Tendencies, and profited by his criticism and that of his class. In part they were influenced by previous reading and experience in the field, and by experience in writing previous volumes where some similar problems had been encountered.

Study and conference added to and altered: 1) the master bibliography, 2) the notes in the folders under section headings, 3) the concepts of the author. In each such instance, the hypotheses were re-examined and new outlines resulted, so that altogether more than a dozen outlines were formed. However, the basic hypotheses have remained throughout as stated below in this introduction.

5. The classifications used in various sections were chiefly arrived at by

5.1) Suggestions flowing from the nature of the concepts in the section on democracy and the individual

5.2) Experimental attempts to use "grass roots" methods, taking each card with its note and grouping it with other cards having relation to the first,

5.3) Reference to the work of others who had attempted classification. For example, Allport, Murray (traits and needs of the individual); Charters, Cock, the Lynds (aspects of society); Bode, Dewey, Beard, Robinson, Everett, Meiklejohn (democracy); Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Review
of Educational Research, Jennings (growth).

5.4) Final classification according to the "logical" order of the generalizations, once they were completed.

6. Three successive drafts of the material were made. The first incorporated extensive quotations from the source materials employed in arriving at each of the main points of emphasis. The second reduced the bulk of the document by omitting many of these materials and condensing the descriptions and generalizations. The third and final draft was a reorganization of the whole work to articulate the extensive material of other sections more closely with that of Section I on the purposes of democracy and democratic education.

Contributions

It is believed that the following contributions are made through the present exploration of the problem:

1. An exploratory account of characteristic meanings of the terms democracy, society, individual, and growth, as related to each other and to the process of education for democracy.

2. A synthesis of evidence and opinion with regard to these terms, in the form of generalizations applicable to current educational practice.

3. The development of a concept of growth which facilitates such a synthesis and which may have wide implications beyond those dealt with in the present work.

4. Suggestions regarding the application of the generalizations to the educative process.
Unsolved Problems

The exploration of this problem has raised many questions. Some of them can be answered by further search of knowledge already available, no doubt. Others will require new formulations of theory, new experiment, and new tools. Some of the most pressing of these problems are indicated below.

1. The development of a more complete description of the nature of learning.
2. The somatic behavior involved in thinking.
3. The essential nature of memory.
4. The conditions under which an organism is satisfied with limited growth.
5. The extensive re-interpretation of experimental evidence regarding the behavior of the human organism in terms of the growth-drive.

Numbers 4 and 5 above, call for a synthesis of "schools of thought" in psychology and other fields through the more complete definition of growth and the application of its meaning to work now in progress as well as to that of the past.

Assumptions

Throughout the present attack on the problem, certain assumptions have been used. They have been used in the selection and interpretations of material, and are basic to the resulting generalizations. They are as follows:

1. That it is the purpose of democracy to promote the maximum growth of all.
2. That the growth of the individual in the democratic society is a desirable, over-all objective in education.

3. That education which recognizes human growth as its inclusive purpose must continually explore and test the meanings and possibilities of: 1) democracy as a special ideal by which the single individual and the society as a whole may steer their course; 2) the society as a product of individual, group and environmental relations; 3) the individual as the basic unit to be understood and developed; 4) growth as a total, continuous and expanding process.

4. That the present study may be justified if it offers evidence and opinion tending to illumine and support the three assumptions given above.

On the basis of these assumptions, attention is now turned to the succeeding sections on democracy, society (and natural environment), the individual, and growth.

N.B. In some cases the body of this work contains explanatory footnotes. In general, the complete reference is indicated by a parenthesis and numbers, thus (18, 22). The first and underlined number refers to the complete reference in the bibliography. The second is given where necessary to indicate a specific page.
SECTION I

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION
CHAPTER I

THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

Introductory

All sections of this work relate to a concept of the democratic ideal. That concept can be briefly stated at the outset as an aid to the understanding of what follows. In the brief statement below, it will be seen that first there is given a general and inclusive concept. Next are given three subsidiary principles derived from the general concept. With each of these, interpretations of outstanding importance are given.

The aim of the democratic ideal is the maximum growth of all. This is a relative and changing purpose — relative to individual differences and to changing situations. It establishes man as the central figure in a universe which is to be made to serve him.

Growth is taken to mean, in general, continuous development toward increasing adequacy for purposes of: 1) survival; 2) progress toward human purposes beyond mere survival, such as the continuous exploration and enlargement of human capacities through their free exercise in increasing fields of opportunity.

Growth is taken to apply to physical structure, to "mental" processes, and to "emotional" processes. The first of these is in part inherited, in part developed by environmental relationships. The latter two are based on physical structure but are largely developed by experience.

Growth is taken to imply development through adjustments of the self to the environment, through problem-solving, and through control of the
environment to serve the developing purposes of the human being.*

*Hautenstrouch, Walter, "The Contributions of the Physical Sciences to Education and Social Progress" in PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION BOOKLET, No. 6, Columbus, Ohio, American Education Press, 1937, pp. 29f.

This aim implies the principle of equality of opportunity to growth - equal rights.

Since individuals and situations differ, this aim requires a large range of opportunity suited to the range of individual and environmental differences. It also requires continuous adjustment of procedures to meet continuous change.

The provision of this range of opportunity and the changes in procedures is a responsibility of the institutions which democracy creates to promote its aim.

The democratic aim implies the principle of liberty - the freedom of the individual to discover, use, develop all his capacities.

In turn, this implies participation by the individual in many choices and activities where he may use and promote the development of his experience, creativeness and intelligence.

The democratic aim implies the principle of social control, that is, man-made control or limitation of the individual and of social groups to the extent necessary to preserve equal opportunity for others.

It implies limiting or controlling the environmental situation in such a way as to continuously enlarge opportunities and freedom of choice for all.

Since perfect synthesis is not attainable, the use of the word all may, in practice, often mean "the greatest number." This is never the intent, however. It is the distinctive character of democracy that its
aim applies equally to all persons. The generalizations of this and the following sections will partake of the same approximation. However, it is also possible in practice to refine very greatly the meaning of the generalizations and make them fit more closely to the particular factors involved at any one time.

As the result of such refinements, the meanings of principles and generalizations will change, in turn. This process is by no means easy. It has been said that once a principle is clear, the application of it to practice provides a clear guide for choice. This is relatively true, of course. A clear principle is a better guide than an unclear one, on the face of things. But it is exactly in the application that the principle is most often not clear, and is itself altered in meaning. New factors, new relationships - these shed new light and offer new problems.

Unless principles are considered absolute, then, they require the continual use of intelligence in their definition and application. Since intelligence does not, according to present belief, operate in a vacuum, practical experience becomes as important to the development of a guiding principle as theoretical thinking, and should not be separated from it.

To secure human growth to its maximum degree, to ensure equality, liberty, and social control for the benefit of all, will require study of societal and environmental controls in general. It will also require study of the individual organism in relation to them. This will be done in later sections.

For the present, the inquiry turns to questions regarding whether or not the ideal of democracy furnishes a demonstrably possible way of life and education. Its difficulties and problems must be faced. It will be
worth while to inquire, at least briefly, into the historical movement of democracy to see what has brought it forth, so that its character may be judged by its lineage. It will be of interest to compare opinions as to the importance and feasibility of democratic practices. Finally, a comparison is called for of the ideals of democratic education and the practice of the American educational system.

The Major Aim as Stated by the Founding Fathers. In the Declaration of Independence, it is written that furtherance of the growth of all, "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are the ends of all human aspiration. To achieve these ends, our forefathers established by constitutional agreement a representative government.

This government was conceived by them as a powerful social instrument to secure equal rights to recognition and justice. It is based on the participation of all citizens of voting age. It thus places its trust in the belief that all such citizens are capable of judging values, or can become so through proper education. It established the principle of general participation, and applied it at that time to political organization. There is need today, for extensions into all fields, particularly the economic and educational.

Major Conflicts and Confusions. From the beginning, and throughout the development of our country, this belief in the capacities of all has been tested and clarified by difficulties and by opposing points of view. These have grown from the struggle for existence - the relation of man to his environment. Natural conditions have both helped and hindered the
great social purpose, envisioned by the founders of America. In the struggle for existence, and for a fullness of life beyond mere existence, conflicts of purpose and of means for its achievement have been many.

The Source of Guidance. The purpose itself, has been challenged consistently to the present time by those who believed in special privilege for some, rather than in equal opportunity for all. Such men have worked for control by a few - the aristocrats of blood or power, in the interests of the few. They have attempted, and in this very year are attempting to limit the right of participation in voting to certain "races" or to those with certain property qualifications. This they call "republicanism" to distinguish it from democracy and rights which our forefathers called inalienable to all human beings.

The purpose has been challenged by those who believed in religious or classical authority, rather than in the authority of the intelligence of all citizens. It has been challenged, too, by professed believers in nationalism, regionalism, and plain selfishness.

As powerful as any of the foregoing, has been their ally of custom. The relativism of the democratic purpose is constantly hindered in re-expression and experimental progress by tradition (e.g., other-worldliness, classicism) by vested interests (of wealth, of political office holders), and by the vested habits of each of us. The capitalist who has made a success under one set of rules does not want them changed. Those of us who are happy and even some who are not, cling to the comfort of accustomed ways of life.
The Nature of Instrumentation.

Methods.

In view of these obstacles, the question of how to operate a new plan of social control such as that of democracy, requires consideration of all possible ways of making the aim effective. This consideration has led to further conflicts among those who subscribed to the same ideal purpose. Some have argued that only through institutional changes such as the constitutional representation furnished by our own Revolution, or by the dictatorship of the communist party in Russia, can all human beings be furnished with equal rights and opportunities to growth. Adherents to this point of view have much to justify them in the record of America and Communist Russia.

Others argue that revolutionary change can itself be the product of the few who seize power, rather than the free choice of all. These argue that the methods of intelligence are the very core of schooling, and that changes should occur through a process of education, an education which is controlled by the democratic ideal.

Still others argue for individual conversion in another sense - in the sense of revelation, "changes in the hearts of men," to paraphrase Carlyle.

The educational methodists and those who look for revelation are right in believing that a social system is ultimately the product of the individuals who compose it. The "conversionists" are right in believing that interests and feelings are dominant in directing and sustaining a course of action. Yet they must reckon with the fact that the whole process of living is "educational" and that whatever means or institutions are now employed for carrying on social life, they are constant influences on the
development of the individual.

Institutions

Capitalism

The institution of capitalism, for example, sets up the motive of private profit as a goal. As the depression of 1929 proved, this goal competes and conflicts with that of the welfare and growth of all human beings. American capitalism has fostered "free competition" - a laissez-faire struggle, as opposed to cooperative planning and undertakings in the interests of all. The bitter attacks upon New Deal agencies for the relief of poverty and distress, and upon Federal planning for the TVA bear witness to the reality of this conflict. Such attacks are not based on a concern for equal opportunity and a belief in the dignity and worth of all persons.

Under capitalistic institutions, a great number of the technological advances which have come since the machine age began, have been put to use for the profit of ownership rather than the profit of all human beings.

Education. The institution of education has reflected similar struggles, and has added more.

To begin with, the idea of equal education for all would seem to be a natural, almost inevitable, result of adopting democracy, yet it has been fought bitterly since the first efforts for universal free elementary education in the middle of the 19th century. For those who are financially unable to stay in school, and for the negro, this battle is not yet won. Again, it is evident that faith in the ideal is by no means universal.

Nor is the battle for equal opportunity won in the ranks of the school - masters who maintain a belief in absolute static standards of
performance as a requisite to staying in school and as opposed to standards relative to the capacities, interests and growth of the individual.

Again, educational institutions exemplify the conflict between democracy and authoritarianism between planning by all and *laissez-faire*, in many of the relations between executives and teachers, and between teachers and children. Furthermore, schools can be found which display a disbelief or an ignorance of who is to be controlled and by what principles. The first requires an understanding of individual psychology and the actual conditions of social and natural environment. Such an understanding would scarcely produce mass methods and look-step procedures in education. Such an understanding requires a continual survey and emphasis on the actual daily problems of students in relation to the democratic purpose. It is in direct opposition to the Chinese system of memorizing the classics, to the British system of classical education, and to the hodge-podge system of electives and narrow vocational training which has grown up in this country.

The Problems of Democracy. From the two examples given (capitalism and education) it is plain that the problems of democracy have to do with our faith, our understanding and our instrumentation of purpose. The major problems may be indicated by the following questions:

1. Do we, as a people, have faith in the ability of all to grow? Can we accept the fact that it is growth of differing individuals to different degrees along differing lines which we seek?

2. How can unity of purpose be achieved?

3. How can unity of methods and purpose be achieved?

4. How can avenues of growth be varied, individual differences be recognized, yet unity of purpose be achieved?
5. What is the meaning and force of democratic elements in the American tradition? Is there evidence that the democratic ideal as here stated has real support in the experiences and beliefs of men and Americans?

**Our American Tradition**

The fifth question is obviously inclusive, and offers a good place to begin, especially since it has to do with principles, customs and institutions which are the result of generations of living. As pointed out above, tradition is forceful in molding interpretation and application of principles. Since the American tradition is compounded of conflicting views and practices, it becomes necessary to inquire whether or not there are strong and important elements in it which support the democratic ideal as stated here. If these are present, they can be used to promote that ideal, and can themselves be strengthened and clarified by believers in it.

The questions already given may be put in another way then, viz; Are there important elements in the American traditions which promote (1) Faith that all men can grow; (2) The establishment of equality of opportunity, of liberty, of participation; (3) Social control of liberty, or social unity in the interests of all?

**The Democratic Faith.** The democratic faith has been a long time in reaching its present position of a dominant social ideal (in word if not in deed). It is now struggling against powerful forces, not only in the present war, but within our own nation, supposedly committed to it, and even within individuals themselves. It is easier at times to take orders than to think things through. Those who are comfortable in the *status quo* resent change.
But these struggles are not new. In a sense they may be said to go as far back in history as the first efforts of the young men of the tribe to unseat the authority of the patriarch and secure for themselves the same privileges and opportunities to wives and hunting grounds as he enjoyed.

It would appear that by the time of Mayan Communism, and certainly in the period of Greek democracy, faith in the right of more and more of human kind to opportunity for development had achieved some articulate-ness. Still more important, it was achieving social instruments of control to implement its meaning. The political forms of representative government have varied through the centuries, have been discarded and have reappeared. But the central fact is that the spread of popular control has increased.

Demos to a Greek, meant the common people. To a modern American the common people means everyone. That fact signifies the progress of a revolution in thought.

When the Athenians and the Mayans created the idea and practice of representation by election they started a revolution against power seized by strength and cunning. In the idea of representative government the Greeks were not genuinely democratic, for they subscribed to the idea of aristocracy of birth and they subscribed to the economic doctrine of slave labor. But their contribution was one of the great social inventions which has proved valuable enough to develop beyond its original limits.

Another revolutionary idea, that of Christianity, had its effect on this development. It gave form to the yearning of the demos to be
individuals with equal rights to recognition and justice, simply because each was a human being.

Religious recognition of individual worth was transformed by the series of political revolutions which began in France in the 18th Century and which sought to translate the idea of recognition and justice into secular terms. The men who fought these battles were confronted with systems of kingship, hence they revived republicanism, the management of res publica by a representative rather than a hereditary body. In Rome, that body was representative of certain classes. In America it is assumed to represent the whole people.

Between the present day movements of democracy and the founding of our country, occurred another kind of revolution - a revolution by science and invention. In its industrial aspect it took the form of machine technology. In its scientific aspect it has led to the doctrine of evolution and the vast increase in tools, both physical and methodological, of the sciences which have brought relativity into the forefront of modern thought. The promise of the latter is a new world of creative synthesis. The former has brought home with renewed urgency the inescapable reality of the economic basis of living. Both together have shown that a useful social ideal must include the whole process of living. It cannot be political or religious, or economic alone. Nor can it be static; it must change its instrumentation as well as its direction as conditions change.

The democratic ideal may be said to aim at the maximum growth of all human beings. Its validity as a social ideal corresponds in theory to the validity of the assumption that the purpose of individual living is to grow to the full, to use all capacities for rich and balanced living. In
Practice, the validity of this ideal corresponds to the efficiency of the instruments it develops for promoting this purpose. The ideal, then, is not democracy as an end in itself, nor any instrument of democracy (like the school) as an end in itself, but the maximum growth of all as the end, and democracy and education as means to the furtherance of that aim.

Democracy is thus clearly distinct from dictatorship and authoritarian measures of any kind. Where Hitler aims at the development of the state, through individual contributions, democracy aims at the development of the individual, where the paternalist, no matter how well intentioned, relies on himself as a final judge of what is "best," democracy trusts to those concerned to judge of values for themselves.

**Founding Fathers.** In proportion as all have a voice, judgments of value will be influenced by the general good rather than special privilege for a few.

Not long since, a great deal was made of the threat to our "republic," our Constitution and the ideals of the founding fathers by certain changes in federal policies under the New Deal. It is entirely fair and proper to ask the question of history, whether we as a people have inclined toward democracy or republicanism, toward an inclusive or a class system of regulating our affairs. An answer to this question may do two things: (1) sharpen the meanings we are discussing, and (2) shed light on the strength of traditional, cultural forces which play a significant role in determining the chances of democracy.

Two figures in our early history may be taken as representative leaders in the founding of our nation, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. The former was primarily a man of action, the latter a philosopher of living.
Yet Washington, in a speech to Congress in January 8, 1790, (126), declared that government measures are the result of a sense of community of interests, that the whole people must be taught "to know and value their own rights" and that there is no authority but the common good. In his Farewell Address of September 17, 1796, and in subsequent utterances Washington reinforced the second point with very definite allusions to a general education as a means for promoting it. Since the structure of government is to give force to public opinion, he said, in the Farewell Address, "it is essential that public opinion be enlightened." In a letter to John Armstrong of April 25, 1798, he stated that equal liberty depended upon ample opportunity for earning a living and upon an adequate supply of money for education. To George Steptor (March 23, 1789) he wrote that education is to be useful to you and to make you useful. To Alexander Hamilton (September 1, 1796) and to Roger Brooke, Governor of Virginia (March 16, 1785) that education should do away with regional prejudices, so that men might think in terms of the welfare of all.

Jefferson's position is well-known. He believed in the widest freedom for participation and growth. Like Washington he saw a vision of the continual extension of that freedom through education.

Some have seen fit to label Jefferson an intellectual aristocrat. Perhaps he was. But the evidence nowhere permits the belief that Jefferson cherished a fixed belief in any form of aristocratic control. He believed rather in striving to elevate all men to the height of their powers. He believed in continuous change and development, in planned and progressive evolution. He strongly denounced those who would cling to authoritarianism and the maintenance of special privilege, who refused to change the rules of the game as conditions called for changes. He applied his rather
astonishing (for his time) belief in relativism to the constitution. Of those who find in that document their authority for maintaining special privilege, he said (126, 129):

Some men look at Constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them, like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in Government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and Constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also and keep pace with the times.

Jefferson's whole life was spent in promoting measures for the good of all. The intellectual aristocracy of Jefferson was rooted in a faith in human intelligence rather than in hereditary or other class superiority. Whatever militated against free development and cooperation for the common good, he was against. He believed in the common heritage of humanity - the right to equal opportunity, the responsibility for creating it through government. For his efforts he was considered a wild radical, a Bolshevik, by Hamilton and his followers. They called him a hard name: "Democratic" - Republican.

Declaration of Independence. Of the same ilk were the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In this extraordinary document, wherein a group of men created an epoch-making indictment of the King of Great Britain, they did so on the following grounds.
1. That he was against the public good and laws in its behalf. This was an appeal to social sanction for the good of all.

2. That he denied representation. This is an assertion of the idea that those concerned should participate in policy making.

3. That he obstructed naturalization. This is a demand for equal rights and opportunities without regard to birth or previous condition.

4. That he made the military independent of the civil power. This represents a demand for general social sanction as opposed to the use of military force to maintain special privilege for a few.

5. That he obstructed justice. This implies that the interests of a ruler should not take precedence over the rights of the people as a whole.

6. That he obstructed the trade. Thus this attacks the right of a sovereign to hinder the free growth of economic independence.

On the side of their own constructive proposals, these signers of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776 maintained the following basic assumptions or values as those to which they pledged their faith:

1. "—that all men are created equal"

Which, if it means anything, means that all, not some men have the right to grow to the limits (varied as they are) of their capacities. Or, as those men put it:
"That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights...life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

2. That governments are instituted to secure these rights, "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" for "safety and happiness."

Thus governmental forms are not ends in themselves, they are instruments for a purpose. The purpose is to promote human liberty (to grow). Such forms can be properly constituted only by the whole people for whom they exist. The test of their success is the feeling of safety (sense of security) and happiness (feeling of development) of the whole people.

So reads the unanimous declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.

This great document states the ideals of the Founders of our country. The Federal Constitution, while making preliminary reference to the purposes of "justice," "domestic tranquility," "common defense," "general welfare," and the "blessings of liberty for which the people, voting by states create the Union," is primarily a blue-print of organizational method. That is, the seven original acts deal with representative legislature, the executive and judicial arms of government, the relations of states and general provisions for organization. The first ten amendments (the Bill of Rights) make more specific guarantees for the control of the few in the interests of freedom of many, and it would be fair to say that most of the remaining eleven continue this search toward creating instruments for insuring control by the freely made choice of all in the common interest.
It has been said that it was the genius of Thomas Jefferson to see a vision of a government of and for the people as a whole, through strong state democracies. Later, Andrew Jackson, representing a new time and a new section of the country, added the vision of government by the people (126, 206).

*Faulkner and Kepner add an interesting comment (126, 164):

Strangely enough, the Constitution does not provide for the chief force - political parties - that was to run the government. The Fathers did not want political parties. Washington felt that the will of the nation should never be displaced by the "will of a party," and Madison in The Federalist referred to parties as a "dangerous vice," while to John Adams a party was a "monster."

Local political democracy grew fast after Jackson. Its extension to a whole way of life was exemplified in the experiments in cooperative living which flourished in the middle 1800's.

Said Emerson in a letter to Carlyle (126, 562):

We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform, not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket.

The 32 United States Presidents on Democracy and Education. With increasing participation in political sovereignty came increasing recognition of the need for education. Throughout our history, though some few were strangely silent, most of the presidents have had something to say about the basic need of education in a democracy. And it is of special interest that their views of the meaning of education are no narrow classicism but stress the importance of intelligent choice and its dependence on the greatest possible opportunity for free development.
A recent pamphlet issued by the United States Office of Education (312) contains quotations from all of the 32 presidents who spoke on the subject. A summary of what they said shows the following:

1. Our government depends on choices made by the citizens (14) ¹
2. Choice, judgment, depends on knowledge and trained intelligence (13)
3. Therefore public support, funds, equalization of opportunity (14)
4. Universal education, education for all is required (12)
5. Education gives understanding of rights and liberties (12)
6. Education destroys prejudice, widens vision, aids social sympathy (9)
7. Liberty derives its final meaning from social justice (6)
8. Education is for moral and civic duties (6)
9. Education is for daily use (5)
10. Education is for planning (4)
11. Government exists to give force to public opinion (3)
12. Education should develop individual and social capacities to the limit (2)
13. Education is for changing times and requires changing means (2)
14. Education is the most important subject for United States (2)
15. Education is not to be left to laissez-faire, expression of wants, but is to be supplied for needs (1)

These generalizations are supported by Franklin, Hancock, Gallatin, DeWitt Clinton, D. Webster, Summer, and other prominent citizens of the time.

¹ Numbers in parenthesis indicate how many presidents are quoted to this effect.
Liberty, Participation, Unity. It is not too much to say that throughout
the history of our nation there have been three concepts which have been
and still are the keystones of our thinking. They are the concepts of
liberty, participation, and unity. These are also key-concepts in relation
to the present thesis. Liberty because it may mean freedom to grow; par-
ticipation because it may mean the development of capacities by using
them; unity because an integrated, well-rounded way of life is at once
the end and the manner of healthy development. These purposes of a society
are those which would encourage maximum individual growth. In discussing
the requirements for maximum development of the intelligence, William
Burnham (279, 394) has put it this way:

The essentials without which a person cannot be quite
sound mentally and with which, apart from accident, infection
or heredity, one can have no serious mental disorder, the
absolutely essential conditions are three: a task, a plan and
freedom.

Each of these aspects of human growth, has contributed to the build-
ing of the democratic idea. Each has been a center of inquiry and
activity.

The idea of "natural rights" which powerfully influenced the founders
of the French and our own republic, posits a faith in the power of all
men to grow, and to do so through the use of their own intelligence. It
is this assumption that brings to a head the issue between democracy and
authoritarianism. Between, for example, a creative culture where freedom
of thought and speech may result in many struggles between opposing ideas,
and on the other hand, a culture where man is not an end in himself, but
is a means to something else - the dream of a dictator or a puritan,
perhaps.
Liberty is called ugly names like "licenses" when it is misappropriated by those who practice or envy special privilege. But the aspiration of a democracy is not for freedom as an end in itself, but for freedom to do, to be, to grow. Freedom for all means attempting to establish conditions helpful to the development of all. It has been said very well (20, 203):

Democracy is a form of social organization that accepts the dignity of the individual as an act of faith.

If democracy is true to itself, it exercises constant vigilance lest any force develop that would invade or even threaten to invade the fundamental rights that belong to every man, woman, and child because they are human beings. At the same time it labors to create the conditions that are necessary if individuals are to have resources for achieving their full stature.

Dewey has pointed out that:

The system of liberties that exists at any time is always the system of restraints or controls that exists at that time. No one can do anything except in relation to what others can do and cannot do.

The truth of this has been tragically underscored by the depression years of the 30's. There it was shown that the laissez-faire, rugged individualism system of "free" business enterprise had brought us to conditions of begging for millions of people. On concluding its study of this situation, the American Youth Commission, headed by Owen D. Young came to the conclusion that government regulation was more essential to freedom and decent living than free competition in prices. The commission states (20, 102):

To the extent that governmental intervention is necessary even under peace-time conditions, the requisite controls will undoubtedly restrict in some degree the accustomed freedom of some individuals. But the offsetting contribution which full employment can make to individual liberty must never be forgotten. For most young people, true freedom will never
exist until we establish conditions which will maintain an abundance of available employment opportunity in a world at peace.

Freedom and liberty seem to have the special meaning in a democracy, of the maximum opportunity for all, with whatever that implies in restraints of special interests and the encouragement of the common good. From the psychological standpoint, the individual learns to use freedom as he does all else—by trying, by experience of freedom. Socially, freedom confers the benefits of creative contributions which become available to all.

Vice-President Wallace sums it up as follows (316):

The idea of freedom—the freedom that we in the United States know and love so well—is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity.

The prophets of the Old Testament were the first to preach social justice. But that which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given expression until our Nation was formed as a Federal Union a century and a half ago...Down the years the people of the United States have moved steadily forward in the practice of democracy. Through universal education, they now can read and write and form opinions of their own. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of production—that is, how to make a living. They have learned and are still learning, the art of self-government.

When the freedom-loving people march—when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the produce of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain through them collectively, and when the children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them truths of the real world in which they live—when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead.

We failed in our job after World War No. I. We did not know how to go about it to build an enduring world-wide peace... We did not build a peace treaty on the fundamental doctrine of the people's revolution. We did not strive
whole-heartedly to create a world where there could be freedom from want for all the peoples.

Some have spoken of the "American Century." I say that the century on which we are entering - the century which will come into being after this war - can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to support the freedom and duties by which the common man must live.

In short, the political methods devised for the protection and instrumentation of freedom are essential, but are only a first step.

A second step is that which we have witnessed in the English reforms of the 19th Century and in the economic controls of our government since 1890 (126, 747).*

* Government Regulation of Business Remains an Issue (126, 747)

Some steps:
Sherman Anti-Trust Act, 1890 (didn’t stop consolidation) Amended in 1937 to make minimum price legal
Most big industries combined, 1897–1904
Clayton Act, 1914 (to restore competition) (futile)
1920’s big wave of consolidation - auto, food, movies, banking, public utilities (over 3700 cos. disappeared 1919-27 - big holding cos. 1% of the banks have resources equal to those of the other 99
NIRA, 1933 ( Ended by Supreme Court, 1935)
Bituminous Coal Conservation Act, 1935 (Ended by Supreme Court in few months)
Guffey-Vinson Act, coal control, 1937
Railroad Emergency Act, 1933 set up Federal Railway Coordinator Communications Act, 1934 to regulate interstate and foreign telephone, telegraph, cable and radio
Motor Carrier Act, 1935
Ship Subsidy Act, 1936
Federal Water Power Act of 1920 controlling all power sites
Muscle Shoals - Tennessee Valley Development Act, 1933
Public Utility Holding Co. Act, 1935
Encouragement of Collective Bargaining for Labor - National Labor Relations Act or Wagner Cannery Act, 1935
Cooperative Marketing Act of 1929 for farmer loans to cooperatives
Reconstruction Finance Corp. under Hoover
Federal Farm Loan Board set up to carry out provisions of this last Farm Relief and Inflation Act, 1933 AAA (Agriculture Adjustment Administration)
Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, 1936
Farm Mortgage Act, 1934 (to refinance farms)
Frazier-Lemke Bankruptcy Act, 1934 (to aid repurchase)
Farm Credit Administration
Federal Reserve Act (banks), 1913
Bank Moratorium, March 5, 1933
Banking Act (Glass-Steagall Act, 1933 - Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation)
Sale of Securities Act, 1933 (stocks and commodity supervision)
Securities and Exchange Act, 1934

All these signified passing to rugged individualism but did not touch fundamentals in present economic system - private ownership of the means of production and distribution and the profit system. The Depression old-fashioned individualism had broken down in emergency, needed central power to set it in motion.

Though the list begins in 1890 with the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, by far the larger number have come into existence since 1933, when even the tycoons of finance were begging the government to intervene in the mad choas of unregulated and foundered private competition. Prominent among these measures are some having to do with cooperative production and marketing; and the right of labor to organize.

Thus the political democrat, the modern dreamer of the American Dream, begins to recognize that industrial democracy is a necessary next step.

But vested interests* do not die easily.

*An early socio-economic aristocrat is representative of the type. He was William Byrd of Westover, who owned 180,000 acres of land. Adams and Vannest (4, 782) describe this economic royalist as follows:

Living on his large and well-known estate; with a public recognition that came quite as much from his family and place as from his own efforts, having little to do with trade himself and not understanding it very well; responsible for ruling and looking after his numerous slaves; regarding himself from boyhood as belonging to a superior race; devoting himself to sport and cultivating his scale of easy living - this man began to develop the aristocratic qualities.
The lock-step of mass production (paralleled by the lock-step methods of some schools), the use of the machine for private profit instead of for public benefit, do not alter so quickly. Beside the vested interests there are the vested habits of all of us.

Some of us are pinched and narrow in our feeling for freedom.*


We hesitate to assert faith in ourselves. We are hampered by the vestiges of the long polemic conflict over free will vs. predestination. As inheritors of this legacy we argue for men to purify their hearts so that institutions may improve and happiness increase. We are hampered by the vestiges of a mechanical, environmental determinism associated with Darwin and classical physics. We do not confidently choose to rely on the "foreseeing and contriving intelligence" to use Dewey's phrase. We forget to trust the creative powers in all of us. We are almost afraid of freedom, afraid to see how good a race might be won without the spur of bare necessity and the whip-lash of external authority. And so we have been slaves to the machine and false to the belief in human growth. We have not remembered that (20, 276),

It was not the spur of material necessity that drove Charles Darwin impassionedly to grapple with mighty intellectual obstacles. Beethoven neither hewed wood nor carried water, nor would he have starved if he had merely taught music and never composed a page, but nevertheless he grew in creative power with every passing day. Pascal, protected from the need for all physical effort, from any need to earn the material necessities, still put forth a gigantic effort of his higher brain centers. St. Francis had so little regard for what most men feel are the material necessities of life that he was not even aware of them, much less moved by them to his prodigious effort to realize
his burning aspiration to draw near to God. Leisure time and security as created by civilization have never been anything but unmixed blessings to human beings who have walked on the higher levels of life.

Yet, though we have faltered, we have persisted in the search for freedom. Perhaps it is inevitable in the nature of man.

The pronouncement of the "Four Freedoms" and still more the "New Bill of Rights"* are formal utterances of this deep and enduring aspiration of our people.

*New Bill of Rights, National Resources Planning Board (238):

1. The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years;

2. The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift and other socially valuable service;

3. The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care;

4. The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident;

5. The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies;

6. The right to come and go, to speak or to be silent, free from the spyings of secret political police;

7. The right to equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact;

8. The right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness and

9. The right to rest, recreation, and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization.

These rights and opportunities we in the United States want for ourselves and for our children now and when this war is over. They go beyond the political forms and freedoms for which our ancestors fought and which they handed on to us, because we live in a new world in which the central problems arise from new pressures of power, production, and population, which our forefathers did not face.
When the development of modern science gave increasing proofs of the possibility of human control over human destiny, it put anew the question of a guiding faith by which to direct that control. Shall it be that described by Dewey (105, 339)? He has said:

The foundation of democracy is faith in the capacities of human nature; faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled and cooperative experience. It is not belief that these things are complete but that if given a show they will grow and be able to generate progressively the knowledge and wisdom needed to guide collective action.

Or shall it be in contrast to this faith, and the difficult, painfully slow progress of its affirmation the old authoritarian idea which has its fullest expression today in Hitlerism. In an excellent summary which takes seriously the elucidation of race-dominance and "best-minds" dominance within the race, William Stanley (288, 101) quotes Hitler as stating:

The basic law of nature, upon which all social progress depends, is unremitting struggle and competition between races in which the defeat and despoliation of the weak is both the right and the duty of the strong. As with races, so with men, except that the law of struggle and competition within the racial group must be limited and controlled in the interests of racial solidarity and strength.

"Everywhere," proclaims the author of Mein Kampf, "one being nourishes upon another, and the death of the weaker means life for the stronger." Any attempt on the part of man to repeal this fundamental law of nature must result simply in social decay and in the ultimate destruction of the social group foolish enough to undertake it. The stronger must conquer and rule, not unite with the weak, or the processes of evolution will be reversed and the will of God denied.

The contrast is clear enough.*

*Stanley details the contrast between the two ways of thought as follows (288, 106):

It is now possible in the light of the above analysis of the fundamental axioms of Nazi social thought, to locate, with some
precision, these points of crucial conflict. Democracy has always asserted that the concrete, flesh-and-blood individual is the sole locus of moral value; nazism invests the race rather than the individual with moral value. Democracy has stood for the brotherhood of man and for the ideal of cooperation; nazism erects social Darwinism to the status of the first law of nature. Democracy has insisted on the equality of all men; nazism is built on the supposed moral and intellectual superiority of certain races and certain individuals. Democracy has placed sovereignty in the hands of the people; nazism, in the hands of the leader. Democracy has built on a faith in the capacity of the common man; nazism denies the ability of the ordinary man to participate intelligently in the making of common decisions. Democracy has asserted the primacy of reason in the direction of human affairs; nazism, of the will to power. Finally, democracy has stood for tolerance and the belief that truth emerges from the matrix of free discussion and criticism; while nazism has reverted to dogma and intolerance as the basis of social philosophy.

Summary

The question whether the integration and unity of an idea can be based on faith in the ability of the common man to use freedom wisely, to make choices intelligently, must be answered by trial. The trial of it has never been complete, it has not been long enough, it has given conflicting answers.

Linton (206, 252) has asserted that without a feeling of unity, no organization can function efficiently, and questions "how such unity may be created and maintained in great populations and especially in fluid ones where the individual's close, personal contacts are reduced to a minimum."

As Bode has made us acutely aware, Linton has put his finger on a sore spot. Our culture needs a greater unity than it has. But the problem is not democratic alone.

All cultures exhibit splits between traditions, collective beliefs, and the actual and often quite contrary personal practices of the people.
who publicly subscribe to the traditions.

In the case of democracy, it is possible that there are means to a unity which allows more variation within it than has yet been known. Certainly the evidence of the scientists to be represented in following sections would tend to the conclusion that the democratic ideal is in accord with the nature of life. As C. S. Stevenson has said (290, 407), "Democracy is a rationalization of man's urge to be himself."

The physiologist Child (71, 143) encourages belief in the democratic way:

Again, the more primitive and simple sorts of social integration, as of physiological integration, are predominantly autocratic, but both physiological and social integration progress toward democratic forms with representative government.

The psychologist Cottrell (82) calls the democratic way of free expression of conflicting views a healthy means to realistic living in a relative world:

In a sense, a democracy which truly unites the free expression of partisan opinion, is a large-scale replica of Moreno's psychodramatic theatre... When people who act in the name of a collectivity can see the relativity of their own beliefs to the position which they occupy as readily as they are coming to see the relativity of their opponents' beliefs, we may predict that the paranoid witch-hunting and anxiety which accompany "final truth" will disappear.

A common belief is an essential requirement to common effort. If the belief is defined as the maximum growth of all, it would seem that all would subscribe to it. But the stumbling block has been that some have considered themselves able to achieve their own maximum growth only at the expense of others. This stumbling block can be blasted away by the realization of the fact which John Donne expressed so well that even the cinema and the magazines are quoting it for our time:
No man is an Island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main. Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind.

It may be that the throes of strife between labor and capital, nation and nation, are the signs of mortal illness of the old absolutism. In any case, it is evident that democracy is a perfectly feasible form of society. From the standpoint of personal growth, democracy is the expression of an ultimate ideal, the supreme value of the human being. Democracy cherishes the utmost uniqueness possible within the boundaries of the common good.

This statement may be taken as a summary of the nature of the democratic ideal as given in the preceding pages. However, lest its implications be obscure, it may be desirable to recapitulate some of the chief aspects of the ideal.

Chief Aspects of the Democratic Ideal Which May Be Used as Criteria for Judging the Value of Human Activities

Man is the central concern. The rest of the universe—social institutions, other artifacts, natural environment—are important as they relate to man.

The maximum growth of all men is the purpose.* This requires a faith

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"Growth" is taken to mean increasing adequacy for survival, and for the satisfaction of human purposes.

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in the ability of all men to grow. Such a faith is the basis for social unity, for judgments of good and evil. (Will this act promote the growth of all? If so, it is good; if not, evil.) Such judgment, in turn, applies not only to our intentions, but to our acts. It requires, therefore, the consistency of means and ends as tested by results. It will not be
judged democratic to pretend that maximum growth of all can be promoted best by undemocratic methods. If a political system operates to the benefit of the strong and crafty more than for the benefit of the humble and innocent, then, though it be called "representative," it is not truly good, or democratic. Thus the goal or purpose of democracy applies to all aspects of life which have to do with the maximum growth of all.

The purpose is relative and changing as Men and Conditions Change. Since growth implies change, and since change offers new evidence, new problems, and new methods, and since no two persons, groups or situations are ever identical, the democratic purpose submits to continual re-interpretation as the growth of all is seen to require new instrumentation and new emphases in social and personal living.*


Such continuous reorganization of thinking and action requires the continuous use of critical and creative intelligence in defining problems and applying principles. It submits its definitions and practices to the pragmatic test: Does it work? That is, does it aid the maximum growth of all? In order to answer these questions, the full resources of science are called upon for evidence as to how well the purpose is now being served, so that the purpose can be better implemented on the basis of discovered fact.

The use of science for this purpose, does not imply, of course, that the laboratory test supersedes the use of intelligence in determining purpose. It is an extension of materials for thought and of techniques
for getting at meanings. The relativity of the democratic purpose requires the continuous use of intelligence operating at its best. Since the purpose affects all lives, it requires testimony and judgment from all. Since it is not predetermined, it requires freedom of judgment and of choice.

The Maximum Growth of all Requires Equality of Opportunity. Since no two individuals or situations are identical, this means that the range of opportunity must be large and must be continually adjusted to fit the individual's growth needs. In this sense, there must be concern for individual differences, at the same time as there is a concern for the good of all individuals and restraints which operate for the best growth of all.

In other words, the idea of equality prohibits both authoritarianism and laissez-faire. It reinforces the requirement mentioned above for the use of intelligence. It requires that conflict and confusions over equal rights be faced and that they be clarified by the application of the major principle or purpose, the maximum growth of all. Since every application of this principle involves all, it seems an inescapable conclusion that all should participate in defining and applying the principle.

Therefore, the principle of social control in the interests of the growth of all is established. It operates to enlarge opportunity and free exercise of all abilities by restraining those persons and activities which benefit some, rather than all. Thus the burglar and the cheat are already controlled by social means - the police, in the interests of all. Someday, perhaps, the exploiters of human beings - the international anarchist, for example - will also be controlled for the same reason.
The Criteria Briefly Stated. The criteria for judging the democratic quality of human activity, then, may be indicated by the following list:

1. Man (not things or institutions) is the central concern.
2. The maximum growth of all is the goal.
3. The goal is relative and changing as man and situations change (it is pragmatic).
4. Means and ends must be consistent. (The means must work for the maximum growth of all.)
5. Equality of opportunity is necessary for the maximum growth of all.
6. Liberty of choice and participation are necessary for the maximum growth of all.
7. There must be social control of individuals and groups to promote the maximum growth of all.

Since the criteria as first grouped form a fairly large and unwieldy list to carry in mind, they will be briefly employed in succeeding sections by reference to the seven major statements given in the brief list.

The democratic purpose, as defined, would seem to be so desirable as to justify the revolutions which have brought it into being. How to secure this purpose within a large complex society, with the specialisation of industrial, urban and rural life is a gigantic problem.

Recent studies seem to show that the school, as one instrument of the democratic purpose, can greatly aid in enriching and influencing the life of the child toward fulfilment of this purpose. What our schools have been, and what they could be, is the subject of the next part of this section.
CHAPTER II
EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

Introductory

Accepting the seven democratic criteria, the student finds himself almost bewildered by the confusions which are apparent in the history of American education.

If we are to be a democracy, our institutions are important in providing the means for achieving our goal. The institution of universal free education in the United States is young, and is admittedly in process of finding itself. Before reviewing the nature of its development to date, it may be useful to raise certain questions related to the criteria given in Chapter I.

First, if man is the central concern, and the maximum growth of all the purpose, is it defensible to promote a classical, subject-matter centered type of education which seems to have considerable taint of aristocracy in its lineage? If the democratic aim is relative and changing, how can absolute standards of achievement be fixed? If means and ends are both to promote the maximum growth of all, and if liberty of choice and participation are desirable, what is the justification of authoritarian administration of a school or a classroom? If equality of opportunity is a necessary part of the aim, what defense can be offered for inequalities resulting from the financing of education, or from mass-metods applied to differing individuals? If social control is essential to promote the maximum growth of all, what experiences do schools offer
their pupils in making decisions on this basis, and how do they use crucial social issues to sharpen the understanding of the relevance of such control to local and general problems of daily life?

In the face of these questions, it is apparent from a survey of the American scene that the criteria are false, or the practice, at least, is confused. More likely still, the criteria have not been clearly defined and unilaterally agreed to by the body politic and the educators.

The meanings of democracy in education seem to have been as various as the basic assumptions of those who gave form to them. As in the political area (where there has been a parallel growth of class-privilege republicanism and more representative democracy), so in education there has been a dualistic tendency of the same kind. On the one hand there has been the assumption that education beyond the three R's is a process of selection of the higher intelligences and elimination of the inferior; on the other hand an increasing belief that all people are citizens and that general education should continue equally for all.

**Dualisms in American Education.** It is in application to practice that the hidden assumptions of those who subscribe to an ideal are often revealed most clearly. Through conflicts which arise in interpreting and applying an ideal, its meaning may be both confused and sharpened. In the interest of sharpening the conflicts and the meaning of the ideal, the following broad oppositions in American educational development are noted:

**Oppositions**

1. (As given above.) Special privilege, based on the assumption of the inheritance of special abilities and rights vs. equal opportunity for all. Social control in the interests of the few will design education for a specialized purpose and person rather than for the general development of all. Thus some will be given liberty to develop while others will be denied.
2. Authoritarianism decree, and forced compliance vs. participation by all in decisions and self-discipline for their achievement.

3. Absolutism vs. relativism.

4. Emphasis on verbalism vs. emphasis on experience of all kinds and expression through many media.

5. Emphasis on education as a preparation for future living vs. education as a development of present living.

6. Transmission of culture vs. creation of culture.

7. General vs. specialized education.

8. Required curriculum vs. electives.

9. Standardization of a particular body of content vs. problem-solving of the problems.

As stated, these are black and white oppositions. In reality they are not necessarily so. However, running through them are the true oppositions which confuse our educational workers, and which must be dealt with to give clearer direction to educational effort.

The classicist, even more than the religionist, is responsible for much of the confusion which obtains over these oppositions. The classicists have been among those who have most strongly upheld authoritarianism.

Those who have most strongly upheld "standards," and have instituted minimum essentials, grades, grade placements, standard tests, elimination curves, and the like, have been honestly seeking to improve the quality of the educational process and its methods, as well as to be economical of educational effort. It is quite evident that most of them have made the following assumptions:

1. That education is the mastery of certain bodies of content.

2. That the content of the British "liberal" education is most appropriate - since its sanction stems back to Plato and Aristotle.
3. That mastery is achieved largely by verbal means—reading, writing and recitation.

4. That the purpose of this mastery is to prepare for life by training or liberating the mind.

5. That as the purpose is fixed by social tradition and classic authority, the teacher and the examiners acting as regents of this authority, with the obligation to conduct the rites of learning by formulas which are approved by the ruling educational hierarchy.

6. That it is the duty of the pupil to do as he is bid, so far as the power in him is.

This process may be compared to preparing an apprentice carpenter for his work by a) selecting and handing him his tools, and b) teaching him to sharpen them, and c) promising him that after a certain number of years he will find them useful, and d) giving him books, lectures and diagrams which describe sample projects that others have worked on.

Granted these assumptions, especially with regard to training the mind, it has been logical to put the emphasis on content as an end in itself, and on schooling as a preparation for living.

But there are difficulties with these assumptions, some due to the obvious (and undemocratic) assumption that the authority of Aristotle or tradition is superior to the authority of present intelligence applied to present problems; some due to inadequate understanding of purpose and how it is best achieved. For example, the following comments may be made regarding the items above:

1. Content is a means to an end. It is part of the "know-how" which will enable an individual to act more intelligently.

2. Since the Aristotelian logic and the assumption of identities has been proved false to reality, a static body of content cannot be assumed.

3. "Mastery" of intelligent methods implies experience in meeting actual problems and using all the varied
resources which the civilization offers - verbal, pictorial, mechanical, human, and the rest.

4. The purpose of this mastery is dual, not single. It includes the long-range purpose of developing an individual who is adequate at least to the later problems of life; it assumes that this is achieved through continuous development and asserts that the individual needs now to meet his present problems intelligently.

5. Since development of the individual pupil is the object of education, the pupil's ideas regarding purpose, problems, methods, materials and evaluation are a part of the process.

The respected authority comes from principles of personal and social growth. To the extent that the teacher knows more about personal development and the methods of intelligence, the teacher will play an effective role in pupil growth - but not through an imposed formula. The teacher, like the administrator, will be a part of a cooperative undertaking in which his ideas rather than his official position will determine his right to leadership.

6. The duty of the pupil is to make all the progress he can in the independent use of all his capacities.

These comments may be extended through a consideration of #7 in the list of oppositions. It states the problem of specialized vs. general education.

It is an obvious fact that vocations require special knowledge and skill for which there is no substitute. Proponents of special "disciplines" like mathematics and foreign language, as well as engineering and other scientific fields, have made much of the peculiar requirements of their fields. On the theoretical side this argument is subject to three questions. The first: Who is going to be a specialist? The second: When? The third: By what method are the peculiar requirements of specialization best learned?
The first of these questions has been answered by some high schools through offering a great number of courses in everything from music to engineering mathematics, and leaving it to the student to get in what he can. A variation of this plan has been to offer different sequences (e.g., academic sequence preparing for college; commercial sequence preparing for business). The fact of the matter is, that **Who will specialize in what?** is not easy to answer for the simple reason that the interests and abilities of each person, and the circumstances in which he lives are always changing. A choice made today in consideration of factors A to G may be regarded as a poor choice tomorrow in terms of factors A to Z. Furthermore, whatever the specialized field, the requirements of all living are over and above the requirements of that field.

Since the interests of the individual as well as his unique qualities and his general social intelligence are involved in the question of "Who?" it seems that this problem will never be a simple one, and will never lend itself to a simple formula. The aims of democracy and the aims of any specialized field have enough in common so that it would seem necessary for a society to interest itself in general education for all throughout life, and to follow the common rule of providing it in schools as at present constituted, through the sophomore year in college until better evidence is available.

This would mean that the question of where to specialize would be answered in general by saying "at the end of the junior college." The third question, that of method, involves a consideration of the fact that of recent times there is an increasing tendency, in industry as in schools, to believe that technical problems are learned best on the job.
The more specialized they are, the more this is true. The employer is asking the school for persons of broad experience and good sense. Both of these qualities seem to be functions of varied and intensive activity whose purpose is vital to the student.

From the list of oppositions and from the additional comments on two of them, it is possible to conclude that ideas of maximum growth, of equality of opportunity, of the uses of freedom, of social control in the interests of all are not only opposed to authoritarianism, but are, within their relations to each other, by no means easy to clarify and adjust so that a simple and obvious direction of practice can ensue.

In each case of difficulty, however, it is necessary to use the utmost intelligence and skill to establish the relation of the problem to the basic values sought. In doing so, the concept of the value may itself undergo change.

American Educational Tradition

The historical development of education in America reflects interesting changes in values sought and in concepts of what those values meant. In the 17th Century, the central value was religious salvation, and the school was a center of religious education (cf. The New England Primer). The 18th Century brought to bear the influences of the "New Enlightenment" from abroad. It was the age of Reason opposing religion. Newton's Principia established a science of matter. Voltaire championed freedom of inquiry. Locke established a psychological interpretation of man. Harvey established the mechanics of the blood, Boyle the mechanics of the gases. The revolutionary effect of free inquiry extended to systems of society. Diderot and the Cyclopedists made social analyses which attacked
the sacredness of inherited privilege. Benjamin Franklin, too, preached a
revolution in education - he cried out against the classicism of
English education (which was aped in this country) and asserted that
schooling should make men of affairs.

Democratic feelings were effectively vocal during this period.
A historian of the time, Stuart G. Noble (247, 98) quotes Condorcet, the
French revolutionary leader, as proposing a national school system (1792)
for the following reasons:

To offer to all individuals of the human race the means of
providing for their needs, of assuring their welfare, of
knowing and exercising their rights, or understanding and ful-
filling their obligations.

To assure each one the facility of perfecting his skill,
of rendering himself capable of the social functions to
which he has the right to be called, of developing to the
fullest extent those talents with which nature has endowed him;
and thereby to establish among all citizens an actual equality,
thus rendering real the political equality recognized by the
law.

This should be the first aim of any national education; and,
from such a point of view, this education is for the govern-
ment an obligation of justice.

At the turn of the 18th century and for the first third of the 19th,
there came a trend toward secularization in the community supported
primary schools in line with Franklin's appeal. (Philips Exeter Academy
went so far as to include composition, bookkeeping and navigation in its
curriculum in 1818.) This was partly due to the demands of wealthy
business men for clerks. In part it was due to the desire of all
citizens for the advancement of their children not in social caste but
in living successful lives. Thus it was a part of the democratic movement.
As the Romantic Era of the 19th Century saw men's minds unfold in a spirit of adventure, as interest in well-rounded living grew, the revolutionary concept of equality came to mean not a dead level for all, but the progressive development of each according to his ability. In the field of industry, invention was stimulated. In education, too, creative changes were proposed. Romanticism has been well and truly indicted for sentimental unreality. But it performed a lasting service in asserting the dynamic quality of the emotional life, and in elevating regard for the importance of the individual.

At the higher levels of education the German Idealist philosophers influenced a concern for subjective thinking. At the lower levels Rousseau and others - Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel - focussed attention on the importance of educational method.

Pestalozzi (1746-1827) in particular had a temporary vogue in the United States. He stood for three great beliefs:

1. that the school atmosphere was vitally important to learning - it should be friendly and homelike

2. That the school should offer industrial experience

3. That the object method should be employed - instruction which depended on handling and seeing objects as well as using verbalisms (247, 139-141).

Pestalozzi was rejected by the academics. They did not see how practical work fitted into a study of the classics. They did not understand that these methods were not ends in themselves but were useful in the development of ideas, the growth of understanding and imagination.

But in education as in other aspects of society, the will to growth prevails even over the academics. Horace Mann* and other champions of

*Mann helped secure the passage of the school law in Massachusetts in
1837. He had a crusader's faith in the infinite perfectability of man. He said, "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

universal education like Victor Cousin and Henry Barnard studied the use of Pestalozzi's ideas in the Prussian school system, and attempted to spread them through the schools (30, 165-166).

But the battle for improved methods took many a devious turn (Lancastrianism for example) and was secondary to the central issues which were stated earlier: Education for whom and for how long? The forces of special interest and class privilege fought bitterly against universal, free education.*

*See discussion in an earlier work by the present writer (142, pp. 197 ff).

By 1860, when that battle was won and the right of all children to learning was established, there were stirrings of interest in the psychological knowledge necessary to professional teaching. At first this knowledge was based on the assumptions of mental faculties and the formal disciplines for "mind-training."

In the later years of the 19th Century the Froebel kindergarten, the progressive movement for educational experiment inaugurated by Francis W. Parker and John Dewey; the constructive and imaginative application of the theory of Evolution by Darwin, Huxley and Spencer; the application of Herbartian principles; the discarding of Locke's faculty psychology; the surprising results of co-education in showing that there was equality of the sexes in mental power; the emphasis of men like De Garmo on rich
interests and correlation - these resulted in a phenomenal development of professional education. *

*As measured by books on the subject (247, 390):

By 1928, when the last available figures were compiled, there were more than 2,000 volumes on education. More specifically, the number of education books in print in 1928 exceeded by 300 titles the number dealing with the study of the English language; exceeded that of chemistry by 700; and that of mathematics by 1,800. Measured in rate of increase for the twenty-six year period between 1902 and 1928, the accumulation of English and chemistry books increased threefold; that of mathematics books, fivefold, and that of education books, ninefold.

As the professional attitude gained headway it increased the attention paid to scientific methods. These were applied, significantly enough, to discovery of the nature of both the society and the individual. The latter is exemplified by the Binet intelligence test. The former by the use of surveys, such as the Pittsburg survey of social conditions in 1907, by Paul U. Kellogg of the Russell Sage Foundation (241, 286-288) (including wages, hours of work, health and sanitation, housing, taxation, schools, crime, playgrounds and recreation).

With the increasing use of scientific method rose an increase in study groups and professional committees of state, regional and national bodies.

Of these, one of the most famous is the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education appointed in 1912. Work of this commission is illustrative of the constantly increasing concern for defining democratic purpose and making it workable. The best-known achievement of this commission was the creation of "seven cardinal principles" (311, 9)
or educational aims, namely: health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character.

The Commission went into some detail in suggesting methods of organizing courses and unifying elementary high school work through a program for grades seven, eight and nine. But its chief distinction is the recognition of the relationship of individual and social growth and the promotion of this growth in a democracy by the school.

Since the day of the Seven Cardinal Principles the educators have made an increasing effort to re-define purposes and to employ the resources of science to instrument them. Impressive and valuable have been the meetings and publications fostered by the N.E.A., P.E.A., John Dewey Society, Society for Curriculum Study, the school and college associations, state departments of education, the philanthropic foundations and others.

Yet the great number of schools in America have preserved inertia, a traditional movement toward the two functions of 1) "transmitting" and preserving the cultural heritage and 2) providing practical information. There has been slight change in methods, and almost no attempt to answer affirmatively the question posed by Counts: "Dare the schools build a new social order?"

As the historian Noble has said (247, 350):

The verdict of history is that school authorities have generally considered their work adequately done if they conserved the best of past experience and at the same time met the most urgent practical demands of their respective communities. Progress has accordingly been slow. At one and the same time the schools have been accused of lagging behind the times and of pursuing fads.
Through the fear of offending one or another of the conflicting
groups in its community, the school has often stood squarely on the fence
through a policy of avoiding crucial issues - the emotionally charged
social crisis which carry so much of learning possibility. It is conven-
ient to do this under the guise of impartiality. But that effort cannot
justify a refusal to investigate all sides of an issue which is stirring
contemporary partisanship. It is a negation of the facts regarding
emotional maturity, for the school to neglect the responsibility for
leadership in applying methods of intelligence to local strikes, national
problems and to international disasters like war. It was this neglect
which John Dewey ("Education as Politics", 105, 161) has excoriated as
follows:

Avoidance of "hot" social issues fosters "undiscrimin-
ating mental habits." The school is even more indured
from frank acknowledgement of social ills than the pulpit -
which is saying a good deal. And like the pulpit it com-
pensates for its avoidance of discussion of social diffi-
culties by a sentimental dwelling upon personal vices.

Dewey wrote his indictment in 1922. In that same year, W. W. Charters
was developing a plan for curriculum organization which would meet the
indictments mentioned above. In it he said (63, 20):

...to equip youth properly for the problems of maturity,
instruction must be given in the current, unorganized social
problems of the day. For instance, we have facing us now
the problems of labor, direct action, governmental control,
and the participation of workers in the profits and admin-
istration of business, but the facts concerning these are
not usually taught in the grades or in the high school.
Whether they can be taught with complete adequacy or not
is beside the point; the student must face the problems
either with unadequate information or with none.

Grasping the close relationship of social and individual growth,
Charters made two points which apply to the entire discussion of education.
First, that efficient education depends on a thorough and continuous survey
of the culture as a whole; second, that the data so derived are to be
taught with the philosopher's and the artist's concern for democratic
values and individual differences. He stresses the point that the prac-
tical education must include not only vocational training but a knowledge
of how to use the arts, the rights and duties of citizenship, religion,
morals and manners. He considers the findings and methods of science to
be relative and changing — unlike the false absolutism of fields of
knowledge organized into the "disciplines" of an earlier day. He expounds
the need for usefulness in terms of the real meaning to the student of his
educational experience. Problems for study can only be real, says
Charters, if they are currently important to the student.

...people are chiefly curious about matters which affect
them closely, and are not normally curious about the things
for which they see no use. (65, 19)

Charters reckons electives courses as the answer to specialized
interests, and considers that required courses must be organized on the
principles above. He is strongly convinced that the methods of teaching
both have to be suited to the individual interest and skill, that the
imposition of adult standards and methods too early can defeat the later
usefulness of the same material.

The Charters emphasis on the relation of the facts of environment
to individual growth, brings out once more a problem which is inherent in
the limitations of education as only one of the institutional means for
affecting individual growth. As Harold Rugg (278, 528-529) once pointed
out, school occupies but 10% of the time for children 6-18 who are in it.
The external material civilization (especially in its economic aspects;
the social institutions (family, government, industry and business, press,
radio and movies, churches, lodges, rituals, food habits, dress, speech,
recreation, science, art); the psychology of a people (the climate of opinion regarding freedom, opportunity, justice, patriotism and the like) - these are influences which permeate the whole process of growth, affecting both aspirations and means for achieving them.

And as Bode has never tired of indicating, these social institutions are themselves fruitful in giving rise to differing values between individuals and groups. But this very fact may provide the school with some of the best learning material. Such conflicts are fundamental problems,*

*Karen Horney has attributed to the conflicting values of modern institutions much of the basic insecurities of our children and adults. Kardiner and others have shown how in primitive societies membership in groups with conflicting values is a cause for fears and frustrations. See also Watson, Goodwin (279, 264).

at least as real material for education as the writing and reading skills and perhaps more primary, as shown by the number of passive, or maladjusted children in our schools.

It is not beyond possibility that the curiosities of young and old alike, fundamentally a search for opportunities to employ and develop capacities, are more and more related to the search for guiding values, as Bode suggests. If, then, the school is to be effective, it will recognize the inner struggles of its pupils, by offering them the chance to participate in all choices that are made. It is quite likely that a freely made choice of topic for study is a sign of personal need. In proportion as the teacher can secure the full expression and satisfaction of this need, the individual can gain a security from which to venture toward larger horizons.
Education in the Present (1942)

In so brief a glance at the history of American education, it has been apparent that many issues arise around the central issue of whether or not to adopt the idea of education to promote the fullest growth of all. It seems warranted to say that this is the democratic purpose, and that it has won an increasing number of adherents, that the economic class-structure of our country is becoming less rather than more influential in the professional vision of educational function. The steady diminution of private schools and the factual studies of the experts (See New York Regents Report (240), Eight-Year Study Reports (9) are evidences of growing determination to think in terms of all the people. Thus, while the picture is not bright, it is getting more illumination all the time.

Not only is the meaning of democracy in education being clarified by statements of values sought, but concurrently the means of instrumenting these values are likewise sought and tested.

Examples of the former (statements of values), drawn from the statements of administrators, social scientists, educational technicians and philosophers are summarized in the appendix to this Section. They show a general agreement in recent times on the following features of the democratic ideal:

1. Faith in the worth and intelligence of the common man.

2. Reliance on free inquiry, cooperative planning and experimental attack on all aspects of living.

3. The encouragement of the creative spirit for the establishment of wholesome attitudes toward order and change.

4. Development of security through faith in ideas and intelligent methods rather than through avoidance of problems and formulas for preserving the status quo.
5. All of life is education, and if it is to be fruitful the school will provide for all ages the opportunity to reorganize and make experience significant.

6. In #5, education becomes the fundamental method of social progress and reform. It is recognized as more permanent and effective than law and punishment.

7. The sharing of social consciousness and the creative adjustment of the individual to it will be effective in proportion to the utilization of scientific resources which give insight into the nature of the individual and his growth as well as the effectiveness of various forms of group organization.

The tendency to agree on these principles is not by any means universal. It is, for example, not a dominant one in a "fundamentalist" school of educational thought which is still active, but which flourished most up to the 1930's. From Norman Woelfel's review (339, 51, 55, 62, 88) the following ideas of democracy in education are taken as representative of this school:

1. A social order in which every one may be a capitalist and in which prosperity may continue forever.

2. An earthly projection of the Kingdom of Heaven in which understanding the mind of God is the aim.

3. The welfare of the state is paramount.

4. The masses of the population are to be aided to see and understand what the intellectual classes know.

5. The school is to be a model of business efficiency.

In the fundamentalist school, there is a decided tendency to assume the rightness of things as they are, and a certain kind of authoritarian practice. It is hard for many, in and out of the profession, to see why anyone should prefer to govern himself to being governed, or how choices can be intelligent if left to the test of practical experience rather than to the wisdom of the ages.
There is no proved answer to these views. The democratic ideal is a matter of faith - a) in the ability and right of all human beings to grow; b) in the experimental method: "Will it work in practice?" as opposed to a static absolutism.

With such faith, a good life is conceived as one which is richly growing. In other words, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This recognizes that institutions must be created and re-created to make that possible. Education in such a society "grows with the growth of humanity" as Charles Beard has said (142, 181) and education will not only preserve but will make history "in some way, large or small, according to the conceptions and powers of educators."

Chief Concerns of American Education - 1942. From the foregoing review, it is evident that once the democratic purpose is adopted, its implications for practice are many and varied. There is need for continuous re-examination of the meaning of growth for all, of the forms of liberty, opportunity and social control which will most effectively aid in developing or instrumenting the purpose.

Lacking the perspective of future eras, there can be no better and no more objective representation of the current situation in American education for democracy than will be given by touching on the chief concerns which animate the teachers, administrators, pupils and parents as they talk and work.

The selection of seven of these as "chief" is a matter of opinion - that of the present writer, based on some experience in a variety of schools, the statements of a panel of 120 teachers, administrators and supervisors (in the author's files) and an analysis of educational literature.
For convenience, the topics have been classified under the following seven heads:

1. Equal Opportunity and School Finance.
2. Curriculum and Materials of Learning in Relation to Opportunity for All.
3. Vocational and Specialized Education in Relation to Maximum Growth.
5. Classroom Methods and the Participation of All.
7. The Teacher and the Administrator of Democratic Education.

A description of these follows, touching briefly on some of their most important aspects.

1. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND SCHOOL FINANCE

There are the following principal aspects of this problem.

First, is the question of state and national policy for giving special financial aid to schools where the local need is great and the income small. From an average of $120 or more per year per pupil in some metropolitan centers to $14 per year in the South is too much difference to allow us to boast of offering equal educational opportunity in the United States. Teachers' salaries ranging from $45 per month for five months to $500 per month for twelve months indicate another disproportionate difference in the opportunity offered to our children.

So far, the states have been charged with the major load of the job of equalization, but it is clear that with some of the poorer states already spending over 40% of their revenue for education the remedy is not
More Federal aid is needed, as well as larger local tax levies.

*See N.E.A. Studies (236); also Treubam (308); also National Society for the Study of Education (241).

In higher institutions, the unequal opportunities are magnified by the facts that the student cannot earn and study to advantage, and the costs, other than tuition are fairly heavy.*

...In a society where only the wealthy or moderately well-to-do attend school, such a conception of a free school is reasonable. As long as the secondary schools and the colleges were attended largely by children from the middle and upper classes, a school was effectively free if no tuition were charged.

This situation changes drastically, however, when education begins to be made available to those in lower income groups. For instance, the "free" state University of Indiana requires an expenditure of about $700 a year for the average student. There can be no tuition charged in this university. For the well-to-do family in Indiana the $700 yearly expenditure constitutes no effective barrier to the availability of education. In an average year, however, the average worker in Indiana probably does not make more than $1400. To expect this average family to spend half of its entire income in sending one child to school is obviously not within the bounds of reason. And if there are two or three children, the situation rapidly approaches the absurd. The total result is that a new conception of free education is necessary. (241, 465, 466)

Thus the absence of tuition does not make the school "free education."

It was found in Pennsylvania that economic factors operated to keep as many or more able students from going to college as those who could find any means to go. With approximately one out of six graduates of high school going to college, there can be no pretense of equal educational opportunity.

But, it may be argued, not all students should have the same schooling. Some will profit more by one type of training and experience than another. This is true, and yet little or no provision is made either for
providing equivalent years of public training out of school or altering the schools so that fewer students are tempted to drop out.

Dewey has hit this point hard in the following statement (125, 119):

Opportunities can be equalized only as the schools make it their active serious business to enable all alike to become masters of their own industrial fate. That growing movement which is called industrial or vocational education now hangs in the scales. If it is so construed in practice as to produce merely more competent hands for subordinate clerical and shop positions, if its purpose is shaped to drill boys and girls into certain forms of automatic skill which will make them useful in carrying out the plans of others, it means that instead of nationalizing education in the spirit of our nation, we have given up the battle, and decided to refeudalize education.

2. CURRICULUM AND MATERIALS IN RELATION TO OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.

A recent statement of the meaning of "curriculum" emphasizes that in the new school the curriculum becomes the very stream of dynamic activities that constitute the life of the young people and their elders. This is a hopeful view, for it is becoming increasingly evident that the child in school is not a different being than the child out of school. Likewise, it is becoming clear that every experience educates — for better or worse.*

*See Young, Kimball (344, 783). Also mimeographed statements by art leaders and administrators in author's files.

The recognition of first-hand experience as curriculum material is gradually increasing, though verbal substitutes still hold by far the more general and respectable place. Despite the evidence that hand work is deeply satisfying and a powerful instrument for broad education and has been to all peoples in all times and places, the arts, both fine and
rough, are neglected or scorned in many schools, particularly above grade 9 where 6% of the total school time is generally allotted to all the arts as compared, for example, to 25% for foreign languages (110).

But it is not alone the formal experience of art that is missing. Even in the art classes themselves, as often taught, the inner core of creativeness - the joy of problem-solving is lacking. This, unfortunately, is also too often true of investigations reduced to stereotypes, in the fields of science, social science and literature.

But the thrilling thought of achieving something new and original is only part of creativeness. It is a very big and necessary part - there isn't any creation without it. But knowing, or pushing on to master the skills necessary to master materials and problems of construction, is another important part. In all inventors, in scientific discoverers, as in other creative workers, there is something child-like - a wise child-likeness - a wonder, a joy in the new - the meeting and making of new problems and new solutions.

They rejoice in finding new problems and new solutions. They produce through a rigorous process of self-evaluation. This is why the joy is in the doing as much or more as it is in the finished product (except as that is useful for meeting more problems). The adventure, the play of man, is problem-solving.

Another outstanding curriculum problem is the multiplication in a single school curriculum of courses, all good, all necessary for some purpose, but far too great in numbers to be useful to all students. This has brought an "electives" problem. It in turn has led to some, but too little guidance.
In addition there are college requirements, state standards, standard tests and the like.

The result of all this has been that the curriculum has become a new and even more devilish Procrustes bed to which students are chained somehow, willy-nilly.

As W. W. Charters* has pointed out, the subjects of study regarded as most necessary, and those which are now on the fringes, are due to change places. In line with his suggestions that a careful analysis of actual social requirements would show the need for more consumer education for example, and less classical mathematics, the American Youth Commission says the following should be the emphasis in the secondary curriculum (19):

- Reading
- Work
- Social Studies
- Personal Problems

For work experience they recommend (20, 50-52) such lines of endeavor as

- Conservation
- Construction of public buildings
- Production or repair of goods and equipment for public use
- Assistance in the operation of public and non-profit services, especially for children and youth
- Production of goods for the use of such portions of the people as are unable to purchase necessities in adequate quantities

An emphasis on work experience represents the challenge to the old-line courses which have depended upon reading and recitation as the be-all and end-all. With regard to the great bulk of subject-matter and textbook courses, the question may properly be raised: For what? The answer
can be given by a wisely planned survey of social and student opinion. In it, the choices of students are of great value in the process of analyzing and encouraging developments, since democracy emphasizes the worth of human personality and the idea of human freedom. As Griffin has pointed out, freedom always involves choice in line with purposes and desires (147). And since the exercise of choice requires wisdom and control the control comes by agreements made for the good of all. Since this is so, it is fair to ask what evidence there is that book-learning as now conducted, leads to an appreciation and increase in skill along these lines. In the field of history, for example, where the nature and practice of democracy should be paramount, what is the common experience?

The writer has recently read with care one of the best modern history text books for high schools (126). Reading this history book gives but the barest clue to the fact that human beings, individual-group, made the decisions that led to vital changes such as the machine revolution and the building of modern cities. Still less does one get an idea of the human values which came into the decisions. Hopes, fears, action and reaction are rendered impersonal, hence sterile — in provoking the young (and old) reader.

Anthropomorphic interpretation of natural events was closer to reality (man makes his own meaning) than this. Though the savage was wrong about a man-god being in natural events like the fall of a tree, he was right that man's ideas and passions gave that its significance.

Again, this strange myopia which conceals the essential role of human choice, and the values back of it, conceals among those values the growth, the progress and aberrations, of human interdependence. In days of rural economy, it was easy for the self-dependent family to see that the crops
which fed them depended on each doing his part — father plowing, children hoeing, mother canning and cooking.

But now the processed product comes to us in tin cans from the store and we do not see the human beings, choices and values which create and sustain interdependence. We do not see the men who collect our garbage, the factory managers and workers, the track-layers and the political caucuses. We may read about the acts of these people, even in instances of a few personalities, but we do not see the newspaper reporter, the phone girl, the re-write man, the copy boy, the city editor — who produce the reading material and still less the managing editor who decides what part of it (produced by previous process of decision and action according to the nature of those who did it) we shall see. Still less do we see the owner or the banker whose decision to invest in the paper may enforce certain values on the managing and city editors.

As it is found in actual practice, the curriculum is not by any means adequate to the promotion of maximum growth of all students. This has led to some most important educational experiments and plans in recent years.*

*For example, the Eight-Year Study, the Michigan Study, the Ohio Study, the Virginia and other State Courses of Study.

And though it may be slow in coming, though techniques for realizing the aims are still in the elementary stage, it is heartening to see a splendid and thorough-going statement such as the following — a fitting benediction for this brief survey of the subject.
Some Basic Considerations in 
Curriculum Making (II)

Prepared by Harold Albery 
The Ohio State University

1. DEMOCRACY. The major purpose of education is to promote, interpret and refine the democratic way of life. In general, democracy means that form of social organization that seeks to provide for the optimal development of each of its members through the intelligent use of cooperative means in planning and carrying out programs based upon common interests and needs. In accordance with this ideal, the school, through everything that it does, seeks to develop the characteristics of personality that are needed to further democratic living. Some of these are the following:

A. Creativeness.
B. Ability and zeal to utilize the method of intelligence in solving all problems of human concern.
C. Social Sensitivity
D. Cooperativeness
E. Self-direction
F. Tolerance

2. CENTERS OF EMPHASIS IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT TOWARD ADULT STATUS
(A tentative plan for identifying and analyzing characteristic behavior of children on various levels (e.g., childhood, pre-adolescence, early adolescence, later adolescence) and for determining the scope and sequence of the curriculum). The school, in promoting the democratic way of life shall take into account the following factors of child development:

A. Maintaining Personal health and promoting healthful living by:
   1. Providing for adequate rest, diet, recreation, and freedom from infection.
   2. Giving attention to posture, height, weight, normality.
   3. Developing a zeal for promoting healthful living in the immediate and wider community.
   4. Providing for adequate emotional development

B. Achieving and maintaining a sense of security through:
   1. Affection, confidence, and esteem
   2. Status within the family group
   3. Status with age mates of both sexes (heterosexual adjustment)
   4. Status in groups (school, church, granges, etc.)
   5. Status in immediate and wider community
6. Status in economic life
7. A sense of interdependence

C. Developing and maintaining a sense of achievement by:

1. A sense of personal adequacy through satisfaction in accomplishments.
2. Successful participation in group activities (school, home, etc.)
4. Successful participation in economic life.
5. Gradual attainment of independent status as an adult.
6. Understanding of and participation in solving basic economic problems.
7. Increasing effectiveness as a consumer of goods and services.

D. Developing and maintaining ever-widening and deepening interests and appreciations through:

1. Understanding of and a measure of control over the environment.
2. Understanding of and respect for the cultural heritage.
3. Favorable response to art in all aspects of living.
4. Participation in sports, games, hobbies.

E. Achieving an outlook on life through:

1. Increasing unity and consistency in thinking and action.
2. Personal standards of conduct.
3. Increasing ability to deal with related abstractions.
4. Increasing ability to recognize and deal with conflicts.
5. Increasing clarity as to nature of truth and techniques for discovering and utilizing it.
6. Understanding man in relation to the universe.
7. Zeal for social reconstruction and refinement in terms of ideals and values.

Note: In preparing the above statement the writer utilized freely the following sources: Science in General Education, Report of the Committee on Needs, University School, Reports of the Commission on Human Relations, and the Report of the Health Committee of the University School. H.A.
3. VOCATIONAL AND SPECIALIZED EDUCATION IN RELATION TO MAXIMUM GROWTH

The origin of vocational training in America goes back to early demands on the part of wealthy merchants for trained clerks and navigators.

A second demand arose from students and parents who wanted to get ahead in the world.

The persistent problems in this field are:

1. How to guide students to proper choices.*

*See (241) The Scientific Movement in Education, Chap. XXXVII; also, Young, Personality and Problems of Adjustment (344, 652)

2. How to place students*

*See Scientific Movement in Education (241), Chapt. XXXVII; Also New York Regents Inquiry (246).

3. How to derive curricula which are abreast of the latest developments.

4. How to secure teachers who are effective teachers and experts in the field.

5. How to include all-around development with specialized training.*

*See Youth and the Future (20, 205, 206).

6. How to teach most effectively.

The placement of students and the derivation of curriculum topics has been classically solved by the work of W. W. Charters.*

* See Charters (63, 64, 65)
Unfortunately there are still many schools which do not have, or do not think they have sufficient time, skill or money to carry out the surveys and planning requisite.

4. OPPORTUNITY AND LEARNING AS EXPERIENCE

Of all the necessary studies of the teacher - in training or in service - certainly a most important is the nature of the learning process. Yet, despite the efforts of educational psychologists, much ignorance prevails. The writer is convinced that it is not incompetence or indifference which delays the understanding of teachers in this field, but plain ignorance of the available material.

The better teachers are those who have applied themselves to understanding the human beings in their charge. They have already learned, sometimes without consciousness of it, many valuable characteristics of the growth processes and how a teacher can aid them.

To some measure, of course, the conflicting "schools" of psychology, and a lack of synthesis of available knowledge has held back use of it. Much has been written, but a great portion of it is so technical, or dispersed that it does not fulfill its function of instructing teachers.

With the publication of Wheeler and Perkins' book on Organismic Psychology (332), and more recent studies such as Gordon Allport's Personality (11), and Prescott's Emotion and the Educative Process (261), the lack is being supplied. Invaluable aid is coming from articles in professional magazines, and the publication of such bodies as the National Council of Teachers of English.

Since this matter has been dealt with at length in the Section of
the Individual, it is intended here only to re-emphasize the fact that learning is a matter of individual experience and that experience includes more than reading, writing, figuring, listening and reciting.

Learning involves the use of abilities - their creative use, and on uses important in human relationships. As Dewey well said (105, 362):

Even in the classroom we are beginning to learn that learning that develops intelligence and character does not come about when only the textbook and the teacher have a say, that every individual becomes educated only as he has an opportunity to contribute something from his own experience, no matter how meager or slender that background of experience may be at a given time, and finally that enlightenment comes from the give and take, from the exchange of experiences and ideas.

Again, a point which otherwise good teachers overlook at times, learning is sequential (though not mechanical). This is a point emphasized by Charters in his step-by-step analyses. Since the philosophers have sometimes objected to this emphasis, it is apropos to clinch this point by a quotation from D. W. Bridgman, a philosopher of science (46, 173-174):

All experience is a sequence; to get from one point in it to another we have to pass through every intermediate position. A plant will not survive in a locality even if the conditions for 99 per cent of the time are highly favorable, unless at every moment the conditions for survival at that moment are satisfied. Evolution can proceed only in directions in which there are possible mechanisms. A crystal will not grow out of a solution even if the energy of the system would be thereby decreased, unless the detailed mechanism exists which makes possible its step-by-step growth from a nucleus. No social reform, no matter how desirable or universally approved, can be brought about unless there is a mechanism which makes possible every immediate step. If any single step involves the exaction by society from any individual of more than that individual will grant, the reform cannot be effected.
Mass-methods are inimical to the fullest learning experience. It is impossible to find, in the scientific records, as in the aim of democracy, any support for mass methods of education. The common situation which exists in public schools: that one teacher meets five to six classes of more than 40 pupils per day, is not in accord with the evidence presented earlier, as to the requirements for recognizing individual differences and the use of rich experiences. Large class size makes definite and serious limitations on personal acquaintance and inter-change, on freedom of movement, on the flexibility of planning and the execution of changes, on the flexible use of building space, on use of the community as a source of learning, on sensitive understanding and evaluation, on the creative opportunities for all students. Large class size tends to increase the use of external force for "discipline" (meaning the preservation of the outward appearance and quiet) and regimentation which sometimes approaches factory belt-line methods.*

*See Young, Kimball, Personality and Problems of Adjustment, (344, 449)

At best, large class-size is a device for saving money. It is a pity that more do not recognize that it may result in less productive lives, and in less aid to maladjusted individuals. Schools have not been very effective in making this point, and they have only begun recently to
seek means of overcoming the problem by internal adjustments. I refer to reduction in departmentalized work so that one teacher is with the same group of students for more than forty-five minutes a day; to the use of teacher-pupil planning, and to cooperative planning by teachers.

Assuming that it is possible for the teacher to employ the best available classroom methods, what would they be?

The testimony of the students of human development would favor:

1. A natural classroom atmosphere, where there is a sense of ease and good human relations. Threats and the fear of force would be missing. They would be replaced by an attitude of problem-seeking and problem-solving. There is evidence to show that this approach is effective even with the most "difficult" individuals.*

* As in the management of the insane, attendants who show tranquility of mind, and a little skill and personality, have successfully handled the most obstreperous; so with young delinquents, the apparently violent and dangerous yield almost without a struggle to simple approach of a human being, without fear, prejudice, or hatred. (344, 449)

2. There would be realistic setting of tasks to challenge but not defeat the pupil. As Fritz Kunkel has said (279, 349, 351), echoing the old injunction of Comenius:

Among teachers and parents and, therefore, also among pupils the opinion is prevalent that mental endowment, or the lack of it, is a matter of fate, and must be accepted as such. As soon as it is discovered that a person has no talent for a certain branch of study or perhaps even for any branch, it is assumed that his whole later life must be influenced by this fact. One who has no gift for figures cannot be a banker.

But experience has shown repeatedly that in many cases such a lack suddenly disappears when the child comes under the influence of a new teacher. It is commonly observed that girls in their teens show most interest and attitude for the courses that are conducted by the handsomest young teachers.
It is less known, but equally certain, that a decided lack of
talent makes its appearance only where a decidedly unfriendly
attitude develops between child and teacher. The teacher
will claim, to be sure, that the lack of talent is primary
and that the conflict with the child has merely developed from
it. But close examination invariably proves the opposite,
though it must be remembered in the teacher’s favor that the
children, before they come to school, have usually already
been spoiled by coddling, intimidation or a show of superiority.

The general rule is: arrange all tasks so that they will
not discourage the child. Do not make them too hard, so that
they will not of necessity lead to defeat, and not too easy,
so that they will not bore. Above all, state problems so that
they will not seem a necessary evil, but an enjoyable part of
the child’s development... If this is unsuccessful, then look
for the error, less in the schedules and prescriptions of the
school authorities than in your own lack of productivity, and
endeavor to regain your lost faith in life.

3. Tasks of the project method sort, emphasizing the solution of
problems which are important to the learner, rather than teacher-
dictated daily assignments are successful. The following summary (344, 448)
indicates the nature of the evidence.

There is considerable evidence to show that the use of the
project method, so called, is superior to the traditional
schemes of instruction. We shall note only two studies by
way of illustration:

Collings (1923) compared three rural schools, two of which
followed the older course of study and method of instruction,
and the third the project plan. Results for a four-year
period showed that not only did the students in the latter
school excel the others in the amount of sheer academic
acquirement, but there were less truancy and tardiness and
a better parent-school relation under the project method
than under the traditional one. R. G. Anderson (1934) com-
pared two schools and their problem cases: School A followed
the usual curriculum with strict routine and decided
crowding of pupils into each grade unit; School B was a so-
called "progressive school" where the course of study was
suited to the children’s needs and interests and where the
classroom procedure was informal and stimulating. The
problem cases reported to the school psychologist from the
former school were chiefly for disciplinary difficulties
or failure in subject matter. In the latter were a few
children who suffered from fear and shyness, who showed lack
of social adaptability, or who came from homes with poor
child-training; but on the whole there were few difficult
cases.
4. Cooperation rather than competition is found to be beneficial in promoting development. Young (ibid., 447) summarizes the evidence thus:

The effects of competition as against cooperation on various mental and emotional functions have been studied by a variety of methods, but it would carry us too far afield to review those investigations. (For such a review with an extensive bibliography, see May and Boob, 1937.) However, following Fuller and Baker's summary (1939), we may point out that on the whole excessive competition seems to have the following influences on various pupils: (1) there are usually discouragement and despair for the slow learners; (2) for the average pupil there tend to be either excessive emotional stress and worry or the development of a "get by" attitude; (3) often a superlative, unwarranted opinion of and optimism regarding their abilities develops among the fast learners, especially those who have a capacity to manage the types of more or less rote learning which characterizes so much of our traditional course of study; and (4) there arises pretty generally an "attitude of aggressive non-cooperation" marked by a striking indifference to the fate and welfare of other pupils and a strong fear or anxiety of losing caste if one fails to maintain his expected position in the class grading scheme.

Democracy vs. authoritarianism.

5. In the whole matter of classroom atmosphere and practice, the most striking studies are the recent series carried on by Kurt Lewin and his associates at the University of Iowa.

As Lewin himself has summarized them (198, 316-319) these studies, carried on by Lippitt and White at the Iowa Child Welfare Station, were designed:

a) To discover how democratic and autocratic atmospheres respectively influence the stability of group structure.

b) To discover the outcome of strict order vs. spontaneous interest in intensive work vs. laissez-faire.

c) To discover what conditions produce group actions against scapegoats.
Lewin's studies are doubly important because they are intended to recognize that science has to be analytical yet keep wholes intact. Experience has also led him to believe that psychology will have to get hold of atmosphere or social climate in order to understand behavior. The results are summarized and commented upon as follows:

a) greatest quantitative difference: amount of hostility 50 times as high in autocratic as in democratic group

b) greater tension in autocratic group

c) autocratic group showed less stable group structure 30% of the time members worked alone vs. 16% in democratic groups: 56% of 4 groups (out of 5) in democratic vs. 12% in autocratic. Autocratic groups break down rather quickly.

d) autocratic group shows 102% more ascendent behavior than democratic

e) 47% more feeling of "we'ness" in democratic group
27% more feeling of "I'ness" in autocratic group

f) more cooperation, more praise and friendliness in democratic group

g) more objective, matter-of-fact attitude in democratic group, more give and take criticism

h) constructiveness higher in democratic group. (When experimenters left room demo. work went on with "very little change" compared to "fell down very quickly" in autocratic

i) feeling for group property and group goals "much better developed" in democratic group

j) autocratic group picked scapegoat (rather than autocratic leader to whom they were submissive)

Sometimes the behavior in the autocratic group is such that overtly everything seems to go along smoothly, and that the children even seem to like the situation. It was quite a revelation when the interviews with these children (which were conducted by a person not connected with the experiment) brought out a most intensive dislike of the autocrat. Not infrequently the dominant note in autocracy is not so much an atmosphere of hostility as one of primitivism, lack of initiative, and listlessness. (Shown by films)
The actual space of free movement in our situation of laissez-faire seems not to be greater but smaller than in democracy and insofar similar to that of autocracy.

The democratic style of life presupposes active participation on the part of every member. (And takes longer to establish than others.)

These experiments point anew to the great possibilities vested in education, and to the responsibility given to moulders of young lives which are so sensitive to the present social climate and are so dependent upon it.

In discussion of his results, Ronald Lippitt (201, 185) makes a particular point about leadership which fits nicely with Dewey's belief in a new conception of this term for democratic use. Lippitt says:

In the democratic atmosphere the step into a position of leadership was much less difficult, each member had a feeling of being somewhat in the region already and was thus willing to recognize superior abilities of a fellow member (Figure 37, democratic) in a particular situation. It meant no loss for the other members. On the contrary, because recognition was usually connected with work on a club project and "we-feeling" was strong, the gain of one member was to some extent a gain for all members. We have already noted that the potency of the status goal was much less in the democratic situation. (Figure 33)

There is also a third possible explanation of why a barrier to superior status by leadership methods existed in the authoritarian situation. The study of frustration by Barker and Dembo (2) has indicated clearly that the effect upon the person of high tension due to frustration of goal locomotion is often a differentiation of primitivation of the personal structure (Figure 38, p. 159).

Dewey (105, 174) on philosophic grounds, comments on the concept of cooperative planning, work and evaluation in the classroom as follows:

Democracy in this sense denotes, one may say, aristocracy carried to its limit. It is a claim that every human being as an individual may be the best for some particular purpose and hence be the most fitted to rule, to lead in that specific respect...For only the individual is ultimately distinctive; the rest is a matter of common qualities differing merely in degree.

All in all, it would appear that physical limitations (size of class, space, time, materials) play a considerable part in determining classroom
practice, but only as aids or hindrances to two far more important
determinants - the intention and skill of the teacher. Whether intention
is based on a faith in the developmental possibilities of all or not, is
the primary basis of classroom methods.

6. EVALUATION IN TERMS OF THE GROWTH OF ALL

A great change has arisen with the rise of a new generation of
evaluators* bent on seeking significant data on significant developments

*Ralph Tyler, Louis E. Raths, J. Wayne Wrightstone and others

in personality - the heretofore intangibles.

The emphasis is shifting from "the better and better measurement of
less and less" to a concern for such questions as these:

1. What does it take to do a good job? (Not what does the
teacher expect, or what does an examining board set up
in advance)

2. Are there ways of discovering progress toward, rather than
assuming static points of achievement?

3. To what extent is progress related to the individual
learner's own conceptions of values and goals?

4. How can behavior - the most objective sign of development -
be employed in evaluation?

5. How can increasing self-evaluation be encouraged?

The excellent discussions of aim and methodology already in print*

*For example: Raths (267) (267, 268, 269)

eliminate the need to expound this subject here. Suffice it to say, that
the trend of new evaluation takes cognizance of the limitations of
applying "norms" derived from groups to the diagnosis of individual cases; it recognizes the indictments of Ernest R. Groves (150, 194-195), the sociologist:

Power of good adjustment must come out of the experience of self-directed thinking; and it is this that the school system is so reluctant to permit. This has been well expressed by Paton: "The startling degree of uniformity and mediocrity attained, particularly in the college, is evidence of the deadening influences of grades and tests. So far American educators have shown very little regard for cultivating the influences which tend to strengthen original thinking and the formation of independent judgments upon intellectual subject."

All of the trends mentioned, are in keeping with the democratic principle of encouraging human development, rather than the aristocratic principle of sifting out what are assumed to be the "born bright ones and the born dumbbells."

7. THE TEACHER AND THE ADMINISTRATOR OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

--dim men and disappointed women performed vague rites with documents.

- Eliot Paul

The above description has most unkindly been applied to the personnel of our school system by taxpayers who are themselves responsible for whatever truth there is in it.

But a survey of the present educational scene, shows that in spite of pay which limits living, in spite of traditions which limit enterprising minds; the business of education is carried on by persons of ability and high integrity, and is more and more attracting the young people who are eagerly and hopefully anxious to contribute to the society some achievements of democratic idealism.
Within the schools themselves, what democracy prevails?

In 1903, John Dewey (105, 64) could write:

If there is a single public school system in the United States where there is official and constitutional provision made for submitting questions of methods of discipline and teaching, and the questions of the curriculum, text-books, etc., to the discussion and decision of those actually engaged in the work of teaching, that fact has escaped my notice. Indeed, the opposite situation is so common that it seems, as a rule, to be absolutely taken for granted as the normal and final condition of affairs.

The dictation, in theory at least, of the subject-matter to be taught, to the teacher who is to engage in the actual work of instruction, and frequently, under the name of close supervision, the attempt to determine the methods which are to be used in teaching, mean nothing more or less than the deliberate restriction of intelligence, the imprisoning of the spirit.

Assuredly it would be admitted that teachers capable of guiding pupils well, must themselves be richly-living persons, familiar with the real conditions and the real problems of modern life; able to take part in the educational tasks required by democracy and listed by Charles Beard as the following:

To make the school a working example of the democratic process.

To be intelligently concerned about individual human beings.

To foster broad experience.

To value and re-value experience wisely.

To employ sound methods of defining, surveying and planning the improvement of our social institutions.

To what extent a teacher's oath is helpful in selecting able users of scientific inquiry and the arts of human relationship may be a moot point. In any case, the desirability of free minds conducting free
inquiries is not fully established in all American communities who profess democracy. Such places have not yet admitted the ideals of John Dewey and others who have pioneered for the progressive development of human institutions.*

* We naturally associate democracy, to be sure, with freedom of action, but freedom of action without freed capacity of thought behind it is only chaos.

In education meet the three most powerful motives of human activity...Cohesion of these three motives - of affection, of social growth, and of scientific inquiry - must prove as nearly irresistible as anything human when they are once united. And, above all else, recognition of the spiritual basis of democracy, the efficacy and responsibility of freed intelligence, is necessary to secure this union.


We are accustomed to the threat of enemies from without, but the enemies within - within each of us even - to the noble dream of the maximum development of all, are not so easily recognized and combatted.

We are scornful or angry when we read the Prussian law of 1833 requiring "racial purity" of teachers (344, 464).

...according to the Prussian law promulgated on August 5, 1933, all cadet teachers must take the following oath:

I hereby declare: After careful investigation, I am not aware of any circumstances which might justify the supposition that I am descended from non-Aryan parents or grandparents. At least none of my parents or grandparents ever belonged to the Jewish religion. I am fully aware that I lay myself open to prosecution and possible dismissal from my position if this declaration is not the absolute truth. (Quoted by Mayer, 1937. There are also regulations of somewhat like character for the wives of teachers.)
Are we so disturbed by the American Requirements of "purity?"

The following rules laid down by a school board in a small isolated community may strike the reader as foolish, but they represent only an extreme of the standpoint demanded in hundreds of American localities (344, 465, 466):

I promise to take a vital interest in all phases of Sunday-school work, donating of my time, service, and money without stint for the uplift and benefit of the community.

I promise to abstain from all dancing, immodest dressing, and any other conduct unbecoming a teacher and a lady.

I promise not to go out with any young men except insofar as it may be necessary to stimulate Sunday-school work.

I promise not to fall in love, to become engaged or secretly married.

I promise not to encourage or tolerate the least familiarity on the part of any of my boy pupils.

I promise to sleep at least eight hours a night, to eat carefully, and to take every precaution to keep in the best of health and spirits, in order that I may be better able to render efficient service to my pupils.

I promise to remember that I owe a duty to the townspeople who are paying me my wages, that I owe respect to the school board and the superintendent that hired me, and that I shall consider myself at all times the willing servant of the school board and the townspeople.

On this point, Dewey (105, 68-69) has well said:

The undemocratic suppression of the individuality of the teacher goes naturally with the improper restriction of the intelligence of the mind of the child. The mind, to be sure, is that of a child, and yet, after all, it is mind. To subject mind to an outside and ready-made material is a denial of the ideal of democracy which roots itself ultimately in the principle of moral, self-directing individuality. Misunderstanding regarding the nature of the freedom that is demanded for the child is so common that it may be necessary to emphasize the fact that it is primarily intellectual freedom, free play of mental attitude, and operation which are sought—reform of education in the direction of greater play for the individuality of the child means the securing of conditions which will give outlet, and hence direction, to a growing intelligence.
In 1942, the case cannot be stated so sweepingly. Throughout many schools and school systems a ferment, and better - practical techniques of the cooperative planning and work are developing.

*See Reports of the Eight-Year Study (2, 136) forthcoming reports of The Michigan Cooperative Schools Study and the College Study of the Mid-West; also Group Planning and Action in Teacher Education in the 21st Yearbook of the American Association of the Teachers Colleges, 1942.

Since this subject has been discussed exhaustively in a recent publication* it may be fair to rest the matter with a brief statement and summary.


There are many reasons for accepting the old idea that "good teacher, good education" still holds. It is not true, however, that a good teacher is occasionally born and a school must depend on luck to get her. Good teaching is dependent on eagerness, on a clear conception of purpose, and the learning and refinement of techniques for achieving it. Teachers and administrators need help from each other, from students and from parents to learn and refine techniques. Thus from the standpoint of functional utility as well as the democratic ideal, the idea of cooperative planning, work and evaluation is sustained.

To indicate that this is no idle statement of one person's wishful imagination, it is fitting to close with a summary of C. A. Weber's study
of the matter through the opinion of several hundred teachers in 247
North Central Secondary Schools.*

ments assigned the highest value by principals and teachers, by a jury
of over 400 teachers in 40 schools, by correlations with learning records
and educational experimentation, etc. In the author's files. A summary
is given in the Appendix to Section IV.

Mr. Weber's report stresses as most valuable:

1) The improvement of instruction by surveys, visits, meetings and
projects which are democratically planned and cooperatively
carried out.

2) The improvement of staff relations by open discussions of all
matters of school policy, cooperatively planned recreation,
provision for good living conditions and the handling of
budget, hiring and promotion by teacher representatives.

3) The improvement of community relations by participation of
parents, pupils and the public in school planning and by
providing time for teachers to work with community members
on school evaluations and other problems.

Least valuable techniques for improvement were the exercise of author-
itarian power by the principal, omission of proper planning for school
meetings and salary schedules based on study, degrees or years of experi-
ence "without regard to evidence of growth."

The chief obstacles to improvement were five in number:

1) Excessive teacher load

2) Poor professional attitude on the part of some teachers

3) Lack of adequate planning

4) Domination by the administrator

5) Use of supervisory techniques which stem from the superior
officer concept of school administration.
Summary

In this section it was shown that the democratic ideal of the maximum growth of the capacities of all was in harmony with the essential fact of life - that all living things strive for increasing adequacy and experience.

To the questions as to whether the ideal is possible of achievement, and whether it is now being practiced, the answers were given that it is apparently both practicable and desirable. Some attention was paid to the American tradition stemming from the founding fathers, to show that the ideals of freedom and equal opportunity are basic to that tradition. This controverts the claims of those who have argued in recent years that our nation was never intended to be a democracy as the term is here defined, but was established as a republic. Exponents of this claim seem to have in mind the desirability of a republic in which property rights and established power groups take precedence over humbler and poorer citizens.

It was evidenced that through the limited concept of Greek democracy, the political and industrial revolutions of the 18th Century down to the recent revolution in Russia and the present world situation, there has been constant pressure and change brought about by the struggles of the common man for opportunity to grow.

It was emphasized that democracy is possible in proportion to the effectiveness of its instruments. These instruments are set up to serve the purposes of the society. To the extent that there is common participation in determining that purpose, and in operating the institutions, the purpose will be effective.

At present, as the record shows, democracy is practiced only partially. The idea is not yet clear. It is only partially accepted. It is still
fumbling in the process of finding and using its instruments.

It is shown that the greatest disagreements occur in the application of the ideal, and in the new concepts of its meanings which grow from differing applications and their interpretation. The shoe pinches when it is on the foot, rather than when it is in the store window. This fact leads back once more to a consideration of the meaning of growth, and the evidence as to how it may best be promoted. It shows that the study of individuals and of societies can offer much aid to planners for the maximum growth of all.

It was shown that in proportion as there is an approach to universal participation, judgments of value will be influenced by the general good, rather than by special privilege for a few. The difficulties in securing universal participation are tremendous. Political forms for it have already been established, and were effective in the days before the present great spread of population, and before our business civilization brought into being financial and industrial oligarchies.

The vested interests of groups, and the vested habits of each of us constitute further obstacles to the development of new and more adequate forms of participation.

All in all, however, it would appear from the evidence that democracy is a possible form of society. It may even develop a type of social unity within which great variation is possible. With the gigantic problem of realizing the maximum development of all, the school can be an effective means of progress.

In considering the school as an aid to the development of all, this section added two new considerations to those which had been brought out previously. (Both of these, however, proceed from earlier evidence.) The
first of these was to point out that in the arguments over vocational or specialized education, the democratic ideal gives clear direction toward a very much more general development than a caste society would call for. Whatever his vocational specialization, the citizen of a democracy participates in deciding all questions of general policy. He needs, therefore, experiences of many kinds, and knowledge of many materials and people. This seems to call for vocational education based upon and including the application of intelligence to general problems.

The second special emphasis made, was that the administrative and teaching staffs of the democratic school must exhibit the democratic ideal at work in their own work before they can expect it to appear among their pupils.

Other points emphasized were the following: a) that the constant concern of the democratic school for equal opportunity (to grow) for all involves (b) curriculum and materials which provide wide and creative experience, problems which are real and important to the pupils, experience in the creation of social meanings through cooperative planning and work; c) constant opportunity for individual choice and the experience of making it through the application of an agreed social ideal; d) classroom methods which are not mechanical, mass-production systems, or the forcible feeding of authoritarianism; 3) evaluation which will be in terms of total growth instead of a static and atomistic concept. This means constantly increasing self-evaluation and evaluation based on behavior rather than verbal supposition.
The outlook for American education has been clouded by the present world conflict. Yet the conflict itself, and the prospect of a post-war world in which the full resources of our knowledge can be put to the service of the democratic ideal is a thrilling one.

The growth of the individual in the democratic society is not an idle dream. It expresses a workable concept of education, and way of life for which millions of human beings are willing to die.

The purpose of the present work as a whole is partly to aid in establishing belief in this concept. Much more, however, it is to establish the presence of available resources for the guidance of educational planning and evaluation.

In that effort, the survey of literature dealing with democracy and education has been epitomized in the lists of generalizations which conclude this section. In the succeeding section on Society and Natural Environment, a more extensive search is made for evidence and opinion regarding the relation of cultural values to forms of social control and the growth of the individual.
CHAPTER III

GENERALIZATIONS

The Ideal

1. The democratic ideal is to provide maximum opportunity for all to grow; each to have equality, freedom, opportunity suitable to his growth; each to share in the social controls necessary to provide these ends.

The Democratic Ideal and Faith in It

A Useful Ideal

The ideal of democracy is to provide maximum opportunity for all to grow — each according to his particular interest and ability, so long as they do not interfere with the growth of others.

Growth for ALL implies restraint of the few when they interfere with the many. It also implies encouragement of individual differences which may be socially useful and are not socially dangerous.

The definition of "useful" "good" and other terms used to describe the characteristics of democratic living is to be found in the decisions of the people as a whole not in the mind of a ruler, a ruling class, the hundred great books, or any other authority set above the people themselves. From the statements already made it is clear that freedom and participation, with the responsibility which they imply, are characteristic of the democratic way of life.

2. Growth — the aim of democracy — is taken to mean continuous development; to apply to the physical, mental and emotional aspects of human development; to include the development of adjustments to and control of environment.

3. The democratic ideal is or can be a real factor in shaping events.
It is a unique purpose. It is growing, not fixed. It requires faith and conviction for its successful operation but it is continuously open to change on the evidence of science and all human experience.

**Ideals are Real**

Aspirations influence the course of events "thoughts, ideals, purposes, are among the determining factors" - says Jennings, the biologist. The democratic ideal then is a real factor in shaping events.

**Basic Faith.**

A people will not accept and will not create the conditions necessary for democracy unless they have faith that all human beings can and are worthy to engage in continuous development.

**The Growth of All a Unique Purpose.**

Democracy conceives of the development of man as an end in itself. The dictator or the puritan conceives of the development of man as a means to something else - a dream of a world state or of a future world.

**The Idea Is Itself Growing, Not Fixed.**

Democracy is not a fixed or an absolute concept. It is an ideal which we as a people are constantly in the process of developing. Its meanings are relative to each new situation. The main direction remains quite stable and quite simple (the growth of all) but the manifold meaning of this aim comes out of experience.

To progress toward a relative goal of this sort is both more realistic and more difficult than to progress toward a fixed goal.

In order to find the best way of making progress, experiment is necessary. One reason democracy is difficult is that so many people must be convinced of the value of experiment. It would be much simpler simply to do the bidding of a master.

The records show that in all societies which have adopted the bidding of a master, even over long periods of time, the will to growth of a great number of the people has in the end brought about changes toward greater freedom and more general participation.

**Constitution of Principles Not Unchanging.**

Thomas Jefferson who wrote it, and the other signers of the
Declaration of Independence foresaw the need to change our institutions as conditions changed.

It was principles which these men were concerned with rather than fixed "rules of the game."

They believed in the following principles: (1) the authority of the common good; (2) participation by all concerned in the making of policy; (3) equal opportunity for all men to develop their abilities.

Conflicts Forge Principles

The diversities among our people are fruitful. The fluid and changing nature of many aspects of our society has been healthful to experiment. However, both of these factors cause conflicts. These conflicts are not bad, but every instance of avoiding the issue raised by any such conflict is bad. In a democracy, where every man makes decisions for himself, it is essential that his principles be clear to him and to others.

Freedom of All.

The democratic ideal is not narrowly nationalistic. It has to do with the freedom of all men everywhere.

Harmony With the Nature of Life.

Since all life is a continuous process of growth, the democratic ideal as stated above is in complete harmony with the nature of life.

Instrumentation of the Ideal

1. Without instruments a purpose is meaningless.

Means for Putting the Ideal into Operation.

The ideal of democracy is meaningless without the means of putting it into operation. The chief means of democracy are to be found in its institutions. It is possible to create institutions which will encourage universal growth.

2. The democratic purpose needs political, industrial and educational instruments.

Political Means Only One Part

It has become more and more apparent that democratic political institutions are only a first step. The whole
way of life needs to be democratic in order to achieve progress toward the great purpose stated in No. 1.

We need economic democracy, family democracy, and school democracy.

Our Tradition

1. American democracy has paid most attention to political means of promoting human growth. It has strongly supported the increase of education.

Founding Fathers and Political Democracy.

The Founding Fathers were concerned chiefly with political democracy because in their time the lack of it was the outstanding obstacle to the improvement of human living for all citizens of our nation.

Choice and Education.

The Founding Fathers believed in education and other institutions which would develop the ability of our people to make intelligent choices.

The Presidents of the United States.

From the statements made by the thirty-two presidents of the United States the following three are repeated most frequently, in reference to the democracy and training for it: (1) Our government depends for its direction and operation on choices made by the citizens; (2) choice, or judgment, depends on knowledge and trained intelligence; (3) therefore, there must be equalization of opportunity to learn through the support offered by public funds. This support cannot be left to chance.

The Present

1. American democracy needs flexible and creative systems of social organization. Since America is an industrial nation it needs to democratize industrial management. It needs also to increase democratic participation in politics and education.
The Present Situation.

Recent Conditions Affect Traditional Attitudes - Redefinitions.

Democracy is a flexible and creative system of social organization. Ours has become an industrial nation. Our democracy must be concerned then with the effect on human beings, of industrial conditions.

This implies not only concern with equal opportunities for employment and healthful conditions of work in the physical sense. It involves concern for development of industrial workers through varied experience and increasing participation in planning on the job. It also involves concern for the opportunity to develop abilities through creative experience outside of working hours.

These things are summarized by President Roosevelt's National Resources Planning Board as: The right to work; the right to fair pay; the right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care; the right to security from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident; the right to be free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, and arbitrary public authority; the right to freedom in speech and thought; equality before the law - in fact as well as in theory; the right to education and recreation; in short, the right to personal growth and happiness through participation in an advancing civilization.

These are rights and opportunities which all of us have to share in creating.

2. There is considerable fixity in economic classes in the United States.

Classes and Special Interests.

In addition to fluidity of the American social system there is considerable fixity. A good case has been made for the assertion that economic classes have become increasingly rigid and important in limiting opportunities.

The worst feature of classes in a democracy is the limitation they place on the exchange of ideas.

In addition to equalizing opportunities for work we have powerful instruments to use for the exchange of ideas in the newspaper, the radio and the motion picture. For the first time in the world's history it is possible to tell all the people what is happening at the very time that it happens. Our mighty instruments of communication can be used to increase freedom and participation. They can also be used to increase domination by special interests.
3. There are great cultural resources and creative contributions available in our nation through the use of democratic procedures.

**Resources and Avenues.**

The anthropologist observes that cultural riches are the products of contributions from every member of a society. The ideal of democracy lays special stress on the desirability and encouragement of these contributions.

In the United States of America there are many sources and avenues for these contributions. Among them are: a common speech; diverse nationalities and their special contributions; a long period of experiment in self government; the established guarantee of freedom; a widespread system of free education; a dissatisfaction with present conditions and a will to improve them.

**Social Control**

1. Democracy implies not a lack of social control, but a special kind for a special purpose. The purpose is the growth of all. The kind is a control through the participation of all.

**Planning Aids Progress.**

There is reason to believe that insofar as the will to growth is conscious and is consciously planned for, put into action, and evaluated, development toward it is more rapid and more successful than when it operates unconsciously.

The word toward is important. Much discouragement results from the erroneous belief that success means one hundred percent achievement.

**Man is a Planner.**

Man is a planning animal. Of all the species he is able to exercise the most conscious direction of his life and control over the environment.

**Restraints for Freedom.**

Without the feeling of freedom there is no freedom. The feeling of freedom is necessary to the highest development of man's creative powers. Freedom, or a system of liberties, is also a system of restraints or controls. In a democracy this means the restraint of whatever is most limiting to development of the greatest number.
Examples of such control are: the interstate commerce regulations; the federal banking act; the Wagner Act; and price control.

It is the opinion of the most recent and thorough-going studies that large scale economic activity requires cooperation rather than the old style competition.

Democracy and Education.

1. Education may be a most powerful instrument in achieving the maximum growth of all.

Education.

In education the democratic ideal means exactly the same as stated above; an attempt to assist all human beings to develop to the maximum, of their capacities. Education may be a most powerful instrument for achieving this purpose. It requires faith, faith in the common man and faith in the possibility of planning institutions which will increasingly aid development.

2. It requires democratic participation in planning, scientific study and artistic treatment of individuals and their relationships; well-rounded teachers; leaders who help rather than boss; continuous study and reorganizations of schools; creative learning; a curriculum which uses real problems to test and develop intelligent solutions of them.

Uniquely Democratic

The unique character of democratic education is that it stresses the development of independent minds, creativeness, critical inquiries and participation.

Importance of School in Solving Society.

To whatever extent the school is able to influence the development of its students it is able to influence the development of our country.

Who Must Plan?

Democracy in the school (at its best) involves participation in planning by administrators, teachers, students and parents together. The effort here, as in the society as a whole, is to take all factors and all contributions into account.
Requires Study of Personality and Personal Relations

Since its aim is to secure continuous development democratic educators must continuously study their students. They must know the nature of the individual and the classroom group as psychological units. The greater their knowledge the more fully they can create conditions and provide materials which will foster maximum development.

The Teacher.

In order to encourage well-rounded and intelligent participation of students in the life around them, the teacher must be a well-rounded participant.

Leadership.

Democratic leadership consists in enabling members of a group to do things which they could not do without the leaders, and which they have intelligently agreed should be done.

Continuous Study and Re-organization.

To make the school a working example of the democratic process the techniques of science must be artistically employed in defining, surveying, and planning for the improvement of the school as an institution which is to foster growth.

Change - Creativeness vs. Competition.

The educational ideal and the methods employed for progress toward it is a continuing developing and changing one like that of democracy as a whole. Specific goals and specific techniques are essential. But they in turn become means toward a larger end. It is unfortunate in its results when the school, in any of its functions, becomes competitive rather than creative.

Centers of Learning, Curriculum Content

Crucial life problems - personal and social - provide the most effective centers of learning. To learn to make wise choices in the face of difficulties is the essence of growth, democracy and education. Wise choices depend upon information and experiment for a purpose.

Democratic Classrooms Are Effective

A democratic classroom atmosphere, where there is a sense of freedom, responsibility and opportunity to participate is found to be more effective in promoting learning than an authoritarian or laissez-faire classroom situation.
Evaluation

Democratic evaluation of results has to do with (a) the extent to which a clearly defined purpose having social value has been reached; and (b) the extent to which the individual has grown through his experience.
APPENDIX TO SECTION I

In a discussion of the democratic ideal and education, it is in order to give a comparative view of modern educators and social thinkers on this subject. Their similarities and differences introduce the story well, and the statements are offered stripped to the bare bones of major points of emphasis. The democratic ideal is the following things, according to:

The Administrators

Faith in the intelligence of the common man

Regard for the dignity and worth of the individual

Solution of social problems through cooperative proposal and discussion

Reliance on free intelligence with all aspects of living constantly open to question, consideration and decision.

*Aikin, W.M., and group of administrators at Denver Summer Workshop. Mimeographed pamphlet in author's files.

The Historian

It grows with the growth of humanity.

Education not only preserves and teaches history; it makes history...

- dissemination of knowledge
- liberation of minds
- development of skills
- promotion of free inquiries
- encouragement of creative spirit
- establishment of wholesome attitudes toward order and change*

The School Consultant

Development of security through ideas, not things

Development of a creative pattern for living

Development based on interdependence - only when we are all well off - is any one well off

Development of a self-critical, self-improving society*

* A typed list in the author's files.

Another School Consultant

Creativeness

Effective social participation

Skill in reflective thinking

Readiness to act on tentative judgments

Intelligent self-direction

Development of individual as a goal vs. individualistic action*

By A. N. Zechial, a typed list in the author's files.

An Early-Text-book Writer

Democracy requires a unique form of education

Noah Webster: The absurdity of copying the manners and adapting the institutions of monarchies" this where "in a Republican government the whole power of education is required."

(Note change from speaking of republicanism to speaking of democracy when idea shifted from political to whole of life concept)

Professors of Education

...a social order in which every one may be a capitalist, and in which prosperity may continue forever.

Technological development releases youth from productive
labor to attend school and the aged for retirement


"Democracy as an ideal for humanity seems a kind of earthly projection of the Kingdom of Heaven."

Understanding the mind of God the aim


"The most significant stages of social evolution seem to be in the future and may be consciously engineered by man."

Derive all practice from science and its methods

*Judd, Charles H. by Woelfel in Molders of the American Mind. Ibid., p. 82.

Professors of Education

Variety of dynamic faiths

Collective social action (from private motives)

Infinite scope of cooperations and divisions of labor

Decay of small regional community

Extensions and simplifications of age-old tendencies

*Snedden, David, by N. Woelfel in Molders of the American Mind, p. 88

Historian of Education

Depends for salvation on the public school system

"The problem is essentially that of getting the masses of the population to see and to understand what the intellectual classes know."
The well-fare of the state is paramount

Business model of efficiency*

*Cubberley, Ellwood P. by N. Woelfel, op. cit., p. 65

Educational Psychologist

"Human nature is not realized in the fullest sense unless learning is going on. Never in history has there been such a challenge to the resources of human learning capacity as today. Because America is committed to democracy individual self-realization must be attained through such adjustment within the fields of physical work, economic affairs, social and civic life as will yield the utmost good to society as a whole. Thus education becomes the central strategy of the modern age, for it is only an informed public which can direct changes in its own interest."

Schooling must extend throughout life and be as fruitfully complete at various age levels as is consistent with the adult obligations of each individual to lead a serviceable career.

"The phrase 'education is life' Thorndike reports as validated in large measure by results obtained through educating children in accordance with rather than in opposition to their wants. In much of the current emphasis upon growth by means of continuous reorganization of experience, he misses, however, any clear pronouncement upon the importance of considering the various directions which growth may take." No value to mere experience as such.*

*Thorndike, Edward L., by N. Woelfel, op. cit., p. 95.
"education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform.

"all reforms which rest simply upon the enactment of law, or the threatening of certain penalties, or upon changes in mechanical or outward arrangements, are transitory and futile. (No growth compliance)

"education is a regulation of the process of coming to share in social consciousness; and that adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction."

"with the growth of psychological service, giving added insight into individual structure and laws of growth; and with growth of social science, adding to our knowledge of the right organization of individuals, all scientific resources can be utilized for the purposes of education."


Mr. Weber's report stresses such techniques as the following:

"The following techniques were reported to be the most promising techniques by the teachers and principals of the 247 selected North Central Secondary Schools. The schools selected represent a cross section of the North Central Association Secondary School membership, both as to size and type of school. These techniques are presented as the most promising because they met the following requirements:

1. They were assigned the highest index of probable value by the principals and teachers who have used them.

2. A jury of over four hundred teachers in forty schools selected them as the most promising."
3. They were considered most valuable when the criteria for evaluation assembled by the investigator were applied to them.

4. Correlations between their use and the obstacles to growth in service were lowest when they were used.

5. Correlations between their use and poor professional attitude as an obstacle were lowest when they were used.

6. Correlations between study of how children learn, educational research, educational literature, experimentation in education, curriculum development, guidance, and social and economic problems were highest when these techniques were used.

**Promising Techniques in Connection with Improving Instruction:**

1. Visiting teachers in one's own school according to a plan devised by teachers themselves.

2. Visiting teachers in other schools according to plans devised by the staff.

3. Holding departmental meetings to study curriculum development.

4. Experimenting with new classroom procedures according to plans devised by the staff.

5. Making surveys of pupil problems, interests, and needs.

6. Surveying graduates for facts needed in curriculum development.

11. Electing committees to evaluate practices, experiments, etc.

12. Having teachers participate in the selection of instructional material.

15. Having teachers devise criteria for the evaluation of teaching.

16. Organizing teachers into committees to carry out a program of cooperative research in summer school.

20. Having two or more teachers cooperatively teach one class, working and planning together.

27. Organizing the staff to study the socio-economic background of every pupil.

37. Electing committees to keep staff informed of current experiments in progress in classroom procedures, curriculum, etc.
Promising Techniques in Connection with Improving Staff Relations:

1. Having teachers preside at general meetings of the staff.
2. Keeping accurate minutes of general staff meetings.
3. Making minutes of staff meetings available to teachers.
4. Electing committees to plan staff meetings.
5. Holding staff meetings on school time by making provisions for them in the program.
6. Having open discussion following panel or committee discussions.
7. Providing for sabbatical leave to study, travel, or recover health.
8. Providing a cooperative medical, hospital, and health service for teachers.
9. Having teachers cooperatively plan recreational and social activities for teachers.
10. Having teachers develop a cooperative program for securing improved living conditions for teachers.
11. Giving teachers a definite part in the selection of new staff members.
12. Having teachers plan and execute procedures for the orientation of new teachers.
13. Electing rather than having the principal appoint committees.
15. Electing a committee of teachers to work with the administrator in planning the school budget.
16. Having teachers cooperatively develop a statement of their own philosophy.
17. Having teachers devise a plan for granting salary increases based upon evidence of growth.

Techniques in Connection with Improving Community Relations:

1. Making time and place of general staff meetings known to parents, pupils, and the general public.
2. Inviting parents, pupils, and the general public to attend staff meetings.
3. Issuing press bulletins, mimeographed bulletins, etc., to inform the public of staff meetings.

4. Holding panel discussions in which teachers, pupils, and parents participate.

12. Organizing a community coordinating council on which teachers elected by the staff serve.

16. Electing committees of teachers to work with parents, board members, and pupils in evaluation of the school.

19. Releasing teachers from school duties to take part in programs of local organizations.

The Techniques of Least Promise:

The list of techniques which follows, although more frequently used than those in the list of promising techniques, represents the techniques of doubtful value as determined by:

1. The principals of the 247 selected schools.

2. Teachers in 40 selected who acted as a jury.

3. Teachers who filled out the questionnaire.

4. Previous studies of teacher attitudes toward in-service education.

5. The criteria assumed by the sub-committee for evaluation of techniques.

6. Correlations with obstacles to growth, poor teacher attitudes, study of how children learn, study of educational literature, study of guidance, amount of activity in the area of curriculum development, and reported activity in the field of guidance, educational research, and educational experimentation.

Techniques Considered Least Valuable

1. Having the principal preside over teacher's meetings

2. Having the principal plan faculty meetings.

3. Holding staff meetings without adequate planning.

4. Holding meetings after school when teachers are tired.
13. Basing salary increases on summer study without concern for evidence of growth.


21. Issuing bibliographies to teachers.

23. Having the principal issue orders to teachers when teachers could work out their own procedures.

24. Principal becomes overly concerned with technical rules and regulations regarding teachers.

Chief Obstacles Reported:

1. Excessive teacher load

2. Poor professional attitude on part of some teachers

3. Lack of adequate planning

4. Domination by the administrator

5. Use of supervisory techniques which stem from the superior-officer concept of school administration*

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*A duplicator report in the author's files, taken from a study made for the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges in 1941-42.
SECTION II

SOCIETY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT
CHAPTER IV
SOCIAL CONTROL

Introductory

In the previous section the democratic purpose was stated as the maximum growth of all human beings.

In the present section the inquiry is directed to a subordinate proposition, namely: Social control for the maximum growth of all is a possible, a workable aim, so far as evidence and opinion from many fields of social study can show.

It is intended to present the question of social control in a variety of contexts and from a variety of viewpoints. At the conclusion of the Section the "Summary" will suggest the relevance of the material to the democratic criteria and of both, to the process of democratic education.

It will be seen that the discussions of social scientists and their reports of various data from the field, illustrate two things, in the main. First, that the same conflicts and difficulties as were indicated in Section I are operative. These center on a belief in determinism of authoritarianism as opposed to a concept of the possibilities of universal growth, made socially effective by continuous and intelligent planning to achieve it.

It is possible to go so far as to say that while the modern social psychologists are strongly in favor of the latter view and give a good deal of evidence for it, the anthropologists and historical analysts are sharply divided and almost seem to offer more opinion than evidence.

- 112 -
In exploring data for the first part of this section, Chapter IV, the evidence was not at all easy to locate or to classify readily, due to the difficulties described above. However, as presented here it seems to show that while heredity and environment are only partially subject to human control (with present knowledge), they are far more susceptible to change in the direction of a social purpose (such as the democratic one) than man has yet realized in his overtures to intelligent use of the possibilities for growth.

The chief obstacle to a more universal social control in the interests of maximum growth for all may be bluntly stated. It is the institutions and traditions which favor the few who whole-heartedly seek to win special privileges for themselves at the expense of others.

In the human story, it is evident that men have always sought fuller lives, richer development for themselves. The very source of human society, in a large sense, is the fact that in grappling with the environmental forces which may promote or destroy life, men have found themselves more powerful as they have united their minds and their efforts.

Yet once a measure of satisfaction and security is won, they seem quite generally to forget that their cause is a common one. In their eagerness to make further gains, one man seeks the wife or ox of another. Thus a competition with each other replaces a cooperative effort to secure a better life for each other. Trade and barter, begun for the sake of mutual benefit, become an attempt of one to get more value than he gives. Organization for the sake of a common end becomes a struggle for supremacy, first in dominating the organization, later in using it for selfish ends. Thus, modern industrial and commercial competition based on the motive of private profit rather than public good is a chief
obstacle to many kinds of social planning for the development of all.

Despite the weight of the competitive customs and the fears of change, there is no evidence that these are inevitable customs. So far as we know, they are rather the result of a lack of social purpose such as the democratic one, a lack of broad-scale planning, a lack of truly democratic education at home, at school, at work, in political affairs than of the failure of such purpose, planning and education.

In other words, the fact that the industrial revolution and the growth of the system of private profit have come without a general facing of the implications of education, perhaps, is not/of democratic purpose. This signifies a failure in institutional spread and application of the idea rather than of the idea itself.

The democratic ideal is still revolutionary - in the fields of international relations, of industry and commerce, in the techniques of education. It is yet to be judged by its results, since it has been tried only partially.

The present chapter is an exploratory discussion of the possibilities of social control. Thus it relates the general question of "what factors affect the workings of a social purpose?" to the question of whether or not the democratic purpose can be made to work.

MAJOR PROBLEMS AND CONSIDERATIONS

TO WHAT EXTENT CAN SOCIAL CONTROL BE PLANNED?

In the presence of many factors which do not operate for the maximum growth of all, the question which the student of human growth has to ask of the social sciences is this:

To what extent is development the result of cultural and other envir-
ontamental forces which are beyond human control?

In all the discussions of heredity and environment, of evolution, of competition and cooperation, of values, this question of the limits of possible growth is the basic concern. Among students of society there has been a steady trend toward affirming the possibility of planned control for much more universal development than has been achieved. For example, heredity is recognized as contributing certain structures of the organism, but their development and use are responses to environment. The social scientists give evidence that the response may be influenced and the environment controlled in many ways and degrees by human design.

Environment is recognized as a universe in which there are physical conditions not created by man, but it is seen that man alters them. Evolution is granted to be a continuous process, but its characteristics are now viewed as the result of many forces of which the purposes of man form a part. Competition, the survival of the fittest, is an admitted principle of economic organization in many groups, but it has been proved to be only one form of the many which are employed by human societies. The power of cultures, of values, ideas, institutions and inventions is recognized, but no longer as an inevitable accretion; rather as the result of past choices. As choices are made, new principles can be applied. Choice itself is no longer regarded as a predetermined action, but as an act which is guided by the values of the chooser. Values are not taken to be absolute and inherent, but as products of human beings created and changed through life experience.

Since, then, change is inevitable, but the direction of change and the manner of bringing it about are subject to a great degree of human control, the process of education assumes a dominant importance. Attempts
to meet social problems by appeals to superstition, or reliance on muddling through, are becoming suspect, here and there. It is possible that people may be ready for information on how to use more realistic approaches to planning and action, based on the best available knowledge and opinion. Long ago, Lester Ward saw this possibility and urged that legislative bodies be composed of expert scholars who would develop "attractive" legislation to promote progress. Their first job, he said, would be to recognize that progress would depend on the degree and universality of intelligence. They must therefore devise equal and adequate education for all.

The Field for Social Planning in the Interest of Maximum Growth For All:

The physiologists, the psychologists and the anthropologists seem to agree that only a small part of the potential possibilities of the organism and the society have ever been developed. This means that the limits of growth are simply unknown, and are vast beyond our present ability to imagine. However the present state of ignorance is less than at any time in the past. The philosophers and the artists, the physical scientists, the social scientists, the biologists have supplied a wealth of data and expert opinion which only awaits synthesis and application to make great advances possible. Yet that synthesis and application have been slow in appearing, due to the general lack of realization of how close is the relation between human purpose and human destiny. There has been a general acceptance of the importance of environment, for instance, but little realization of the extent to which man-made attitudes and institutions affect the form and direction of development within a given environment.

To illustrate, food, clothing and shelter have long been considered
essentials to life.

It is common knowledge that food, clothing and shelter are different in different portions of the earth's surface. To a considerable extent these differences are due to climate, soil and other natural factors. Yet special forms and practices in connection with all of them are symbolic, ritualistic-traditional group-meanings.

For example, the eating of hippopotamus in Africa is due to the presence of that particular animal. So with seal among the Eskimo. Other foods are characteristic of Australia, China, England, France, Norway, the Southern share cropper's diet. Many of these foods have common elements, such as proteins and vitamins, necessary to all human beings everywhere. Thus, the amount of food, some aspects of its production and gathering are matters of longitude and latitude, while its purpose and utility - the need for nourishment is a factor present all over the earth.

But while the particular plants and animals used to satisfy hunger vary somewhat, the greatest variants are to be found in attitudes toward food. The Park Avenue lady considers eating a social affair and judges others by their use of table manners, tools and plates. The Eskimo grabs the guts out of the seal and stuffs himself. All a matter of hunger and need? Not entirely, perhaps. For while three aviators in a rubber boat will eat the raw materials of a fish and call it good, many Chinese and Japanese will insist on eating polished rice - despite vitamin deficiency - because it has social prestige - value, just as in the case of white bread among western peoples.

Again, the efficiency of food production is determined in part by climate, soil - longitude (rich earth, poor earth, water supply). In part it is determined by community methods (individual or collective; planned
or unplanned). In part it is determined by tools and other inventions (wooden stake vs. steel plow).

It would seem clear, then, that individual attitudes and socially created customs, play at least as much part as the natural environment itself in the course of human development.

In the matter of clothing, another essential of life, its function in the preservation of life is undoubtedly of great importance at extreme temperatures of either cold or heat. It involves materials available in the environment. So far, then, one could say clothing habits are determined by physical nature. But the cultural as well as the natural environment is highly important - in determining production methods, for example, hand weaving, machine weaving. And finally, the use of clothing as a mark of social caste, or for the ostentatious display of wealth which Thorstein Veblen has underlined, is an exceedingly important factor in all zones and areas, especially the temperate. Personal "taste" seems to operate within a rigid framework of custom, taboo and symbolization.

In the same way, shelter is in some part a direct function of natural conditions so far as materials and need of protection are concerned. Yet it is also a function of human choice and social precedent (grass hut or mud hut, tree or cave, house or apartment). And as Frank Lloyd Wright and others have shown so vigorously in this generation, the way materials are used, result in far-reaching influences on daily living.

With other essentials of human life and growth such as sex activities and recreation, the same story repeats itself. The initial or "given factors" are in part the human organisms, in part the surrounding natural environment, in part the social constructs which are created by the human organisms. These constructs - such as differing forms of courtship and
family living, or of education for living — are of widely varying degrees of efficiency so far as maintaining life and growth are concerned. But all forms are social products. Once more it seems reasonable to conclude that environmental conditions are a fundamental part of human development, but that a wide range of responses can be made to similar natural conditions. Thus once a subsistence level has been reached, customs, ideas, and traditions are of great importance in molding attitudes toward new means of enriching life.

If this is so, then it becomes highly significant to discover the purposes which operate to stimulate ideas and the selections which result in custom. With regard to education for example: shall it be planned or shall it just grow? Shall decisions be made on the basis of individual and family desire, or in the light of large group welfare, in determining what to teach, how to teach, and when to teach? Shall decisions be based on the thinking of the specialist or on general opinion and tradition?

These are weighty questions, for as each of us has seen in his own experience, once a procedure is established institutionally (in education, for example) it becomes a powerful enforcing agency which makes for compliance and resists efforts at change.

It is a question, of course, whether institutionalization necessarily must mean rigidity. It has been so. But perhaps a new concept of institutional procedures, one which emphasizes flexibility, can be developed, especially now, with the greater possibility of instantaneous communication, so that laws and legal interpretations, for example, can be announced by press and radio to millions.

With the acknowledgement of the transcendent importance of social institutions in limiting and channeling human growth, the dominating
purposes and values which lead to the creation of societal forms and their acceptance by generations of people, assume the greatest importance.

Some may argue that guiding values can be relatively stable, while the methods of organizing to achieve them are various. Thus it might seem that purpose can be fixed, if the methods of achieving it are flexible. Yet the modern evidence shows that a value itself is not so absolute as it was once thought to be. Any value is subject to change in meaning as experience with it changes. "Good" is a function of a situation and a purpose. It is defined by how things work. "Democracy" meant one thing to Plato, a different thing to John Dewey.

The control of environmental and cultural change will thus be effective insofar as values are recognized as hypotheses to be tested. They will serve to direct continuous experimentation in the application of social energy. Continuous study of results will lead to new definitions of value and to new experiment. Life may thus become an exciting adventure in the use of intelligence.

An analysis of points of greatest difficulty in our own time may indicate the immediate challenge to the social scientist who would promote the human adventure in the use of intelligence.

**Human Growth as a Social Purpose - Difficulties and Obstacles**

A historical view of the relation of societal forms to growth, shows some interesting views of guiding values. In the ideal utopias of the Hebrews, of Plato, of Sir Thomas More, and of Samuel Butler, one finds imagined arrangements, rules, commandments, which are for the purpose of controlling men according to principles designed to set them free. But all seem to be somewhat rigid and to envision a happiness of status quo rather
than the idea of a continually changing and developing world.

**Fulcrum of Conflict**

To borrow Douglas Spencer's (285) phrase, the "fulcrum of conflict" show quite readily the points in a society where there is most need for informed opinion. Certain ones of these which are most discussed in the literature are given below.

1. **Belief in Magic vs. Intelligence**

The first is the belief in magic rather than belief in the use of intelligence. Dewey (105) has laid bare the extent to which well-meaning people depend upon wishful thinking, or stern authoritarian measures, or elaborate school plants to bring about solutions to problems which require intelligent thinking. He concludes that far too often "We slur over the necessity of the cooperative action to meet objective conditions, and the fact that this cooperation is assured only by persistent and close study."

2. **Fixity vs. Change**

A second important area of maladjustment and conflict are the fixed ideas, habits and customs which get in the way of successful adaptation to new conditions.

2.1 **Individual and Group Stereotypes**

Perhaps the most common form of this malady is found in those who long for the good old days, who identify themselves with a past time which was more comfortable or more fortunate, and who have achieved sufficient fortune or comfort so that they would like to see the world stand still. Such people are insecure in the face of change. Ruling classes, whether economic, political or educational royalists furnish outstanding examples. But to a greater or less extent all members of society belong to their
group. There are for each of us certain habits and attitudes which are maintained past their usefulness for the sake of fancied security.

As a matter of fact, habitual action is so useful to man that its dangers are too frequently overlooked. The habit of accepting a stereotyped view such as the idea of innate mental differences between races is now causing world-wide damage. Blind obedience to custom can threaten life itself.

*Many Eskimo tribes prohibit the hunting of seals in summer. Although this means little under ordinary circumstances, there are times when it is highly injurious. It is said that if land game fails a tribe will often starve when there are plenty of seals in sight. Linton, p06, 90).

But we cannot change our habits by simply being willing to do so. (cf. Dewey 104, 90) In the beginning habits are established because they are thought helpful in meeting environmental conditions, as conditions change, there is a lag in changing habits so that they become less functional or actually interfere with function.* Thus habit may be changed by evolution by

*The Other War

Somewhere at Sea

This is written at eleven o'clock, and daylight comes at 4:45; daylight is a favorite hour for getting shot at. Personally, I would just as soon be shot at in my sleep, but duty tells me that I should be up to watch the performance.

I have just finished reading Nehru's autobiography. I should like to meet him. I don't think I would have the courage or the patience to fight the kind of war he has been fighting for so long. You can see all through his book that the British attitude in India is half-hearted and half-ashamed. The Nazis would be more ruthless and more efficient. They
would shoot him and get it over with. The British will neither shoot him nor release him. Their civilized side tells them they should release him. Their acquisitive and economic side tells them to hold on to the "brightest jewel in the crown." Long ago in China, I remember a group of British naval officers who marched around a table with scotch and soda singing, "Queen Victoria, Queen Victoria, Queen of Angle-land and Empress of India." After generations of that, we are asking a lot of poor human nature to expect them to say, "India is free."

I have been thinking a lot about the war, and however trite, unoriginal or overworked the phrase "war of ideas" sounds, I still believe it sums up the real feeling of seaman John Doe. The only trouble is that on the Axis side the idea is specific and clear. We say vaguely that we fight for "Freedom." That is true, but we have not said how we plan to secure that freedom. I would be much happier if I could formulate that program than I would be if I could lead the armies and navies to complete victory tomorrow.

We are too busy fighting the war. Just plain elementary, primitive survival. It comes first, but it is the easiest. The other is the hard thing, because it takes brains and vision and a different kind of fighting. It takes skill, but not brains, to shoot and kill your enemy. It takes brains to make a friend of him. If we lose this fight not only have we lost the promise of the future, but so have Mann, Silone, Kagawa and all the simple, kindly people of Germany, Italy and Japan. If you people at home can make sure that someone with no axe to grind will do the peacemaking, you may accomplish more than those of us out here dicing the bullets.

One thing is certain: I'll never be able to look an antique in the face again. I have seen so many antiques in the navy that the very word gets my dander up. I am against sin, antiques, tradition, and old customs, especially when they become substitutes for thinking. I caught the skipper raising hell with a young reserve officer yesterday for failing to carry out an old Navy custom that is as senseless and illogical as a sailboat would be in a modern war. I spent a full half hour raising hell with him on the subject of bringing himself up to date so he could fight this war, not the War of 1812. The poor reserve had been five minutes late in reporting that it was eight o'clock. The whole ship is full of clocks, and all you have to do is look at them. The custom originated when there was only one clock on a ship and that one probably an hour-glass. He also wanted a report that the galley fires were out. That's also in the regulations, though there's never been a fire in our electric galley. Old customs are all right, I suppose - if you haven't anything else to do. So is spit and polish.

I miss music very much since I left the M-. Our radio here is no good. There is a phonograph in the crew's quarters and the music can be
piped into the wardroom, but it's never worth piping - discordant squeaks and unmelodious hodge-podge.

Sometimes I dare to hope that the war might end this year, but that is being optimistic - very optimistic.

Commander

Common Sense, May 1943. Vol. XII, No. 5

venturing into new experience, by a critical examination of how successfully we are attaining our purposes. The priceless heritage of man is knowledge of success and intelligence in past struggles to grow, the residue of many thousand years of collective experience. But this residue of past intelligence needs to be treated intelligently in the present. It can be given a useful place in present planning and present patterns, but cannot substitute for them. It would be fortunate if the inventor of new ideas would be valued according to his contribution to a clearly seen social purpose, rather than distrusted or accepted on the basis of money or prestige profit to a few. Yet the history of ideas shows that any innovation is likely to have a hard time of it unless it is recognized as useful to those in power in the status quo.

There are good reasons and bad reasons for this fact. A good reason may be the preservation of continuity and security. A bad reason is fear of change as change, what might be called conservatism of the dinosaur type.

In seeking for patterns which conserve the most useful things from the past but which offer a basis for the best functional adjustment to the present, the modern industrial society is handicapped in some ways peculiar to it.
2.2 Fixed Ideas of Family

The common assumption of many magazine stories as of many people is that there are certain fixed status-relationships. For example, it is general to think of marriage as the time when worry about re-adjustment and growth can end, -- "they lived happily ever after." Through his experience with hundreds of families, Plant (257, 122) comes to the following conclusions:

We do know that the vision of marriage as a second childhood with problems of adjustment, of growth in relation to a new constellation, of weaving oneself from one's children as one earlier had to from one's parents, is distasteful and resented.

Fear of Change

To Plant, the clinging to a fixed idea of status is often a sign of inadequacy and dependence, rather than healthy, normal growth. He likens a fixed idea of this sort to a wall, a wall of fear.

The feeling of status in a group is basic to security, to a sense of the possibilities of growth. But status is also a result of social recognition of achievement. It probably begins in babyhood, where the child is dependent on others for his social security as for his food, and where the recognition of his progress is the form of social approval and status-giving. Early conflicts in patterns (child vs. brothers and sisters, youth vs. parents) also occur in family relationships. In the same way, differences between the larger culture and the family and individual moves and desires seem to comprise the social origins of
neuroses. Recognition of this casualty has been a factor in the develop-

* cf. Cottrell and Gallagher, (82)

ment of group treatment* and of the permissive (to self-adjustment).

* cf. I. S. Moreno's psychological treatment of the creative moment (82) and Carl Rogers' Psychotherapy, A Method (274)

Varied Status and Role

From the insights gained through the studies of maladjusted individ-
uals, and from the comparative study of cultures, it is evident that the
individual establishes many of his most important values and habits of
behavior in direct and indirect effort to achieve opportunities through
achieving esteem, a recognized place and function in his world. Linton
(206, 104) has made a strong case for the point of view that the more
interdependent the elements in a society, the more varied are the recip-
rocatating patterns and roles. He describes some of these varied roles by
describing a man who is doctor, taxpayer, son, husband, father, all at
once and in each relationship has a series of rights and duties which
comprise his status.

Age and Status

Some status is achieved by chronological age. Anthropologists seem
to agree that all societies recognize three age groupings at least - child,
adult, and old. In the United States, definite problems are caused by the
prolonged periods of financial dependence in childhood and old age. For
the youth, there is also lacking much formal recognition of his physical
and social maturity through some from of initiation rites - unless
athletic awards and membership in fraternities and clubs can be called by this name.

**Conflict of "Accepted" patterns - Maturity Levels, Appearance, Identity and Belonging**

Security, freedom of choice among many possibilities, the social role and the status, all of these fundamental requisites to healthy growth are closely tied to the social relationships which are established and which in turn affect the individual's unique values and behavior. Conflict of patterns is underlined in many kinds of experience. For example, a child who seeks to be a playmate of older children is in competition with those of longer attention spans, maturity and social understanding. "Acceleration" of a child with high I.Q. or grades may place him in a similar conflict with a group so far as physical and emotional maturity are concerned. A false notion of the prestige connected with conventional "beauty" may obliterate the actual fact that it is the uniqueness and likability of personality which is the true pattern for acceptance. In *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Dollard ([111]) shows how group patterns of thinking can cause constant conflict between the role of human being and that assigned to a class. The paradoxical desire to be both leader and follower (a conflict between desire for personal growth and desire for social belonging) the conflict between tolerance "an acceptance of the right of another person to be himself" as Plant calls it, and "righteousness," with its implied absolute basis for condemnation, the cultural encouragement and repression of various roles.* all of these are

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*See Sullivan, Harry Stack, (294, 1-117) "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry."
primarily struggles of self-concept vs. social concept.

The enormous adaptability of the individual allows him to adjust to these situations to a considerable degree. But institutional patterns such as the religious fostering of a sense of guilt, are sometimes too pervasive for the individual to resolve the resulting emotional conflicts by himself. All of these conflicts operate in a society which seems at times to seek distraction rather than the solution of problems.

Here, for example, is an English visitor’s (135, 64) picture of city living in California.

Of the people who provided us with this continual cacophony (from loud-speakers) we saw little. They kept so close that we were almost reduced to inferring their presence by the dissonances overtones with which they troubled the Californian atmosphere, by the dollops of newspapers or Saturday Evening Posts that the successful peddlars flung in at their front doors as they hastily bicycled round the court, by their lit windows at night, and by the daily pilgrimages of dust-bins from the backdoor to the road and vice versa...Nobody ever tried to take advantage of the green grass or the warm air; few visitors ever pass under the black and orange archway of the entrance...The truth is the people seemed to venture rarely into the open air. If they wished to go out they slipped from the back door to the garage, shut themselves primly into a closed car, and drove away. If they wished to do the family shopping they drove into large open-air grocery shops, specially arranged so that they could select their provisions without getting out of the car. If they wished for distraction they drove to the sea or up into the hills and stared at the view through the windshield. They seemed to be almost as destitute of permanent friends as they were of personal furniture; the wireless, the car, the daily newspaper, or the Saturday Evening Post, work, cooking, and studying how to stay thin, seemed to fill their lives to the full.

He continues (135, 106):

The mind of the everyday American is in some ways a novel phenomenon. It is a mind that is being bred with very few internal resources, and with a blank background instead of the old unconscious folk-lore tradition. America is concentrated on success. Its farther resources are the newspaper - grotesquely filled with grotesque crimes - the car, bootleg, and the movies. The loudspeaker is now tuned on at eight in
the morning and continues to bawl uninterruptedly until midnight, so that the housewife shall never be cursed with a moment of silence in which she must think. The wireless, the car, and the movies have become insidious drugs.

3. Urbanization and Specialization

For example, in earlier days the patterns of rural living were fairly simple. A growing child could learn from daily life in a comparatively self-sustaining family. He shared in the whole range of experience - work, play, celebrations, mourning. He knew values through knowing how the people around him felt and reacted.

Nowadays, the child can experience only a small part of the community of interest. Urban and national life, except in time of national disaster, do not present a well-unified picture. Both children and adults have lost participation in the rounded process of life occupations, but especially is this true of the child. The specialization of occupations, the impersonal nature of city life and factory work, as well as the business practice of ruthless competition are causing less unity and more disintegration of common culture. Add to this the competing views which Bode calls the "classical" and the "otherworldly," and it is plain that the disintegration is hastened simply because there is so little in which all participate.

An old Englishman (185, 69) has written eloquently of the early days when workers "grew friendly with the grain of timber and with sharp tool" and with each other. He contrasts this with the present mass production system where "untrained youths wait upon machines" and "work is nothing like so tolerable as it was say thirty years ago; partly because there is more hurry in it, but largely because machinery has separated employers
from employed and has robbed the latter of the sustaining delights which
materials used to afford them."

Insofar as the child now grows up in a world of mechanical special-
izations, it is true, as Dewey (102, 23) says, is subjected to great
stimulus and pressure from his environment but "loses the practical and
motor training necessary to balance his intellectual development.
Facility in acquiring information is gained, the power of using it is
lost."

Specialization and mass production splits the work of hand and mind
on the job as well as off. Plant (297, 117) refers to the experience of
a fellow psychiatrist* who tells the following story:

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New York: Macmillan, 1933.

The best picture we have of this terrific specialization
in industry came one day from a feeble-minded girl of eighteen.
Despite her having just finished six months' employment at a
punch press, all her ten fingers were intact. "Edna," I said,
"I see that you have all your fingers. I can't believe that
you put in six months on a punch press." "Yes, I did, Doctor,
it's only then that thinks that loses their fingers." Satis-
faction in the actual work at hand is reduced to a minimum.
The incentive to a task well done is not the beauty of the
product, not its operation, but rather that it pass the check
of the inspector.

The author continues:

The psychiatrist seeks synthesis in an analytical world.
He preaches integration when his social workers are making
three distinct and separate adjustments for each client,
that is, three beyond the fundamental family adjustment at
home - one to earning some money, one to learning more
things, and one to having some fun. Why must we go on ad-
vertising the benefits of the integrated ego when the whole
social experience of the individual is of disintegration?
Edna wasn't a very prepossessing bit of humanity as far as
the psychiatrist in his own field could see her. To his
theory it is a bit jostling to realize that a normal Edna, one who felt and thought through her full day, would be an Edna with crippled fingers.

Just as the variables in an equation transform the product despite the presence of fixed quantities, so with the social scene. The number of variables in society increases with every increase in population and ideas. This is partly the cause of the "neurotic" personality of our times, as Karen Horney calls it. Another part is the lack of creative occupation of mind and hand together. Another part assuredly is made up of the complex factors in social personal development.

Status and Prestige in Machine Technology

For example, it has been shown in Section II that status and role are fundamentally connected with the individual desire for growth. Insofar as the individual notion differs from the social possibilities, there is created a conflict which interferes with successful patterning of living. In many instances the society has stupidly closed opportunities to achieve status and prestige.* In some cases the individual is so fixed

*Financial rather than intellectual inability now bars a large percent of high school graduates from entering college. (See Bell, Youth Tell Their Story ($1).

in his idea of his status that he roots himself in the path of the buzz-saw of new conditions and is cut up by it.

4. Conflicts Caused by Authoritarianism.

Though it has been touched upon previously, there is need for special recognition of conflicts with authority, the authority of external force, and of aims which are externally imposed. This is found in many
forms in the home, the school, the church, the state and in class rule.

Dewey (108, 332) has ably described the result of this external imposition in a statement which describes the class structure and class antagonisms which result from authoritarianism in our own society.

"And the fact which is forced upon us when we raise this question is the existence of classes. Control has been vested in an oligarchy. Indifference to regulation has grown in the gap which separates the ruled from the rulers. Parents, priests, chiefs, social censors have supplied aims, aims which were foreign to those upon whom they were imposed, to the young, laymen, ordinary folk; a few have given and administered rule, and the mass have in a passable fashion and with reluctance obeyed. Everybody knows that good children are those who make as little trouble as possible for their elders, and since most of them cause a good deal of annoyance they must be naughty by nature. Generally speaking, good people have been those who did what they were told to do, and lack of eager compliance is a sign of something wrong in their nature."

5. Crime and Punishment

It will be argued, in fact it has always been argued that external force is a necessary thing, that crime requires punishment. This may well be true in some sense. It is important to recognize the difference between punishment and development, however.

A good law represents common agreements. Good administration of the law would then depend on the use of force as a last resort, and then only to compel the parties affected to employ rational methods of meeting a problem. This, our courts and our police and our jails are assumed to do. If the thesis of growth is valid, we may expect their success to be due to the intelligent analysis and treatment of problems.

To what extent this takes place is open to question. Figures showing recidivism of 75% and higher are not encouraging testimony to the efficacy or present penal procedures. Thomas D. Eliot (68, 116-118)
has stated that there is little place in the common law court for the expert. It is a lawyer's legal training that encourages thinking in terms of custom and precedent rather than present conditions. He says, "Such thinking in the face of broken custom or law can only mean discipline. It rarely means understanding."

A juvenile court referee (Miriam Van Waters, 315, 223) has said that the lack of understanding and feeling regarding human problems, the failure to see that human conduct is caused has resulted in a process of very doubtful intelligence. She adds, "In fact, when one reads some of these court records, one is tempted to say with Oscar Welse, 'They show a want of knowledge that must be the result of years of study.'"

5.2 School Discipline

The same type of description has been applicable, perhaps, to some school handling of discipline. The effect of punishment which ends in penal institutions has been doubted by most serious students. From a file of nearly a thousand letters written at Auburn and Sing Sing to him as warden, G. W. Kirchway (186, 332-37) quotes eloquent testimony to the heightened maladjustment which often results from penal associations. In particular he speaks of Happy Jack Malraney, who had been in all the leading prisons of the United States and who concluded a letter written on the night of his execution with these words:

The guard has just touched me on the sleeve; he tells me I have only a minute more. I have not been much use to myself or to anybody else. I do not suppose I would be any use if I was to live. I would like to have one more year, though, to see what I could do to help you keep the kids out of institutions. No kid ought ever to be put in an institution. Yours truly, Happy Jack.
In prison or in school, the means employed for control are likely
to be effective in proportion to their psychological and sociological
realism. We have every reason to believe that the wholesome, realistic,
affectionate relationship within a family is made possible by parents who
must first of all deal with each other on a workable basis, not too much
predicated on determining imaginary roles for themselves or for each
other.*

*cf. Plant, (257, 169)

An expert observer, Lois Barclay Murphy (232, 23-28) has summarized
the situation in the United States by pointing out some typical conflicts
of pattern.

Murphy states that the most universal patterns are to be found in
frequent conflict—in fact, that conflict is almost a keynote of our
culture. It appears in the family unit; those who earn a living and those
who do not; institutionalized sympathy (scant); scorn and pity for those
who do not earn a living; from those who earn less to those who earn more;
the workers' fight against those who own materials; the owner's fight
for control of materials and foreign markets; wholesale killing; the fact
that adults (parents) attack children, big boys and girls attack little
ones; the plundering of public property for private profit, the conflicts
of religious denominations.

Our Conflicted Society Has Need for Intelligent Planning.

As Ernest Groves (150, 197), an eminent student of the family, has
asserted, parents need to look more to science and to the future, rather
than to face backward. They, like society and its institutions, will, if interested in the successful nurture of the child, aid him to experience as early as possible the fact that true external authority lies in the way things are, rather than in some one's whim and temporary power to enforce it. That is, the present conditions of life impose their own demands on anyone who would live and grow adequately.

Values and Situations Change

In the discussion of authority and the conflicting patterns for development, an emphasis has been put on the social nature of values.

As noted in the Section on the Individual, value implies discrimination and choice between two or more events serially related. Social psychologists* are now inclined to the view that it is meaningless to make

*See Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (231, 281) and Dewey, (106, 61-82)

a distinction between biological and socially derived needs or values. They see that a given organism foresees, on the basis of experience, objects for which it has use or need. This behavior is that of valuing. But valuing is never a simple process. Freud has long since indicated that values form hierarchies, in which social and individual desires struggle for supremacy.

From the successful adjustment of "normal" living, it is plain that these hierarchies are constantly changing. Ruth Benedict (32) points out that attitude patterns change as purposes change. She says that the differences in ideas of modesty from the naked African to the fur-clothed Eskimo or Hollywood star are indications which support the idea of relative values — relative to local situations, personal experience and
an internally consistent logical "set." The set or attitude itself, whether individual or social, is characteristic but not static, she feels.

In this, she assumes a changing set of attitude patterns, influenced by purposes which change. Thus, from her comparative study of cultures.

*Dewey (105, 223) addressing himself to the question of determining forces in social evolution finds three ultimates - "habit, coercive and violent force, and action directed by intelligence." Of the three, he gives intelligence the biggest possibilities and the slimmest chance.

Benedict comes to a less rigid concept of pattern than did Mead (220) in Sex and Temperament.

Social and Physical "facts"

From the time of the earliest philosophers, and in the beginnings of modern sociology in Descartes and Comte, the assertion has been made that social facts are just as real, and just as "logical" as physical facts.*

*Psychology has spent much effort to prove this by applying the quantitative methods of the physical sciences in a field where their application is much less sensitive and more limited. Since the system of testing and marking in schools is an aspect of this effort, it may be pertinent to mention that the gross behavior of gases and solids is much more nearly "identical" and repeatable than that of human beings. However in that field even closer analysis made possible by the electro microscope casts doubt on the possibility of close duplication of any phenomena, even inorganic.

What are the Chances for Intelligent Control?

The philosophers who have trusted to human intelligence have often been pessimistic. In the case of Locke, it is a pessimism over confusion of values-ideas. In Dewey's case it is over the light-hearted way in which we ignore the need to instrument ideas. Another school of thought (Spencer-
Darwin) conceived that things would work out by themselves. But the oldest belief is probably that only a few men are wise enough and skillful enough to determine purposes and procedures. Where Dewey would set all men free for critical inquiry and self-direction, the other, the fascist or authoritarian school would see in that the "thousand-fold repetition of the most simple ideas" is conveyed to the great masses whose "receptive ability is only very limited," whose "understanding is small" and whose "forgetfulness is great" as Hitler (157, 234-239) has said.

Our Conflicted Society Has Need for Democratic Leadership.

As a matter of cold fact, there is ground for asserting that authoritarianism is on its way out. It has been slowly dawning on the world that such domination is requisite chiefly when a small group is intent upon some form of aggrandizement of material wealth or glory. If, on the contrary, the aim is the democratic ideal of ensuring the best development of all, then all can make some contribution to this lofty and difficult ambition, and the ablest can give most help to those less able.

Again, it is a matter of history that empire-builders and other tyrants successively rise and are overthrown by popular consent or revolt. It seems that the will of the people as a whole, not the ambitions of a few may prevail in the end. Studies of the small community, whether in Africa or America seem to show that leadership, official or unofficial, is always dependent on the consent and good will of the governed. In a democratic society, to know the feelings of the people becomes the aim of politician, social scientist and individual citizen alike.

Values and Symbols

The exchange of knowledge and feeling which has made society (functional unity of individuals) possible has been generally attributed
to the invention of symbols. A great development in the instruments of
communication has occurred in recent years through speech, the written
word, pictures, mathematics and other uses of symbols. Communities have
been able to share experience and accumulate common stores of idea, or
culture. Civilized man can do more (and grow more) because culture pro-
vides the opportunity.

I. A. Richards (271, 300-321) has said:

> From the beginning civilization has been dependent upon
speech, for words are our chief link with the past and with
one another and the channel of our spiritual inheritance.
> As the other vehicles of tradition, the family and the com-
community, for example, are dissolved, we are forced more and
more to rely on language.

But however true this is, it is person-to-person contact, the shared
creation of purpose, the shared experiences which are of ultimate impor-
tance in giving language the common or social meanings which are fundamen-
tal to the maintenance of culture.*

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*For further discussion by students of society see, Laswell, H. H.
(191) World Politics and Political Insecurity; Frank, Jerome (130) Law and
the Modern Mind; Arnold, Thorner (26), Symbols of Government. Also note
Kurt Lewin (136) on individual identification with group symbol. Also
Karl Marx (201).

For discussions by semanticists see The Meaning of Meaning (248)
Bridgman, P. W. (47) The Logic of Modern Physics; Korsybski, Alfred (139)
Science and Sanity; Chase, Stuart (68), The Tyranny of Words;

Thus it seems wise for educators to make maximum use of the arts, the
radio, the motion picture. But perhaps it is not wise for educators to
place overmuch dependence upon book learning. The written symbol is more
cold than the spoken. **No word or mathematical symbol is a thing in itself.**
Symbols are used at best as a convenience in developing a short method of
establishing signs for relationships. No manipulation of symbols can take the place of understanding those relations. * It is some appreciation of this fact which has led to the tolerance, though not yet the enthusiasm of society for schools in which human beings and their activities rather than formal content are central.

**Conclusion**

It is for Section IV on democracy and education to deal more fully with this subject. But it may be noted here that the human society has found value in formal schooling; democracy finds it a necessity; but no society as yet has begun to see more than the beginnings of the infinite possibilities of growth and education.

The anthropologist, Linton (206, 86) can say,

> The kitten's training leaves her an individualist with improved techniques for a long-hand struggle for food. The boy's training finds him an individualist and, if successful, leaves him a cooperative member of society.

The historian, Merriam, as quoted by John Dewey (105, 264), can say:

> The state must make its case not once and for all, but continuously for each new generation and each new period.

The physiologist can describe the incredible influence of environmental control on individual growth. The believers in scientific methods in education can point to the necessity for a realistic curriculum based on a social analysis and teaching how to behave in a culture as a whole. *

*See also, Charters, W.W. on analysis of social demands (63, 17-22) and other treatment in The Scientific Movement in Education (241), Chap. 33
But it remains for the practicing teacher, in the daily round of school duties to encourage truly efficient learning through real experience. If, as asserted by Watson (321, 326-336) groups can think better than individuals, and if a single fresh experience may accomplish more than months of intensive repetition in influencing value patterns (231, 232) then it is surely true that the best education will recognize the art of human living. It will certainly wish to follow Charters in making continuous study of real and current problems the centers of its curriculum. It will also want students and teachers to live on a creative as well as an analytical plane. Schools will not longer fit the scathing description of Dewey (108, 84):

We come back to the fact that individuals begin their career as infants. For the plasticity of the young presents a temptation to those having greater experience and hence greater power which they rarely resist. It seems putty to be molded according to current designs. That plasticity also means power to change prevailing custom is ignored. Docility is looked upon not as ability to learn whatever the world has to teach, but as subjection to those instructions of others which reflect their current habits. To be truly docile is to be eager to learn all the lessons of active, inquiring, expanding experience. The inert, stupid quality of current customs perverts learning into a willingness to follow where others point the way, into conformity, construction, surrender of scepticism and experiment. When we think of the docility of the young we first think of the stocks of information adults wish to impose and the ways of acting they want to reproduce. Then we think of the insolent coercions, the insinuating briberies, the pedagogic solemnities by which the freshness of youth can be faded and its vivid curiosities dulled. Education becomes the art of taking advantage of the helplessness of the young; the forming of habits becomes a guarantee for the maintenance of hedges of custom.

The important findings of the social scientists and others who have contributed to the description of society and environment in relation to growth, show the possibility of unlimited development through a process of
planned evolution. They show that human nature is in very great measure a product of culture, of human society. They show that the instrumenta-
tion of cultural purposes is fixed in human institutions — too fixed per-
haps for most realistic meeting of change, but stabilized to some
advantage, nevertheless. They show that meanings and values are in large
measure social products, each dependent on the techniques of education, the
special features of the whole culture, and the unique nature of the indivi-
dual for transformation into the important end of intelligent action.

Since there are these broad aspects of the findings, and since each
requires careful qualifications, the generalizations which follow will be
grouped under five related heads having to do with: 1) the possibility of
planned development; 2) social motives; 3) leadership; 4) Patterns;
5) schools.
CHAPTER V
OPPOSING THEORIES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Introductory.

Most social scientists, when they look for an integrating pattern, seem to find it in a theory of one or more dominant controls or influences. Quite often they are led to generalize from a limited experience. For example, the Belgian theorists seem to incline to an economic determinism which is more applicable to the densely populated industrial nation in which they live than to China or to India. Lester Ward was notably influenced in his theory of symposial development by his extensive study of biology.

We might expect much broadening of perspective from the historian, the anthropologist, and the social psychologist. Yet the first of these seem likewise to be quite considerably the creatures of their time and place. The second are still groping for techniques of comparison. They do, indeed, give valuable and often striking data of a more meaningful kind than the less evidential students. The social psychologists have as yet to unify their science, but they are creating a valuable emphasis on the importance of individual differences and the importance of case study.

Relevant data from world-wide experience in many fields can illumine the understanding of types of man-made control. It yet remains for someone to apply a single unifying theory to all such evidence.

In the present, it is at most, possible to distinguish theories currently in use, which may contribute to the understanding of the possibilities and limits of the growth of all in many environments.
In this second part of Section II, the nature of opposed theories held by students of society throughout the world are briefly given. They are grouped broadly under the heads of Deterministic, Intermediate, and Emergent-Creative. They show a marked similarity in range to the theories of the students of individual psychology represented in the next section.

In a discussion of theories on this subject, it should be noted that the classification, titles and descriptions of these theories have been developed for the purpose of this work. While they are in accord, in most respects with the descriptions of scholars in the field, it is not proper to attribute them to the scholars. Classifications and descriptions like these are logical constructs and do not correspond to reality, of course. Yet they have their uses. In this case they are used primarily to stress the opposition between the belief in determinism and the belief in the creative intelligence of man. They also provide a simple, clear-cut statement as a beginning for discussion of the varied and endlessly qualified differences in points of view (within each group as between groups).

Concepts of Society

The first Section of this work offered a discussion of society and environment in relation to individual growth through examination of democracy in our country. However, since democracy is a special form of society, this Section attempts to give a brief resume of characteristic points of view in the literature of the social sciences regarding meanings of society and environment in general.

The first assumption to be made in dealing with Society and Natural Environment describes distinctive aspects or phenomena of human living. Society may be said to apply to established, somewhat stable forms of
group living, natural environment, to the non-human features of the universe. In the previous sections it has been shown that the individual, the society and the natural environment are interacting parts of a whole. They are constituents in a process. The process is one of continuous change in the relationship and identity of these parts. Therefore, to ascribe characteristic meanings to the words society and environment it is necessary to establish the point of view from which they are used. The concern of the present writer is to study the possibilities and limitations of the growth of all individuals. It is fortunate, therefore, that the treatment of society by students of the social sciences may be interpreted in relation to individual growth.

For the interpretation of this relationship, as already indicated, the writer finds eight theories which have most pertinence. Each of these theories has a central hypothesis to explain how human society comes into being and how it operates with respect to human development.

The eight theories may be listed under the following titles:

**Deterministic**

1. The Pseudo-Biological: the view that society is itself an organism, with innate characteristics of development.

2. The Mechanistic: the view that man is a pleasure-pain machine and his society and expression of somewhat automatic response.

3. The Racial: the view that the differences in societies are ethnological and hereditary.

**Intermediate**

4. The Environmental: the view that terrain, climate, food supply and the like are the chief determiners of social forms.

5. The Cultural: the view that traditions, language, inventions, institutions determine the development of the individual and hence society.
6. **The Class Structure or Economic Deterministic**
   (related closely to 
   
   ) the view that society at present is composed of well-defined classes whose developmental interests conflict, and whose status determines the possibilities of each member of a class.

7. **Creative-Emergent**

   7. The Psychological: the view that individual mind creates society.

8. **Field-Gradient**: the view that society is one aspect of the operation of potentials in a field.

Each of these views has had its influence and each has contributed to the description and understanding of society and environment. A further brief exposition of each follows:

**Deterministic**

The Pseudo-Biological view gained currency from the tempting analogy of the body politic with the human body. As an analogy it has its uses. C. W. Child, for example, has said (71, 146):

> Like physiological integration, the process of social integration consists in the integration of living individuals into a unity, an order, an individuality of a higher order of magnitude. In physiological integration the individuals integrated are cells or cell-masses; in social integration, human beings. Social integration is obviously a matter of behavior, or reaction to environment of the individuals concerned, and I have endeavored to show that physiological integration is fundamentally also a behavior process. Both the organism and the social group represent the behavior of living protoplasm and we may expect to find certain fundamental similarities in the processes concerned.

This is a respectable analogy since it supposes similarities but not identities and relies on the study of observed behavior, rather than upon straining to impose suppositions identities. Not all exponents of the pseudo-biological view have exercised the same care. There has been a whole school of social thought which conceived of group personality as a
thing in itself. This school is represented by Krause and Durkheim.*

*The salient facts regarding these and other outstanding figures in the field will be found in Barnes, H.E. and Becker (27), Social Thought from Lore to Science, Vol. II.

Krause (1781-1832) went so far as to attribute personality to the family, the neighbor-community, the tribe, the association of peoples (nation) and all mankind as a unit. Durkheim (1858-1917) conceived of society as an emergent reality with a psychical nature different from that of individual minds. To his credit it may be added that/anticipated recent discussions of the formation of individual personality by asserting that society is the basic fact; individualism a function of it.

But Durkheim went too far in assuming a group mind which exists apart from individuals.

Mechanism

Just as in psychology, the Behaviorists attempted to prove mechanical action and conditioning, so in social science a theory grew up that man is a "pleasure machine" (as the Polish sociologist Wizarski asserted) and that pleasure-pain reactions are mathematically measurable. It was the assumption of this theory that economic and social forces were due to attraction and repulsion, as in the law of gravitation and that social evolution was a resultant of these forces. This theory has the advantage of simplicity. It reduces the science of behavior to descriptions of adience and absence. But it assumes a false concept of matter.

A fourth viewpoint, the Social, stresses heredity, and assumes that there is a genetic difference in mental qualities in the group living, as well as in the physical structures and color of individuals. Herr Hitler
and his arguments have sufficiently dramatized and disgraced this school of thought, perhaps. Yet it is worth noting that no so long ago anthropological measurements were taken with a view to establishing racial differences, and that in nearly every country there are people who firmly believe the myth of the inferiority of other races or groups than their own. This belief has its expression in caste systems in India, England, Japan and America, for example.

*Evidence with regard to race and hereditary differences between color groups is recently summarized by Jenkins (162) (1941 Mental Ability of the American Negro in the Review of Education Research, Vol. XI, No. 5, with the words, "the hypothesis of racial difference in intelligence has not been demonstrated."

Because of the prominence which this point of view has now attained in the world struggle, it is worth pointing out that Sears (39, 123) deftly explained and disposed of the myth of racial differences in mental traits by pointing out that there is no biological foundation for this claim, and that arguments derived from cultural achievements of the white race fall to the ground where comparison is extended to include the position of the barbaric Nordic at the time of the heights of Mayan civilization. This does not mean that there are no cultural differences, but only that they are not due to racial heredity in the genetic sense.

Intermediate

A fifth school of thought centers on the physical environment as the determining factor in human development.

It has had a strong vogue in France, and is evident in the geographic determinists of all lands. Dhurjatiprasad Mookerji in India calls for the recognition of social meanings (region by region and group by group)."
considers that man, climate, soil, topography, plant and animal communities are interdependent parts of regions. Le Play gave "place" a prominent part in his interpretations, but reserved the dominating position for family.

There can be no doubt that the temperature and the seasons, the available food supply, and the association with mountains or plains, deserts or seas have their effects upon social and individual development. The existence of natural boundaries or frontiers has always affected migrations of men and ideas. This fact is dramatized in the history of our own country as it is in the contemporary regional life of Mexico. But important as it is, the influence of natural environment does not seem so inclusive as it was once thought. In his *A Geographical Introduction to History*, Lucien Febvre states that regionalism is a created, not an imposed culture. "Man's customs," he says, "peculiar characteristics, and his mode of life are not the necessary consequences of the fact that he is situated in this or that "environment." They are the consequences of his own nature."

Like Febvre, the sixth of the schools named would attribute the moulding of mentality, the direction of progress, the increasing control over the physical aspects of nature to the cultural influences accumulated by groups.

Auguste Comte is in some degree the founder of the view that culture is as real as are physical or biological facts. The enormous influence of human institutions upon human development may be indicated by naming some of them.*

*Institutions of Society and Their Basic Relevance to Growth and Education — to help individuals and to help individuals help others.
Law - reduction of conflict by "rules of the game."
Business - distribution of goods and services in complex production
Industry - production out of raw materials
Recreation - self-created (exploring capacities) for sale (display
of capacities of man and nature)
Marriage and - reduction of conflict
sex mores protection of child-bearing
Religion - protection against fear - protection of fair play and
vested interests by using fear
Taboos - protection against unexpected individualism
Medicine Men - protection against fear of disease, of health
Government - stability, protection, recognition of inter-
relationship, reduction of conflict, unity of
purpose, etc.
Transportation - widening possible contacts, food distribution, etc.
Communication - widening possible contacts

The work of modern psychologists and anthropologists has tended to
stress the relation of culture patterns to individual development (e.g.,
 Personality and the Cultural Pattern by Plant (257); Patterns of Culture
by Benedict (32).

Linton (206, 68) has put the case for cultural influence as follows:

The son of a civilized man, if he grew up in complete
isolation would be nearer to an ape in his behavior than to
his own father.

In her study of three contrasting cultures which exist in similar
natural environments, Margaret Mead (220, 370) has shown that through the
culture behavior may be made "masculine," "feminine," peaceful or violent.*

*The following table summarizes some of Mead's outstanding findings
for three contrasting culture groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CULTURE GROUPS</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTIC BEHAVIOR</th>
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<tr>
<td>Arapesh</td>
<td>men and women have maternal and feminine behavior cooperative, unaggressive, responsive to needs and demands of others, no powerful sex drive.</td>
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Benedict (22, 2, 3) states:

The life-history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community, from the moment of his birth. The customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities.

These are strong statements, but in the light of the institutions described above, it is not hard to see why this point of view has grown till some would say that the very word "society" means "culture" – the religious, the scientific, the artistic, the custom, the techniques, the institutions, through which the weight of group experience and belief is felt by each new member of it.

As societies develop institutions, especially as they diversify and specialize their economic life, it has been noted that classes develop, with resulting impulses and restrictions on the development of individuals within them. Prominent among the economic determinists are Emile Durkheim (1857-1916) and De Greff. These two men, living in the highly industrialized, small, industrial nation of Belgium, were naturally impressed by the economic aspects of human relations, and by the many evidences of control which are employed in business and industry. Waxweiler, head of the biological Institute de Sociologie Solvay in Brussels came to
believe that there were nine rather fixed lines of development inherent in society, viz: 1) those resulting from physical proximity; 2) to protect or injure others; 3) competition; 4) efforts to get others to imitate one's own action; 5) spontaneous (gregarious) association dependent on fears; 6) repetitiveness; a) imitation; b) suggestion; c) contagion; d) reproduction; 7) original initiative; 8) acquisitive; 9) selection.

It is apparent that this list stresses the self-aggrandizement which is encouraged by modern commercial standards. DeGreef, impressed by the increasing struggle between labor and capital, and by the increasing need for regulation came to believe that there should be a world syndicalist state (representative government by work groups). He saw that "Civilization more and more contracts the limits within which the different elements relating to man oscillate" and felt that the limits would be most fairly fixed by the producers of wealth.

There is, of course, one pre-eminent name among the economic determinists. So much has resulted from the economic analyses and class theories of Karl Marx (211) that it is hardly necessary to detail his profound inquiry into the economic structure of society. It should be stated, that like Sumner (285), author of Folkways, he was a believer in materialism,* in a somewhat mechanical process of evolution in which the

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*"with me, on the contrary (to Hegel), the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought," Capital, Preface to the second edition, 1873.

individual is very little "responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them."
But an important feature of Marx's point of view is frequently overlooked, namely, that he saw the conflicting classes of industrial society as existing during one phase only of economic history. He looked toward the unification of all through the collapse of competitive capitalism, moreover, he thought the day of cooperation could be hastened by taking thought, by social planning. Interestingly enough, a strong opponent to the view that class structure is inimical to the welfare of all, is found in an anthropologist.

Linton (206, 147) violently opposes the Marxian view, stating positively that there is no correlation between the complexity of modern technology and social complexity, and that in societies where classes exist it makes for comfort and security rather than the reverse.

On the other hand, Sanders (230, 300) conclusively proves that socio-economic factors play a most important part in development, and that studies of I.Q. and P.Q. have shown the relation between economic poverty and poverty of personal living. Some of the most recent material (see Plant and Warner) establishes the fact of the existence of somewhat rigid class structure even in our own "open class society" to use Charles Horton Cooley's term. In general, the lower the economic class the more limited the development. Much has been made of outstanding exceptions to this rule, but it is questionable whether a society will intentionally employ the method of burning down the house to get its roast pig if it sees that there are less wasteful methods of securing the same results.

At the opposite pole from the determinists is the Psychological View that was taken by Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904) and others. Tarde opposed Durkheim with the assertion that individual creativeness, not social forces, mold society. He conceived of all development as proceeding
through invitation of individual invention. William Wundt (1834-1920), too, attacked conceptions of a "folk mind." He considered any group, not as a whole of a higher order, but as a functional unity. Wundt was an evolutionist (with reservations). He conceived of man's mind as the dynamic element in development, and attributed purpose to "will" and "conation." He made an early contribution of signal importance in asserting that mind was active, not passive, and that through the creative syntheses of mind man constructs his own world - meanings out of elements which are meaningless in themselves.

Spiller (286) has seconded Wundt's position in some respects, building a whole volume on the hope for the intelligent, controlled evolution of man. He states that the human being is the only animal whose sole primary "instinct" is the instinct to learn. The Italian, Pareto, also based his interpretation of society on the idea that the drives or instincts of the individual took social forms, and that persistent characteristics of a society were due to the "residues" or feelings which resulted from activities. Pareto anticipated Korzybski and the psychoanalysts by pointing out the dominant place of non-logical determinants of human action.

The Russian sociologist, Tugan-Baranovsky (1865-1919) was another proponent of the psychological view. He took the position that the nature of individual human interests played an important role in forming society and identified five groups of these interests: 1) physiological (food, shelter); 2) sexual; 3) sympathetic; 4) ego altruistic (power for self and for groups with which the self is identified); 5) play, religion - the non-practical. These interests have some similarity to the famous "four wishes" to which W. I. Thomas traces all human motivation. Thomas speaks
as an ethnologist, and a psycho-sociologist. His four wishes are those for: response, recognition, security and new experience. It will be seen that these "wishes" are aspects of growth, and Thomas himself thought of them as expedient classifications, not as instincts.

Salles y Ferre, a Spanish student who began as a follower of Krause, occupied an intermediate position. He came to almost exactly the conclusions of Childs. He stated that while there is a general likeness between the physical organism and society, there are differences which transcend the likeness. For example, the cells lose their individuality when united physically to form the organism; the individuals augment their individuality when related psychically to form a society. Physical heredity is transmitted by generation; social heredity is transmitted by education through institutions which realize certain ends intentionally.

The eighth point of view which was listed earlier as Field-gradient, here identified with that physical theory for the reason that it lends itself to a creative as well as an inclusive concept of the basic principles which are operative in human growth. It requires that all the factors stressed by the preceding views be taken into account, but that society be considered simply as one aspect of a total process.

Under this head may be put the theories of men as widely separated in time space, and initial focus as Cooley, Ward, Lenin, Chernov, Child, Dewey and Lewin.

Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929) thought of self and society as two sides of the same thing. He asserted that selves are social products and that society is a product of their continuing interrelation. He welcomed the contributions of biology and environmental study; he declared that since "society" is an abstract term, the true description of it will alter
as continuously as behavior.

Lester F. Ward (1841-1913) who has had an equally great influence on the development of the social sciences in this country, was first known as a paleobotanist, and a top-notch one. It might be considered that he would thus be inclined to a somewhat strict evolutionary point of view, but that was not the case. Instead he subscribed to the idea of emergent evolution. Ward emphasized function, what men do as the proper study of those interested in social society and its dynamics. He brought to the fore the law of parsimony, or least action in discussing direction of activity. He adhered to a naturalistic biological view of the constitution of mind. Above all, he believed in the idea of creative synthesis and sympodial rather than symmetrical forms of development. This naturally resulted in his putting much study on the possibilities of consciously controlled development. His final judgment is a clear-cut decision in favor of human foresight over the wasteful method of "natural selection." He envisaged a stage of society in which the ideal democracy would be created, where it would always "act consciously and intelligently."

The concept of creative, asymmetrical forms of social development is so opposite to the mechanistic determinism attributed to the Marxian type of early economic theories that it is significant to note its rejection by Lenin. Lenin's teacher, Plekhanov, had taught that production of necessities and the relationships involved in it determined ideologies. He saw in the development of social thinking the workings of pre-ordained law. Lenin rejected this teaching on the ground that the laws of logic are not those of the external world, that man can shape his own destiny. Of all theorists he is probably the only one to make a practical test on
so large a scale as that of the Russian Revolution.

Another Russian deserves special mention in this connection. Victor Chernov (1873- ) took an anti-Marxian, anti-materialist point of view, even though he equally desired social revolution. Chernov was a proper field theory man, since he believed that any factor may become primary, according to particular situations and purposes. Sharing this belief in the power of value-ideas, Celestu Bougle and Charles Blondell of the French scholars foresaw the possibilities of unlimited human development through centralized organization of society. By this means they felt that opportunity could be equalized and the individual freed from the tyranny of local groups. Through this means Blondell saw the individual aided in his striving to "exteriorize" inward changes and society providing tools and techniques to aid him. (Blondell explains "will" as this process of striving.)

As early as 1899, in Les Idees Egalitaires, Blondell pointed out that competition has been overstressed as an essential to development. He refuted Darwinistic arguments against democracy by showing that it is a false analogy to compare survival of animal species with human personalities. This was a false analogy, he maintained, since human beings are successful in terms of social advantages which are subject to control and change, rather than to any immutable natural laws. He believed, therefore, that social classes are bad, in that they restrict competition of ideas, and that Democracy is good since it augments such competition and makes it socially useful for guiding cooperative effort for improvement.

Needless to say, the social pragmatism of Dewey and the dynamic whole of which Lewin treats in his experiments in psychology, along with many other conclusions of modern thinkers in social fields, affirm the
point of view. The applications of that point of view to a unified study of individual growth in relation to society and natural environment are many, and nowhere is there a single comprehensive statement on them.

It is warranted, however, to point out that the initial questions of this section regarding the possibilities of social control for the purpose of the maximum growth of all, are answered to a certain extent. It seems clear that human purpose can be the dominant factor in directing human evolution, and that its dominance (over chance, over environmental conditions, over cultural constructs) is in direct proportion to the clarity with which the purpose is seen and to the extent to which all share in its creation and therefore its acceptance.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND GENERALIZATIONS

The material of this section reflects the theoretical nature of much of the work of students of social development. The eight theories regarding society and its controls have whatever value they possess in proportion as they are useful hypotheses in guiding study and prediction.

As has been shown, the pseudo-biological view is of little use for this purpose, being only a literary figure. The mechanistic view does not allow sufficiently for the influence of ideals, for "creative" evolution. The racial theory has been discredited by the studies of the past twenty years.

The words "environmental," "economic determinism," "cultural" and "psychological" indicate a separatism of environment and heredity which does not exist in fact. Both are operative. Thus the field-gradient theory, which presupposes only that there are elements in constant process of new combination is sound. The other theories become, then, aspects of importance in studying a field.

It might be said that the value of economic determinism, and the concept of time, space and place in relation to human development is to guide planning and prediction in broad terms. The value of theories of the psychological and cultural patterns may be said to lie in showing how plans can be made most effective. This summary itself will be divided into three parts, the first dealing with planning; the second with
environmental patterns and the individual; the third with society, the school and the individual.

I. Planning

1. Evolution is not a mechanical progression to fixed or desirable goals, including that of the maximum growth of all.

2. Man-made attitudes and institutions are determining factors in human growth. This is evidenced in many studies of a variety of cultures and individuals.

3. The implication of #2, therefore, is that step-by-step procedures are necessary for institutions to be effective.

4. The sciences dealing with man and environment can provide much useful data for planning step-by-step procedures.

5. The selection of these procedures and their application will be guided by the purpose of the society which employs them. If it is fascist, they can be employed to serve the development of the state, or of a super-race idea. If it is muddled, they will aid and abet muddlement. If it is democratic they can be employed so as to serve all, rather than a few.

Thus ideas are seen to have reality, and to be tools in molding personality.

6. Whatever the social ideal, science itself, and institutions as well as individuals may be socially irresponsible. Thus the importance of clarifying the ideal to the point where it cannot be ignored and its implications are pointed.

7. The evidence shows that any social purpose will be valued by individuals in proportion to its contribution to their growth as they see it. This is a re-affirmation of the importance of individual experience.
9. Choice, evaluation, experiment - pragmatic practices are the reliable procedures in a society which seeks survival. Absolutes, finitude in the face of change, reliance on fixed authority, are not shown to increase the adequacy of society or of individuals.

9. The studies of anthropologists and others show that status, a sense of growth possibility and the recognition of growth by others is the chief tool in making social purpose effective. The rules of the game in any society, have, therefore, a strong effect on individual concepts of what status to seek and how to achieve it. This is why a change in those rules (from rugged individualism to the New Deal, for example) meets such strong opposition from those who have played most successfully under the old rules.

II. Environmental Patterns and the Individual

1. Environment affects development and can be controlled in the interest of a purpose which is individually understood and accepted.

2. Meanings are social, for example the meanings of symbols used for communication, of inventions and discoveries which are only put to use as they are commonly understood.

   The social patterns can preserve and perpetuate meanings. It can limit them by repression, to a comparatively few persons, or it can stimulate their wide distribution. It can also repress or stimulate the individual creation of new meanings.

3. The integration of society and environmental control depends upon a unifying purpose, one of growth in a certain direction. This purpose will be realistic and effective in proportion as it includes all factors which affect it.
4. Caste systems, economic factors, technological development - all these vary in effect according to individual experience and understanding of them.

As the summary has already indicated, there is no evidence to show that evolution is a progress toward any fixed goal. It also shows that new combinations, new relationships between man and environment, man and other men, are in constant process of development. There is no evidence that planned development is impossible, on the contrary, the great influence of social constructs is shown. For these reasons, therefore, it seems justified to say that the democratic purpose is possible of attainment in proportion as it is planned and instrumented.

Social institutions which are designed to foster the growth of all mankind, social relationships which express faith in the possibility of that growth can be made to operate.

There will be required, of course, a vast amount of experiment, of testing by experience, to move even slowly toward the achievement of equality, liberty and social control in the interests of all. The greatest problem of all may be the recognition of the growth of all men as the central concern of each man. There will be great difficulty, too, in arriving at anything like a universal faith in human intelligence rather than in the promises of superstition and magic. For this to be accomplished to an increased degree, an increase and a more wide-spread understanding of the realities of human capacities and limitations is needed. Here education can perform a great service, through the creation of the opportunity, the techniques and the atmosphere for adventures in human development.
Society, School and Individual

The pertinence of the material relating to the school as an institution for social control of individual development, is that it shows no reason why such a purpose as that of democracy cannot be made to apply. At the same time, the evidence indicates that the individual person is unpredictable to a considerable degree. Therefore the school can only direct growth effectively by taking individual differences into account. This will be confirmed by the material of sections III and IV.

In the light of the evidence, the school should a) realize its importance as a means of influencing individuals; b) emphasize the experience of real problems which give the opportunity for individual learning of what it means to apply social purpose; c) discard formerly held assumptions regarding race, class and I.Q.; d) recognize emotions as fundamental driving forces which can be more powerful allies or opponents of a social ideal than "intellectualizations;" e) recognize no limits to the possibilities of growth, except the limits of social planning.

Generalizations

Planned Evolution Toward a Social Purpose is Possible

1. Evolution is not a mechanical progress toward better things. Both nature and nurture, heredity and environment are susceptible to influences of which human planning can be a major part.

2. Through the knowledge of the past, both theory and practice of human planning for the maximum growth of all can be continuously improved.
II

The Determination of Social Purpose

1. Conflicts within individuals, between individuals, within societies and between societies are primarily conflicts of purpose. Therefore it is desirable for the sake of unity in a society that there be a common purpose.

2. This purpose, whether fascist or democratic, the growth of few or of many, will be tested and developed only through experiment, or the test of experience. To be useful, therefore, a social aim will be stated in functional terms.

3. Due to the fact that societies now exist and that social life is a continuous process from the beginning to the present, it is unreasonable to expect far-reaching changes or effects of change, overnight.

4. To secure a desirable change with maximum speed, it is necessary to relate it to the values held by all (through their participation), and to deal effectively with fear of change. Cultural influences largely determine values. Fear of change is largely fear of inadequacy. A social purpose, therefore, can be developed best through cultural influences (institutions and customs) and through clarifying the procedures necessary to its operation and the benefit of each member of the social group.

5. The maximum growth of all (each) as a social purpose can derive its great effectiveness through the fact that as an idea it should appeal to all. As a matter of practice, it will appeal just to the extent that it operates efficiently to achieve its announced intention.

III.

Central Purpose in a Machine Civilization

1. In a machine civilization man tends to dazzle himself with
powerful tools, toys and weapons. As with a clever magician, the human audience is so absorbed in manipulation that it often misses the main point - the real objective and the real means for attaining it. (Perhaps the social and psychological engineers should take pains to make ideals as noisy and glittering as machinery and political stagecraft.)

IV.
Planning for Social Purpose Requires Institutional Techniques

1. Granted any social ideal, it is necessary to develop procedures which seek to realize it. As these are put into operation they will be altered by circumstances and will in turn lead to alteration in the meanings of the ideal. But the fact remains that no wishing by itself will magically bring about the realization of an ideal. Step-by-step procedures are required.

2. In designing procedures, the early recognition of limiting possibilities will save some fruitless trial and error. The experience of the human race seems to indicate that to promote maximum growth of all, it is wise to recognize,

(a) That no two of anything are identical, though they may be similar. Thus absolutist methods and authoritarianism will be limited in effectiveness to a relatively small time and space.
(b) A desire for growth seems central in both individuals and societies. But it is not only growth itself but a recognition of growth by the individual and his associates which provides the dynamic leverage of this social ideal.
Meanings are Social and Are Tools

1. It has been asserted that the social aim of the maximum growth of all accords with the nature of life - the desires of each individual. Yet the understanding and achievement of this purpose is very largely dependent on social or cultural tools.

Examples:

Culture Helps Growth

The advantage of civilization is that it provides more extensive opportunities for human growth than can ever be present in less developed social groups. Thus the richness of a language, the accumulated inventions, the variety and adequacy of forms of mastery of the environment - these provide tools which no individual by himself has at his disposal.

Meanings are Social

The individual creates a unique set of ideas and values for himself. But the larger meanings of individual human experience are social meanings. That is, the big purposes, satisfactions and dissatisfactions of individuals are always related to social purposes, approvals and disapprovals.

The Meaning of Language is Social

Language plays its role in human development as one instrument of social interrelationship. It is a tremendous instrument. But it is never an end in itself. It derives its meaning from a social situation, not from a dictionary. However, there is always an individual interpretation of the social meaning.

The Meaning of Invention and Discovery is Social

Like language, specific inventions and discoveries get their meaning from the social situation. For example, gun powder in ancient China and in Modern Europe; many medical discoveries such as the anatomy of the body, the circulation of the blood, and the existence of microbes, are used in different ways because of social "readiness" or are not used at first because people in general were ignorant of their
possibilities. Both the meaning and the transmission of discoveries depend on the cultural pattern.

**Culture Content Always Changing**

Cultural content is constantly increasing as individual human contributions to it increase. Thus the minimum required content for adequate growth in a culture is constantly changing—increasing in some directions and decreasing in others.

**Cultural Group is Characterized by Creative Interaction**

A cultural group is not an organism. It is not the sum of organisms which compose it. It is a community of organisms composed of common and differing interests and behaviors. The outstanding characteristic of a culture group is creative interaction rather than static pattern.

**Unity Requires Participation**

There is no common culture of common meaning unless all participate in creating it.

**VI. CONTROLS**

1. The creation of cultural tools and techniques for the service of the maximum growth of all involves a continuous development of more and more adequate social controls—of persons of natural environment, of institutions and other constructs.

2. If the aim be maximum growth, the authority for all controls will rest upon their effectiveness in promoting this aim. The conditions necessary to achieve maximum growth—they only have the right to be imposed.

3. Effective personal leadership under the terms of this aim, interprets the will of the people for whom it is employed. It sets them free to use their abilities, to create the necessary opportunities to
increase the use and development of all their powers.

4. In a democracy, controls through institutions which exist for the promotion of limited benefits rather than for the general good of all are socially irresponsible.

5. Controls can be made effective through employment of scientific knowledge. Thus science and other fields of study are not, in terms of the democratic purpose, justifiable as ends in themselves. They are useful and good according to their effectiveness in promoting the maximum growth of all.

6. The fact that all human beings desire status-recognition offers a major opportunity for democratic social control through the social recognition of contributions to the growth of all, whether by invention, leadership, or day-to-day behavior.

7. Control through punishment and revenge is an inferior and often ineffective form of social direction, since the evidence shows that such repressions as result are often detrimental to the growth of genuine social responsibility.

8. Since emotion is more fundamental than intellect as a driving power to human action, effective controls will be emotionally strong. Control in the interests of maximum growth for all will gain its power through the feeling of each individual that it is operative to further his own deepest desires.
SECTION III

THE INDIVIDUAL
The Individual

No individual represents more than a small part of the potentialities of his protoplasm, even as regards general anatomical and physiological characteristics, and environment is an essential factor in determining what part he does represent.

We could never guess from looking at the egg of a frog, a bird, or a man that that single cell possessed the potentialities of becoming a frog, a bird, or a man. We know from experience, however, that it does possess such potentialities and we call them its heredity. But...development...is not a spontaneous process but a process of protoplasmic education...We find...that the same kind of protoplasm may give very different results according to its education.

- C. E. Child
CHAPTER VII

ISSUES AND TENDENCIES IN INDIVIDUAL GROWTH

The Individual

Introductory

In the discussion of social purpose and instrumentation in the preceding section, it was made evident that the democratic purpose can be applied to the relations of men with other men and with environment. That purpose, as characterized in the seven criteria set up at the conclusion of Chapter I, is distinguished by its central concern with man, and his development. "What is man?" is almost as difficult and as old a question as "What is truth?" And it is difficult for the same reason. Man is never twice exactly the same thing. The individual man changes as he grows; social groups change as they function. No two men or groups are identical. Yet, at the same time, there are sufficient similarities so that the genus homo can be recognized as such, and the single individual comes to be recognized as a unique personality with an identity which continues throughout life.

A concern for the maximum growth of this creature, man, must therefore be based on a continuous study of human nature in all its aspects - physical, mental, emotional. Since science has shown the value of generalizations which will approximately cover a large number of instances, human nature in the large will constitute the main inquiry of this Section. But it must not be forgotten that the generalizations are based on individual instances. Furthermore, their chief value in achieving the democratic purpose is to make it possible to develop adequate means for promoting

- 169 -
equality of opportunity, liberty to use that opportunity to the best advantage and social control which actually accomplishes the increasing growth of all individuals.

A preview of the material in this Section, shows that there is no firmly established theory which explains all human behavior. The problems of instinct and motive, of heredity vs. environment as factors in growth are still unsolved. Yet in the phenomenal recent advances of the sciences of man, there are now provided a number of valuable hypotheses, and a huge number of clues of "facts" which can be profitably employed in the processes of a democracy.

The significance of hypotheses and facts can be briefly suggested.

So long as atomistic or class rather than Field Theories were accepted, it was natural to believe that by proceeding from general to specific classifications, the secret of human behavior could be unfolded - or rather, taken apart, piece by piece. The question for the Atomistic theorist was, "How is it put together and of what materials?" This assumed that there were ultimate "facts" and answers to the "Why?" of human behavior. Belief in such theories has led philosophers to seek absolutes, and educators to believe in mechanical drill-work. As a specific illustration, it is quite common to find teachers of shop work who drill their students on each separate step in the process of handling tools and materials, then expect that the student, perfected in each step by itself, will put them together in a successful piece of construction. For example, in one shop, the teacher began with drill on recognizing words, then measuring and making wood, then lessons in the identification of saw teeth. Then came lessons in sawing a perfectly straight line. Then came lessons in the recognition of the parts of the plane, then the
learner was assigned to assembling and dis-assembling the plane. Finally, the happy day came when the student took wood, pencil, square, saw, plane, sawed a piece of wood, and began the long days and weeks of practice in squaring surfaces till they were perfect. When this was achieved, he was ready to begin learning the next series of operations which, in his second or third year of shop experience would enable him to begin making the table which he had wanted to build when he began.

This actual example of discrete learnings of discrete elements has been duplicated many times in many shops, language classes, mathematics classes, science classes, and other fields. The ruthless dissection of plays and poems is an example familiar to most people.

For generations, the artists protested against this piece-meal treatment, and students suffered in silence or revolted against the "disciplines" so enforced. With the development of the Field Theory, and of Gestalt psychology, the situation has begun to change. It is now being recognized that learning is by wholes, that things-in-relationship are the proper (i.e. effective) subjects of study. It is not only the relationships of things to each other, but of things to people which are now recognized as important. The interests of students and the requirements of social living are beginning to be seen as important parts of the learning process. Emphasis is shifting to the study of "how" rather than the learning of ready-made answers to "Why."

As a result, the growth process is being studied, evidence is beginning to accumulate. The means of promoting the growth of individuals through a range of opportunities to participate are becoming more varied. Equality of opportunity is recognized as having something to do with individual readiness, with all it implies regarding previous experience
and desires. Social control for the maximum growth of all is changing in its nature. It is being recognized that learning cannot be legislated into effect, it has to take place in uniquely different individuals through varying experiences and at varying tempos. Thus the study of the individual human being can contribute to the effectiveness of the techniques to make democracy work.

To return, the questions to be discussed in the present Section have to do with the individual human being: What is he as we know him? What are the chief aspects of the growth of the individual? Can there be derived from these a greater understanding of the considerations and techniques which are necessary to further maximum growth?

Evidence, opinions and interpretations relative to these questions are offered in this section. Fortunately, there is a quantity of material which purports to offer evidence. Unfortunately, some of it is of the post hoc propter hoc sort (for example, the studies of attitude changes), and most of all, there is a serious lack of a satisfactory unifying theory to encompass all the work of the psychological and educational experimenters. In Chapter VIII, some important efforts in the direction of such a theory are briefly described.

The difficulties which stand in the way of a unified theory are encountered chiefly in the question of the source of motives, drives, and directions. The most modern thinking accepts the field theory, but in the opinion of most students has not by any means given a completely satisfying delineation of its applications to the study of individual growth.

In point of time, human psychology is young as a science. It is little wonder, therefore, if a unifying theory has not yet been involved.
For many years, explanations of behavior based on theories regarding instincts occupied attention. This attempt to explain motivation was sharply attacked by the behaviorists. Allied to the question of instincts was the problem of heredity and nurture, which occupied a foremost place in the interests of scholars. It is now seen that this is a false opposition, that these are terms which apply to two complementary parts of the process of growth. Having demolished at least a part of the mysticism accompanying the belief in instincts, Behaviorism in turn, found itself opposed by evidence that living organisms are creative rather than mechanical in their processes.

The issues which have been indicated, have left their mark on present day thinking, and are represented in much of present educational practice. Further mention of them and a general description of the old and the new, the Class Theory method of study and interpretation as compared with the Field Theory method, follow.

**GENERAL ISSUES AND PRIMARY FACTS**

The Issue of Instincts

As mentioned above, the literature dealing with the individual was once deeply concerned with the question of instincts. It is instructive to look at the lists of these "mythical potencies," as formulated by William James or William McDougall. Their lists are really descriptive of classes of behavior. In the sense that science begins with classification, they were aiding science. In another sense they were not, of course, since the mythical cannot be investigated except as a phenomenon of faith.
The Issue of Heredity and Environment

Despite the current rejection of instincts and of Galton's assumption of hereditary talent, there has remained a dominant concern for accurate delimitation of what is hereditary and what is environmental. Various recent yearbooks of educational societies have been devoted to the subject, and all the sciences dealing with man make reference to it. But there has been a profound shift in the assumptions concerning the nature and power of heredity. It is fairly general, today, to assume that heredity is limited in two ways. First, to structural tendencies; second, by environmental influences which begin to operate on the specific individual at conception.

At first glance it might seem that the modern stress on environmental influences would justify the old wive's tales regarding the attitude and experiences of the mother ("She was frightened by a horse and the child has never been able to go near one.") This is not proved, of course. The pre-birth environment of the child is remarkably stable, and what influences affect the fetal organism are either very subtle (like the sense of security which some psychiatrists assume) or very gross (like the birth trauma, or malnourishment due to pathological condition in the mother).

In the absence of more opportunity for study of the human being, much information on the subject comes from the research on animals as to early development, and the rest is inferred from human behavior, especially as observed by the geneticists.

Since heredity and environment are now generally conceded to be involved in all aspects of growth, the modern trend has been to describe salient characteristics of the process of development, in terms which accord very closely with the growth hypothesis as it is presented in this document.
The modern tendency is toward a tentative treatment of the relative meanings of environment and heredity. It recognizes genetic inheritance as a factor of importance in individual nature. At the same time it recognizes a very wide range of environmental factors, with great potency. It recognizes both these factors as mutually interacting throughout the process of conception and life. It places stress on the necessity of studying the individual case in order to analyze relative potencies and in order to make diagnosis and predictions regarding individual personality.

Relativism - the Field Theory

It was the hope of an earlier generation that the study of personality would become to a considerable extent a science like the physical sciences.*

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*cf. Freud (133, 102). He remarked: "Our path has been like that of chemistry; the great qualitative differences between substances were traced back to variations quantitative in the proportions in which the same elements were combined."

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A newer generation, supported by new concepts of matter takes the point of view that it is not the strength of elements, but the total behavior trend in reference to a total situation which must be studied and described.*

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George W. Hartman (279, 243) in discussing the two different approaches has quoted a Lewinian's summary of these differences. (Brown, J.F.) It is given below.
Criteria for Class Theory

1. The behavior of objects is determined by the class to which they belong.

2. The force directing behavior shows the properties of an entelechy.

3. There is local determination.

4. The concepts used in "class theory are primarily substantial.

5. The method of scientific analysis is largely structural.

6. The analysis is in terms of historically and geographically conditioned regularities.

7. The method is primarily empirical.

8. The analysis allows dichotomies.

9. Class theory tends to use valutative concepts.

10. Class theory attempts to answer a metaphysical "why?"

Criteria for Field Theory

1. The behavior of objects is determined by the structure of the field of which they are a part.

2. The force directing behavior shows the properties of a vector.

3. There is no local determination.

4. The concepts used in field theory are mainly functional.

5. The method of scientific analysis is primarily relational.

6. The analysis is in terms of historical - typical laws.

7. The method is hypothetical-deductive.

8. The analysis allows no dichotomies.


10. Field theory attempts to answer a scientific "how?"

These two types of theory illustrate quite clearly the shift referred to above. The criteria of the "class" or additive theory are those of a search for a somewhat absolute description of behavior and cause. This theory tends to rely on a rigid and atomistic analysis of factors. The criteria of the "field" theory, on the other hand, are those of a more tentative (and truly scientific) and pragmatic attitude. They belong to a universe of relativity in which there is a continuous process of interaction. This process is assumed to produce continuously new combinations, and has been called the process of emergent evolution.
As hypotheses differ, from the more mechanical ones of the neo-behaviorists, to those assuming emergent creative purpose on the part of the Gestaltists, so the descriptions of the individual differ in emphasis. Yet from all sources comes a fairly close agreement on certain bodies of evidence and inference. It is this sort of evidence which has been sought in the present work. It may be called evidence and opinion with regard to growth - tendencies, generally observed and accepted. It may be grouped under two major heads:

1) **Primary Facts or Tendencies Which Seem Most Basic and Earliest in the Life-Sequence.**

2) **Developmental Aspects of Primary Facts, or Tendencies which Seem to Deserve Most Emphasis in Describing the Course of Individual Growth, Especially as it Concerns the Educator.**

Under this head the data are again divided into three large classes:

a. Tendencies in Relation to Personal Identity
b. Tendencies in Relation to Environment
c. Tendencies in Relation to Learning and Intelligence

The discussion of the data will be grouped under these heads.

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**Primary Facts**

From the moment of fertilization of the ovum, each individual is unique. He inherits two sets of genes, one from his father, one from his mother,* and these will influence the development of physical struct-

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*Jennings (170, 294, 295) calculates that in man, since the mother has 17,000 germ cells, the father more than 300 billions, "the odds are practically infinite against your existence or my existence." He concludes that uniqueness is due to interaction with environment at least as much as to this combination of genes, however.
ures which are likely to resemble those of his ancestors. They will, for example, influence his color, his size, the shape of his fingers, his sex, his skin texture, teeth, hair and presumably the adequacy of his central nervous system and ductless glands ("feeble-mindedness" can be inherited).

Part of his primary equipment are three interacting classes of physical constituents. These exist as his hereditary equipment. Their development is very much due to environment. They will play a great part in the control and directions of his behavior. These constituents are the Receptors (sense-organs, internal and external); the Connectors (the central nervous system and its parts); the Effectors (the duct and ductless glands, the striped and unstriped muscles).

Simply as protoplasm the body is active, learns and remembers.*

*C. Z. Child (71, 150) has pointed out that because the cell is dynamic, and because there are protoplasmic gradients, "development is based on protoplasmic memory and learning."

The individual cell will be active, exhibiting excitability, contractility, conductivity, and rhythmicity, but it should not be inferred from this that the human being as a whole, through receptors, connectors, and effectors will be active only as an accumulation of cells. The human being will be generally active as a total organism, and will proceed from general and undifferentiated mass action to increasing precision and economy of response due to both maturation and learning.*

*In summarizing the evidence on motor development, Bayley and Espenshade (22, 567, 568) state:
In general the recent researches summarized in this chapter show that during the first few years of life maturational factors are of primary importance in the development of motor coordinations; that the neonate coordinations are reflex in nature and under sub-cortical control. With development of the cortex, voluntary motor responses emerge, and the order of their maturity is in a cephalo-caudal direction.

As a part of both activity and maturation, the individual will display hunger. The basic hungers are those for food, drink, stimulation, rest, affection and sex activity. These are so basic that any failure to satisfy them causes basic mal-adjustment. The new-born babe, for example, needs to be cuddled in order to relish food, be healthy, and grow satisfactorily.

The individual will normally mature physically through first a process of cell division, later an increase in size and weight, brain complexity, functional complexity — an increase in the facility and efficiency of activities. Physical maturation will play its part in mental maturation, since it will increase the scope of opportunities for development. However, the mere duration of physical growth is not by any means an accurate index to mental growth. Mental age is not equal to chronological age. There is evidence that the cerebral cortex is not usually "mature" till about the age of puberty, but even this fact is variable with each person and its meanings are by no means clear.*

*Hamilton (156, 95) in a review of over three hundred publications on intelligence and the human brain, states that there is no discoverable localization of function within the several lobes of the brain. Thus the time of maturation of the cortex is not a conclusive evidence of the time of functional maturation.
The maturation of physical structures is a function of the internal workings of the organism to such an extent that certain capacities for function and growth must simply await their own time in each individual instance. This is true for example with eye structures and the neural and muscular structures for locomotion. It is true also of the capacity for remembering. Hence, while reading or climbing steps can be "taught" earlier than they would naturally appear, the evidence is that no lasting gain, and possibly some harm may result in forcing them prematurely.

There are no mental and emotional muscles to be improved by mere repetitive exercise. Learning and judgment are dependent on intricate coordinations of nerves and glands which must be nourished rather than exercised in order to achieve maturity.

The behavior of the organism which is called "emotional" begins very early, is subject to development, and is now generally accepted as having the closest relationship to the physical and mental development of each person. From the first, the infant displays signs of likes and dislikes, which begin on the physical plane and develop into emotions, attitudes, and the like.

In each individual, the endocrine system is of great importance, and slight shifts in its functioning may produce profound changes in the total organism.* For example, a thyroid deficiency and the consequent

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*For excellent review of work in this field by McFarland and Goldsten, Hoskins, Cannon and others, see Young, Kimball, Personality and Problems of Adjustment, (544, 740-748).
The maturation of structure which occurs from inner causes such as chemical and other physiological changes, seems to proceed not only at an individual rate, but in rhythms or cycles.

The periodicity of the organism is well-known through external evidences such as cycles of activity and rest, of hunger and satiety. Attention is paid to these cycles in the care of infants. Attention is not so carefully adjusted to the equal fact that there are cycles of mental and emotional growth. For example, though attention has been called to it by studies of learning and its "plateaus," it cannot be said that most school schedules recognize sufficiently the periodicity of mental life. "Minimum requirements" and "standards" are too often fixed by the pre-conceived sequence of a course of study rather than by reference to the actual maturity of pupils.

In the whole process of maturing, the physical structures and the mental and emotional experiences are all related through the limitations and foci of activity which are invoked by past experience and future expectation. Experience is not alone determined by conditions outside of the organism. The "somatic" and psychic condition of the organism will determine the form of its interaction with the environment outside the skin. Thus, the following are some of the factors which influence growth: race, age, sex, family, heredity, prenatal conditions, birth
experience, birth order, maternal age at pregnancy, endocrine glands, nutrition, health, disease, seasons, atmosphere, race culture, socio-economic status, education, social pressure, family and neighborhood, acquaintances and friends, knowledge, exercise, interests, emotions and sex changes.

From the beginning, the human individual is a unique unity. It develops its original unity as a physical organism and takes on more and more characteristics which compose the personality. The raw materials of identity and unity of personality seem to be physique, intelligence and temperament. (Physical, mental, emotional. These growths require freedom, require opportunity, require control, within person, within society.) In all three of these the individual is distinguishable through two different facts - one, a certain persistence or invariability (e.g., desires, appetites, needs, bone and nerve structure); the other through the individual forms of change which occur (the "style" of activity such as particular ways of feeding or playing; the forms of expressions of affections and interest). The organic unity of the organism is shown in the fact that first movements obviously involve the whole body, and that later, specific attitudes are based on traits which are characteristic of the individual.

To return to emotion.*

*The exposition here follows closely that of Prescott (261) whose book on Emotion and the Educative Process had made educators aware of the fact that they cannot overlook the importance of feelings at any step of the educational process.
Since emotion is pervasive in all activity, it is important to trace its beginnings in simple likes and dislikes, or affinities and abstractions. Examples of adient reactions are: curiosity, acquisitions and gregariousness or any adjustment to receive more of a given stimulus. Examples of abient response are fear, rage, or any failure of adjustment. These responses are connected with cranial-autonomic operations (as in the case of love) and with thoracic-lumbar operations (as in the case of fear and rage). The particular quality of the adient or abient emotion seems to be determined by the particular object of it, and the circumstances outside and inside the organism. Both forms of reaction have to do with what appears to be an innate biological tendency of the organism to seek optimum conditions for itself (for growth).

The complex state of being called emotion, is believed to accompany all behavior. It comes out most strongly under stress, - actual or imagined. It is adient or abient in "coloring." It may be initiated by internal activities and process of the organism, which in turn, may have been affected by conditions from the past. For example, it has been shown that teachers are emotionally affected in their most "objective" evaluations and tend to overlook a significantly larger number of the errors of their "best" pupils than of their "poor" ones. Similarly both the existence of and the social reaction to conceit, selfishness, timidity, unkindliness, prejudice, pride, untruthfulness, dishonesty, self-confidence, self-abasement, fears, worries, anxieties, inhibitions, antipathies, mannerisms and antagonisms are emotional and are effects of past experience. In some cases, these effects are traceable to physiological processes which accompany emotion (e.g., anger and fear - adrenin and thyroxin effects; interference with digestion).
Emotion is connected with both superficial and deeper (unconscious) meanings. It may be that an emotional outburst is found useful as a leverage to get something. An emotion may be the reaction to a feeling of frustration, conscious and unconscious. It may be due to feeling of empathy (projection of self into the outer situation). It may be mixed—"parting is such sweet sorrow."

Emotion may be beneficial to learning, in fact an interest, a joy in surmounting an obstacle of spending energy purposefully, is a requisite to good learning, but if it becomes too strong, it is a disintegrative force. Uncertainty is a cause of emotion which is not always beneficial, and the emotion connected with authoritarianism whether a desire for it or a reaction against it is likely to be negative to greatest growth. Dependency is a result of the former, and anarchy may result from the latter. Questions of "right" and "wrong" come to cause the most emotional response, in direct proportion to adult influence on this aspect of infant living.

To the unity of personality mentioned earlier, emotion may be harmful or beneficial, then, according to its strength and its object. It is good where it aids the creativeness and inventiveness of the individual, the search for goals, for organizations, for a fruitful pattern of living. It is present in compensatory activities, and in the hero worship through which the individual seeks to identify himself with a successful unity outside. But when it leads to desire for complete freedom, complete self-expression and continuous success, it endangers the whole unity of the person or develops a pathological form of extreme self-centeredness such as is found in paranoid behavior.

With the fact of emotion as a pervasive part of all activity estab-
lished, and with the earlier emphasis on wholeness and undifferentiated action, should go some mention of directed activity. How does it happen that the diffuse movements of the infant become the precise, value-centered conduct of later life?

The individual tends to specialize activities in order to satisfy his hungers and desires. Examples of specialized activities in the early phases of life are: feeding, vocalizing, manipulating and locomotion. Sulkiness and tantrums may occur as special means to break monotony or remove frustration. Later in life some specialized activities such as communication through writing, dancing and drawing, forms of interaction with environment such as reading, imagining and analyzing, or reactions against repressive discipline which may take diverse forms such as bullying or day-dreaming.

As already indicated, the specialization of activities is part of the process of directional movement, which begins very early in infancy. Specialization, movement in a particular direction, is the beginning of the formulation of value concepts and goals.

According to the field potential or gradient theory, direction is always in the line of least action. This means that the prepotency of one feature of a situation corresponds to the distribution of energy within the organism. This would explain the observed fact that choiosis toward an outstanding feature of a graded series of qualities. For example, on a very elementary or early level, choice would be made of the brightest color or the loudest sound in a series. At a more complex stage, it would be choice of the object which has most meaning to the organism regardless of its superficial qualities. Examples of this would
be choice of familiar in preference to unfamiliar food; choice of a well-
liked friend as partner in a game, choice of work which is attractive for
ideal or practical reasons based on previous experience.

A highly significant fact which comes from observation of behavior is
that the normally growing organism tends to increasing self-direction.
This process may be impeded by lack of psychological meaning or by
frustration and failure too great for the capacities of the individual.

It has already been pointed out that the organism seeks stimulus.
In early life it is the physical stimulus of bodily contact. Soon appears
an elementary seeking for affection and recognition and this becomes a
search for motivating challenge and for a significant place in society.

It should not be forgotten that directional movement is early
connected with "right" and "wrong" by adults, and accumulates strong
emotional connotations around these words. Value concepts are visceral
in this way, that the autonomic stimuli change organic conditions and are
changed by them in turn whenever a choice and the emotions connected with
it are operative.

As behavior takes direction and as the satisfying or unsatisfying
quality of a direction has its effect on the organism, there is a growing
likelihood of choice made in terms of calculated future possibilities.
If the field theory (or the Wheeler and Perkins (1952) organismic theory)
is correct, then the energy system is a unit and any disturbance will call
forth maximum energy to restore balance. At least it may be said that in
its striving for unity and growth, the individual organism becomes cap-
able of foresight (calculation and feeling based on experience) in terms
of which it plans the direction of activity.
It is thus that the tendency to work develops. Work is activity for an ulterior purpose.

Best work depends on, a) internal stimulation due to organic periodicity of effects of environment; b) an attractive goal; c) the problem or choice being on the learner's level of insight; d) the teacher or guide or companions being enthusiastic, generous, well-balanced or attractive; e) a chance to be creative.

In the work activity itself, it is found that just as in all other primary phases of growth — tendencies, the period of efficiency is a uniquely individual one — too long a period of work produces diffusion.*

*Wheeler and Perkins (332, 343) refer to an industrial experiment in efficiency of riveting which showed that "resting five hours and 20 minutes out of a 10-hour work day increased the output 266 per cent." They refer also to Jones, E. D., Administration of Industrial Enterprises. Longmans Green. New York, 1919

Summary

Instincts are now recognized as aspects of behavior which can be more usefully described and investigated if they are not assumed to be mythical potencies. Heredity and environment are recognized as terms for interacting aspects of a total situation. In other words, each perpetually qualifies the other. The Field Theory provides a new, non-atomistic, relativistic set of assumptions for directing investigation.

The scientific investigations of all schools, provide certain data which are soundly substantiated and which may be said to constitute a body of primary "facts."

In the succeeding pages, these "facts" (largely derived from study of infants) regarding individual tendencies are discussed in the light of
studies and observations of the whole development or growth process
during the life of the individual.

Since the literature is large and invites endless categories, an
arbitrary division has been made of the material to be discussed. Because
of their obvious relevance to the promotion of growth, three major
divisions are used, namely: Growth Tendencies in Relation to Development
of Personal Identity; Growth Tendencies in Relation to Environment,
Especially Social; Growth Tendencies in Relation to Learning and
Intelligence.

The material of the ensuing pages, as well as that on "primary facts,"
is extended and documented in the appendix to this Section.

Trends in Relation to Personal Identity

The development of personal identity is a process of complex aspects.
The simple fact is, that out of all his forms of behavior and all aspects
of appearance, some emerge as "typical" of the individual. This means that
the individual and those around him come to recognize characteristic
qualities which are persistent. Physically, he has a characteristic
face, walk, height and weight. Psychologically he has a characteristic
temperament and traits of behavior. The first step in the recognition
of the individual seems to be classification (he is white, young, brown-
eyed, slow-spoken, determined, genial, etc.). As these general descrip-
tive classifications are multiplied, the uniqueness of the person begins
to appear. He is the only person who can be fitted into all the categor-
ies that can be applied to him. A further uniqueness is the product of
the relative dominance of certain traits. Beyond this is the unpredic-
table uniqueness of any moment of behavior. Personal identity, then, is
compounded of characteristics which the individual has in common with others - typical of certain groups - and of characteristically dominant attributes typical of the individual, his temperamental attitudes and traits.

The existence of temperamental types has long been popularly assumed, and has been incorporated into literature. (cf. the "humors," sanguine, melancholic, choleric, and phlegmatic. Also current movie and magazine type characters) The attribution of humors was an early recognition, however vague, that there were physical causes of temperamental differences. We now attribute them to the ductless glands, the digestive tract and general health, and recognize as well, social causes such as the imitation of cheery or fretful companions. Whatever the causes, there is a recognized stability and identity in personal temperament, and there are enough likenesses between persons to allow some classification into type.

Within any type, there exists infinite differences. There are three different kinds of these which are frequently described in the literature: traits, attitudes and habits.*

*Much of the point of view regarding traits and attitudes here closely parallels that of Gordon Allport (16) in Personality.

Traits are ascribed through observation of typical ways of behavior. The name is bio-social. It includes both the functions of structure which are due to inheritance through the genes, and particular responses to particular environmental conditions. Traits are persistent trends to types of behavior which are usually established early in life and are representative of the individual throughout his existence. Changes in traits can be made through changes in the correlation (or orientation) of
the individual, and through changes in efficiency. For example, a rather common trait, fear of machinery, can be altered by teaching the individual how to operate a machine. Another common trait, fear of speaking in public, can be altered in similar fashion.

A trait is really a generalized attitude. An attitude is taken as a type of behavior with reference to more specific objects. All individuals form attitudes which are characteristic, though not absolutely fixed. The evidence seems to show that self-interest (in growth) is the psychological base of attitudes, and that they will therefore be positive or negative according to their object is felt to be helpful or harmful to personal development. The word felt is important, since the "objective" facts may not correspond to the subjective judgment.

Attitudes become associated with certain symbols, according to Jung and others. As Ogden and Richards explain this fact, it is due to the workings of memory. Certain signs are taken as pointers which indicate a whole meaning or group of meanings. Through this tendency to symbolize, to sum up a meaning, attitudes are more enduring than the specific content of a situation. It has been shown repeatedly by experiment that correct general impressions of a subject field and its principles are retained after the content on which they were based is forgotten.

It has been found that the more general an adopted attitude is, the more relatively constant it remains, though specific objects of it may differ. This observation confirms what has been said above about traits.

It has been demonstrated that some attitudes are unconscious, due to trauma or shock, with accompanying intense aversion. Connected with the truly unconscious attitudes is the difference between private feel-
ings and public attitudes. It has been demonstrated that individuals will profess beliefs as members of institutional groups which they do not hold or practice as private individuals.

Changes in attitude may be brought about by experience which is dramatic enough to effect a change in insight. Some change can be effected by showing evidence or reasons. Considerable influence is exerted by majority and expert opinion. It is likely, however, that the same reason which makes social approval a force in individual development generally makes for changes of attitudes on a basis of personal feelings rather than logical proof. The proof is most used by those who wish to support attitudes they already hold. Logic seems to be an evaluative rather than a creative device, and is more useful to the logician than to his hearers.

With the development of traits and attitudes goes the formation of habits. Modern authorities seem to agree that habit is always learned, not innate, and that it is learned to serve a conscious or unconscious purpose. It seems that so long as an act results in a pleasurable feeling tone, it is likely to be repeated (though never identically so). The establishment of such an act proceeds through volition and involves (a) focus of attention; (b) attentive repetition; (c) some degree of invariability and success.

Habits or type reactions may be a resort of a feeling of inadequacy. As such, they are themselves likely to be inadequate and harmful to fullest growth.

Stereotypes which have satisfied and protected the individual against waste of time and effort in the past may serve to resist new or contra-
distortory experience and may thus conceal instead of reveal new opportunities
for learning. This has great implications for any regimented system of training, and tends to show the danger of it.

Habitual action is likely to be of a temperamental type (e.g., active or depressive) and as such is intimately bound up with the degree of emotional lability and the physiological basis of it.

Physiologically, the organism tends always to shift from instability to stability. The stability sought is a form of rest - physical and mental, and may constitute the inertia which permits the continuity of the self. As such it may be said to be an essential conservation. When this inertia is exaggerated, it becomes a hindrance to development.

Change is normal and inevitable, in the person as in the environment. The human individual changes as he matures, as he initiates, as he responds in other ways to environment, and as he alters his purposes through the perception of error.

In the course of the natural process of growth, the individual becomes first conscious of aware of awareness, and then self-conscious - aware of differences between the me and the not-me, to use James' good phrase. The Me, all that is within the skin, takes on a special quality or meaning. The Not-Me, all that is outside the skin also takes on a special quality which is generally called by the name of "reality." In the sciences the two different qualities are called subjective and objective.

Contrary to popular belief, students of the emotional life find that the child eagerly seeks contact with reality, even when it includes accompanying disappointments, antagonisms, pain, and hard work. They assert that the individual does this because he seeks to achieve harmony with reality, to organize his life successfully, especially in relation to
social forces. This explanation accords with the growth hypothesis.

It appears, then, that the attainment of self-hood, includes the attainment of social status and that each individual wishes to "find himself" as a part of an important and developing whole.

From the first pains and frustrations and the later experience of social ridicule, the individual is made acutely "self-conscious," aware of incompatibilities, between the world inside and that outside. To a degree which varies with the individual, he realizes the need to harmonize his individual goals with those of society and the facts of environment. The attempt to achieve "independence" is the attempt to grow most fully. Independence is relative, and the artistry of living consists in mingling personal and social goals.

The conflicts, and the failures of being are due in part to objective conditions, but in greater measure, perhaps, to conflicts of purpose and failures to accord with social forces. The vastness of the universe makes some conflicts and failures inevitable, and contributes to the tendency of all persons to feel and to actually be insecure.

Insecurity may be due to differences between wants and realizations, to stimulation and consequent ill-judged acts, to phobias contracted in early experience, to the uprootedness of modern city civilization, to experience of illness, loss of status, loss of income, in short: to the experience of inability to know or to control all factors in growth.

From the physiological need for stability, and from professed social attitudes which are always more static than events, the scholars have found that the young person is likely to have a considerable tendency to self-dis-esteem, greater feelings of inferiority than are actually justified are seen in the physical, social and intellectual realms. This
feeling is an accompaniment, for example, of lack of mechanical skill when a car breaks down, relations between girls and boys, and difficulty in solving classroom problems.

As stated in the description of eagerness to experience reality, rhythms of maladjustment and adjustment are normal. But too great or too many failures cause a deep sense of deficiency which may in turn have a large negative effect on development (inferiority complex) and actually contribute to physical incapacity such as low vitality and sexual impotence, or to social and mental handicaps such as unpleasant appearance, conversational inadequacy, poverty, lack of education, poor memory, and an overwhelming sense of guilt and sin.

If the sense of self-dis-esteem is not too great for the individual's stage of growth, it will have a good result in direction or adequate compensation. Well-known examples are found in the case of Demosthenes and Winston Churchill who became famous orators despite a speech defect; in Franklin D. Roosevelt who reached his full stature as a statesman after a crippling illness; in humbler cases such as the substitution of wit for good looks by a plain girl.

Negative effects, unrealistic results, are seen in the telling of tall tales by children and adults, in the defense mechanism of adolescent exaggeration or lying, or in self-justification by false rationalization, condemnation of others, schizoid phantasy, day-dreams or neurotic pseudo-illness.

In the opinion of many investigators of religious phenomena, religion is a form of self-abasement before the infinite mysteries of the universe. It is an important tendency in all men to pattern their experience through some manner of religious behavior. This provides a formalized compensation
for personal frustration in the attempt to understand and control external reality. It extends from animism to art, the institution of the medicine man, philosophy and science as well as current religions.

Through successful adjustment and accomplishment whether in religions or in every-day life, comes the opposite tendency: to self-esteem. The early consciousness of self-, the egoism of childhood is ministered to by a great amount of attention from parents, and the lack of awareness of comparative standards. The persistence of great egoism, however, is a sign of undeveloped personality. It is part of normal growth to know and accept codes and manners and to become altruistic.

Related to the consciousness of self is the tendency to seek power. Dominance aids the feeling of satisfaction by putting the individual in a social position to use all his capacities. In addition, the competitive nature of our economic life; the giving of money rewards to the winning competitor, the resulting recognition and increased power to choose - these are ministers to the power-seeking tendencies of the individual.

In review of tendencies to achieve self-hood and personality, an increasing emphasis has been placed on the effects of environment. In the pages immediately to follow this relationship is discussed more fully.*

*Note: Extensive documentation for this and succeeding parts of Section III is indicated in the Appendix.
Individual Growth and Environment - Especially Social

...the evidence is complete that what a cell becomes, what line of development it follows, depends not merely on what it has within it, but on its relation to the other parts of the embryo. The cells adapt themselves and their developmental processes to the conditions in the cells that constitute their immediate environment. Thus from the beginning development is adjusted to the environment; adjustment of the parts to each other.

- H. S. Jennings (170, 95, 96)

The earlier discussion of heredity and environment pointed out the inextricable and continuous action and reaction between the cell or the complex organism and all else around it.

Through the senses of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, pressure, warmth, cold, pain, touch, posture, balance, movement and strain, the organism makes contact with the physical world. Thus from the first, it responds to environment. These responses are occasioned by many chance stimuli and are non-specific at first. As time goes on they become increasingly significant or meaningful to the individual, and are likewise increasingly purposeful.

Responses take the form of somatic structure as well as psychological "structures." An example of the former is the large belly of the Eskimo who eats to obliterate past and future food scarcity. Examples of the latter are the easy ways of life in the tropics and the drive for production in the temperate zones. The child makes very important responses to environment through play, inquisitiveness, and collection of all sorts of objects. Through wandering about in his world the child encounters more and more parts of it. Through handling and constructing all sorts of materials from grass to stones, the child learns to know and to adapt.
himself to physical environment.

There is not, for the growing organism, a difference in the "reality" of physical and cultural environment. Anything which occupies our attention, or stimulates behavior, is a reality. The social stimuli, the cultural influences which affect human growth are very powerful.

Responses to social environment are as manifold as the people and activities which compose it. Reports of observations and experiment show that even very young children alter responses according to signs of youth and old age in the people who are near them. They are quick to note signs also of health or disease, frankness or deceitfulness, aggressiveness, fear, affection and security. These elements are all very real influences in the home and school experience of children. Of similar importance are all forms of communication, devices and inventions, work activities, institutions, moral and ethical codes, customs and conventions, in short, the manners, prejudices, ideals and aspirations of people around them give infants and children their first clues to patterns for their own behavior. Therefore, and because all children want to belong, they tend to adapt and channel their activities into forms most encouraged by the social environment.

This point is worth further comment. For example, it is shown by the anthropologists that children may express fear by attitudes of pugnacity, flight, or cooperation, according to the social forms which their elders follow. Even within these expressions, the cultural influence is felt. In one society fighting takes the form of single combat, in another of group attack.

Again, individuals will seek gain through either selfish or cooperative organization according to the customs of their elders. Self-
assertion may take the form of rivalry or obedience. Group recognition may be sought through expression of loyalty or of seeking the status of the outcast.

In some societies it is a virtue to lie. In others where it is not, lying is likely to be practiced as a form of escape from social consequences or discipline which is not understood or acceptable. Lying is likely to occur where the usefulness of honesty is not demonstrated by parents and teachers. It may, of course, be simply a demonstration of imagination and unfulfilled desires.

Honesty is not "natural," it is an acquired principle of action. So too are the other forms of behavior which have been mentioned. This fact shows the great obligations of all who are interested in education.

It should be mentioned further that blind loyalty, which is frequently expected of children, is considered by psychologists to be a sign of immaturity. Mature loyalty cannot be taught directly. It is like competition, cooperation, or leadership in that it is taught by the social experiences which have most meaning to the learner.

As already indicated, wanting to belong is one of the strongest tendencies in the individual member of a human society. Through the attainment of this desire, the individual may achieve larger satisfaction which depends on social approval. The clique or gang is a device for enhancing the sense of belonging. Some Gestaltists and anthropologists consider that rather early the individual recognizes a part-whole relationship between himself and society and that he is thus willing to subordinate himself for the sake of larger gains.

To resemble others is a means of belonging to them. It is probable that through intense desire to be as good as any in the social group
arises much jealousy of others and the paradox of such anti-social behavior as stealing and cheating for the purpose of "keeping up" with it. Another aspect of this tendency is reported from savage societies where the object of conforming and being socially acceptable results in stereotypes where behavior becomes extremely ritualistic. This same desire to behave in a fashion completely consistent with the accepted canons of group esteem is magnified in small town society, in fraternities and sororities and in institutionalized societies such as church groups and fraternal organizations. The profession of common ideals, and the feeling of obligation to a group has a strong effect on feelings of achievement (the artist who is not recognized is unhappy) and is potent in the development of feelings of guilt. A sense of guilt is a sense of transgression against a commonly accepted social requirement. For this reason, a "crime" will have great effect on an individual. If he is caught and punished, the form of punishment will have lasting results. If his punishment makes him feel still more an outcast, he is likely to become hopeless and to make fewer efforts to become acceptable once more. If his treatment is such as to offer means of this return he has a better chance to "reform."

The desire for justice, which Leta Hollingsworth has noted as an outstanding characteristic of the adolescent, is quite often a sign of disparity between the hopes and ideals of the youth, and his possibilities for attaining them. Because his own sense of frustration may be strong, the young person is likely to feel more identification with others whose aspirations are thwarted. He is thus capable of a very high order of altruistic idealism, and is likely to want to act upon it, to search for effective ways of making it work. The process of education may be such as
to help or hinder this search.

**Summary**

There is evidence to show that the climate of social opinion is at least equal in importance to the physical climate in affecting the growth of a human being. It is a continuous, various, ubiquitous, subtle, and powerful concomitant of growing up. People in general have recognized the power of cultural forces in the creation of laws and institutions to apply them. They have only begun to recognize the psychological facts which are necessary in order to make cultural forces truly effective toward the purpose for which they are intended.

**Growth of Learning and Intelligence**

Much of the foregoing treatment of individual development has indicated the current trend in the description of the learning process. The best evidence of learning would be "intelligent action." "Intelligent action" is that which is adequate relative to the situation in which it occurs, and to the purpose of the doer. "Adequate" like all the other terms is relative also. A mistake, or a lack of full adjustment may be a significant aid to learning. Kohler has pointed this out in classifying errors as stupid or clever. This classification indicates that an action which shows insight, even though it fails of its immediate purpose, may be a part of a learning continuum in which it represents an advance over previous attempts to solve a problem, and a part of a further advance or solution. If accepted, this qualification has an important bearing on evaluation. It would indicate that schools should take into account the progress of the individual relative to himself as well as relative to the task and to other individuals.
Since intelligent action is descriptive of so much of the process of growth, it may be well to give a review of its salient characteristics.

It has been shown that learning is a process incidental to a striving for goals. In the infant, it takes the form of activity to satisfy personal needs for air, food, water, exercise, affection, rich experience of stimuli and the like, and is influenced by feelings of pleasure and annoyance. Since these are goals of a whole organism, and there is interaction between it and the total external situation, better, quicker and more permanent learning takes place when the whole is understood and the part is related to it. For example, in the field of mathematics (124) experiments have proved that a child who has learned every process needed to solve an algebra problem may fail to solve the problem because he has not grasped the relationship between the part processes to the problem. Another experiment has shown that the "learning" (memorizing) of the multiplication table is greatly speeded by relating it to a demonstrated need.

In the sense that purpose meets obstacles, an obstacle to be overcome is a cause of learning. The stronger the motive of the individual, the more vigorous is his effort to achieve it, the more rapid his learning, the shorter the period of "trial and error." This accounts for the observed fact that in general children who learn fastest retain longest.

Through inferences made as a result of activity, present experience becomes related to past and future experience. Thus learning may be said to be characterized as a continuous process of making discoveries, and these discoveries come from so-called trial and error which would be better called a period of exploration. It is not known to just what extent one individual can benefit by another's learning, but it is fairly certain
that it is limited to what has already been experienced and needs only
to be high-lighted so that meaning becomes more clear. Schools which
deprive the individual of the experience of exploration and discovery are
thereby limiting learning.

When the individual shows increasing recognition of a specific
objective, and increasing precision and economy of response, then the
observer may conclude that real learning is taking place. This assumes,
of course, that the learner achieves these for himself. It is question-
able to assume that teacher goals and techniques can ever be directly
transmitted to students.

The Gestaltists have established the fact that learning occurs through
assimilation or synthesis, rather than accretion. The synthesis is the
result of perception of meaning. Meaning seems to be a function of a
comparison process - contrast, gradation, pair-wise selection. It has
nowhere been proved that selection is a 1 to 1 correspondence of a stimulus
and a discrete response, as Pavlov once assumed. Thus the frequency and
reccency of an activity may result in temporary fixation of attention and
energy, but by itself it does not guarantee learning.

In all aspects of learning, the emotional tone of the person is an
important factor. The best accomplishment is in part the result of joy
in the activity. Poor learning is quite generally found to result after
discouragement such as predictions of failure. (As reported by Prescott,
261, 166). The experimental evidence on this point confirms the hypothesis
that a sense of growth-possibility is a requisite to learning activity.

There are a multitude of informative additions which contribute to the
modern idea of learning. Some of these describe how the process begins
in early infancy.
For example, the baby, from the start, tends to be eager for experience, to seek stimulation and to respond to it. The seeking for stimulation seems to be rooted in biological urges. When the seeking becomes more complex, more focused, and when the individual is capable of communicating with others, his search is apparently endless. The incessant questioning of early childhood is really a part of exploring the universe. It is both physical and mental, and it is the beginning of traits which are valued in later life. For example, curiosity leads to the development of traits called desire to learn, desire for excellence, initiative and independent thinking.

In the same way, attentiveness has its beginnings in the involuntary reactions such as the muscle contractions when light falls upon the eye, or body response to pressure, to contrasting and rhythmic stimuli. Voluntary or semi-voluntary attention comes about first through a sense of relation to an object of immediate value; the intense, the moving, or the novel stimuli. Fatigue and boredom (absence of a sense of relation between the object and the self) are the common causes of interruption to interest.

Again, there is a very early development of suggestibility. The baby soon tries to imitate facial expressions and other movements, and is subject to the contagion of emotion. Later, beliefs, goals and manners of behaving are imitated, and continue throughout life where there is a lack of self-determination; either unconscious or planned. When language and other symbols are learned, they become the common coin of social suggestion. Man is unique among animals in the attempt to transmit cultural inheritance through symbols.
Communication seems to begin with the production of vocal sounds, then proceed through the creation of gestures and other signs to the level of name words, positional reference (numbers) and the rest.

Since symbols have both a personal and a social or general meaning to varying degrees, it is obvious that they relate to remembered experience. Remembering is not at all fully understood. Some things about it are fairly well agreed, such as the facts that it is a natural behavior; it is related to the attitude or purpose of the individual (it is 8 to 10 times as easy to remember "meaningful" material). Prejudices, previous associations, imagination, may all aid or hinder the effort to remember. For example, a strong dislike which is unconscious is thought by psycho-analysts to block memory. "Forgetting" according to this view is probably an unconscious suppression of a memory. Associations and creative imagination seem often to cause images to lose eideticity, through the quantity of relationships.

Aids to memory seem to be: the pattern of purpose; clear and correct first observation; impressiveness (strong feeling value); increase of experience and the consequent increase of meaningful relationships; symbolism which is handy to the individual as a sign or label to affix to an object.

As just indicated, not all observation is accurate or complete. In fact, it seems to be agreed that at any single moment the range of consciousness is slight, and the individual tends to see what he is looking for. This partial nature of awareness is an aid to concentration, but not always to perception.
Perceptions, according to the belief of most psychologists, are of relationships: of the part to the whole, of spatial relations, between objects in space and in time; of causal relations, of constancy of magnitude and of color and shape. The comparisons which are made are based on previous experiences, on the individual's concept pattern. To give a simple illustration: the perception of a near and a far object such as two trees depends upon previous tactile and motor experience, such as occurs through walking from one tree to another. The retinal image is two-dimensional, but the concept of spatial relations is three-dimensional.

In the same way, the experience of order and sequence in nature leads to a concept of orderliness which, in turn, is basic to abstract thinking. A number of aspects of these processes, emphasized by the literature in this field, are worth special note.

It is agreed that the individual tends to reason when faced by a difficulty, and that reasoning is developed by both induction and deduction from past to present and from present to past experience. It must therefore be an individual matter, and is aided or hindered by the attitudes and emotions of the person.

Where a difficulty is experienced, and comparisons are made, in terms of purpose and experience, the conscious process of evaluation begins. Constant evaluation of another kind proceeds from the moment a feeling of liking or disliking is experienced, of course. In the face of real or imagined danger, evaluation clearly carries an emotional charge - not only in relation to the objects of it, but in relation to itself. The individual who resists evaluation of medical methods, economic "isms," or his plans for the future is emotional because he thinks there is a threat to his life, wealth or purpose. (This emotion is a cortical release
and is said to be more frequent in modern society than in primitive ones.)

The process of evaluation leads to generalizations. A generalization is an abstract concept, and is worth only the data it embraces. There is a tendency to generalize too largely from small data, especially where the situation is quite emotionally charged ("you never do what I ask you!") Yet generalizations are important resources for thinking, for determining goals and methods. They are truly useful so long as their hypothetical validity is kept in mind and the test of action is applied. This is a point which educators sometimes miss.

Through the summing up or integration of experience in generalizations, the individual is able to "transfer." That is, he can transform evaluation of experience into an attitude, and attitudes into traits. He may transfer a memory of experience with spacial relations to a new situation and see similarities and differences. He may transfer a desire or affection for food into a liking of earth, weapons, tools, or business. Without transfer of some kind, there could be no prediction, and prediction occurs wherever a choice is made. Choice, basically to satisfy the internal process of growth, employs prediction in an attempt to stabilize and control relations to the external world.

It has been said that form, order and arrangement dominate mental life from first to last (but the individual always has a personal order, which may or may not conform to other people's ideas. "Disorderly" may mean only "different from my idea of order." And there may be warrant for saying that the "mental" activities of the person are those which have to do with organizing meanings into useful patterns, patterns which enable the transfer just described.
This organization involves the whole person. The phase of it referred to as reflective thinking, for example, depends basically on the perception of contrast and relationships which are useful to the individual's purpose. This perception is based on sense experience. It is "handled" by processes which involve social usages and symbols, and which may be made highly "consistent" by conforming to the artificial limitations of logic. A less approved kind of consistency may result from limitations of other kinds, from pushing the operation of concepts beyond the point where they are applicable.

Every individual thinks abstractly (puts things into classes, as: redness, roughness, roundness). Every individual is imaginative (combines old things in a new relationship). Every individual has artistic qualities as a part of his bio-social being (rhythm, harmony, perception, symbolization, joy). But the order or level of these activities varies from one individual to another as it does within the single person from one time to another and one situation to another. The most creative, the most artistic, the most intelligent individual is he who creates the most useful patterns (to growth) in the continuous interactions of life.

Summary

The general bearing of the discussion in this Chapter on the democratic purpose has been to show that the individual is a unique entity or combination of physical, mental and emotional processes. The individual grows and is dynamic. Efforts to promote his growth will involve genetic study and continuous attention.

The evidence certainly justifies the democratic faith in the ability of all living creatures to grow. It also indicates a unique strength in
the resources of democracy — the free and rigorous use of all scientific knowledge. Nothing less will suffice for the study of a single person, still less of all, and of all the limiting factors and resources which are involved in increasing opportunity for maximum growth.

In the ensuing Chapter (VIII), there are offered some unifying hypotheses relevant to effective use of scientific study for the promotion of the growth of all.
CHAPTER VIII
UNIFYING THEORIES

In the present section it is proposed to extend and particularize the inquiry by investigation of the literature having most to do with the individual personality. Strictly speaking, the individual human being cannot be divorced from his social and natural environment, for it is they which make him a being, and still more, human. But in the present search for meanings, it is assumed that the individual person can be discussed as one element in the universe, and that this one element can be the focus of attention, while other things are related to it. The importance of this study to the democratic goal of maximum growth has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter. Thus, the technical and theoretical considerations dealt with here are offered for what pertinence they may have to the social purpose of the maximum growth of all individuals.

To recapitulate, briefly:

Since the human individual is never in a static condition but undergoes continuous change from birth to death, the search for meanings of this term will take the form of an inquiry into tendencies. Tendencies may be defined as conceptions of persistent elements in the human organism which influence growth, and contribute to the identity of the individual. From this definition it is apparent that a generalized concept is sought, one which will be applicable to the individual as a class. At first sight this is a contradiction, since individuality is unique. However, the tendencies to be noted are just that - tendencies. The relative force of each in any one case will be unique. (Each of us has a
nose, but no two are identical.) For the purposes of the educator, the
generalized concept of individual tendencies will be an aid, perhaps, to
more sensitive and effective attention to individual differences (each
variation from the general), as well as to over-all planning.

One further word needs to be repeated, regarding the present attempt
at description. No one in any field of science or speculation has pro-
duced a complete picture of the human being, answering all the why's and
how's. But between the why's and the how's it is the latter which are
most accessible to description and in the end, most nearly an answer to
the former. Thus as clinical knowledge of how a hidden motive may oper-
ate has increased, the why of pathological behavior has become more clear.

The previous chapter mentioned the need for a unifying hypothesis to
guide study and interpretation of the individual and his development.
(Reference is made here, of course, to the need of a psychological
hypothesis rather than to the philosophic purpose of a social ideal). The
present chapter offers a resume of some major movements of thought in the
literature, and of four important efforts in the direction of an inclusive
hypothesis. If any or all of these hypotheses can contribute to the im-
provement of efforts to understand and promote the growth process, then
they are of great value to the democratic purpose.

History - Eight Lines of Development

A brief resume of the literature may fittingly begin with mention
of the outstanding movements of thought in the field.

According to Marsell (235, 5) the beginnings of the modern concern
for individual psychology rose with Binet’s (54) work on the testing of
"intelligence" in 1905. This work put an emphasis on mental traits and
individual differences, since Binet assumed that scores on his test were reliable indices of significant differences between people. This date is probably as good as any to indicate the approximate beginnings of a number of movements which have recently contributed a great deal to the understanding of human tendencies. It indicates the youthfulness of the formal science and art of individual psychology. Yet it must be noted that previous statistical investigation had been done by Galton in his studies in heredity (1869) and human nature (1883).

Omitting the importance of the philosophers, religionists and artists who have fixed attention on the individual from ancient times, and omitting a discussion of the Romantic Movement in literature which made the 19th Century fertile ground for the psychologist, the student notes that Freud began his individual case studies; William James and John Dewey were elaborating theories of habit, Wilhelm Wundt inaugurated experimental psychology before the turn of the century.

Yet it is no doubt true, broadly speaking, that the present century has witnessed the real rise of personalistic psychology as a branch of a general science.

For the purpose of the present writer, there are eight recent developments which have contributed most to knowledge and methodology in the study of the individual. They may be listed briefly as the following:

1. The rise of pragmatism and its application to problems of growth in the field of educational psychology.

James and Dewey both contributed to the early examination of traits, habits and predispositions. Above all, their thinking went to establish the idea that a theory of human behavior is valid only if it works in practice.
2. The development in biological knowledge which gave rise to increased understanding of the nature and nurture of growth through the study of genetics.

Coghill and Jennings, the Woods Hole and the University of Chicago laboratories, are examples of the sources from which have come facts which have illuminated the question of heredity vs. environment. They are responsible for much trustworthy scientific underpinning of modern belief in the power of environment in shaping human growth.

3. Freud's great new theory of the unconscious and the host of developments in psychopathology which were inaugurated by it.

To name the men and schools in this field is to indicate the fertility of Freud's hypothesis. Adler, Rank, Jung, Stekel, among the Europeans; each at variance with the original hypothesis but stemming from it; White, Williams, Glueck, Kenworthy, Horney, Redl, who have carried psychoanalysis into the thinking and institutions of this country; Levy, Allen, Dickson, Roethlisberger, Rogers, representatives of the modern practice of psycho-therapy through a simpler, less analytical technique. From the impetus given by Freud has undoubtedly come the greatly increased attention to individual maladjustment, improved institutional care, and above all, a fruitful increase in the use of the case study method.*

*Havelock Ellis should share the credits for developing the case study.

Somewhat allied to the Freudians, by reason of its primary postulates, is the instinctual school represented in this country by William McDougall,
now waning, but stimulating to theory and experiment.

4. Mechanism, or Behaviorism, primarily associated with the names of the Loeb brothers and of John B. Watson.

Neither of these theories is any longer acceptable from the standpoint of our new beliefs with regard to matter. Yet the studies of Watson and his followers have contributed valuable data for reinterpretation, and his work, like that of Pavlov in Russia has left its imprint in the form of heightened interest in the controlled, laboratory study of the mechanics of the nervous system. Statistical treatment of results, studies in animal surgery and behavior have all benefited from the demand for objectivity fostered by the mechanists, and have all advanced knowledge of structural aspects of behavior, especially of the negative sort — that it is not automatic, not a mysterious process of instinctual entities and the like.

5. Einsteinian physics, the concept of relativity, the belief that the universe and the cell alike are fields of varying potentials, and that no event is unrelated to every other event in time and space.

At one stroke this bold hypothesis has released the mind of men from fruitless preoccupation with the divisive, atomistic concepts of classical science.

6. Gestalt and Organismic psycho-biology, close to relativity, with the doctrine that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, that physically and psychologically the organism is a whole in relation to other wholes.

Kohler, Mowffka and Wertheimer made the early European contributions to theory and experiment in this line of research; Ogden, Wheeler and Perkins and a number of others in this country have carried it forward.
Notable among them is Kurt Lewin, whose dynamic theory originated in Germany but has been greatly extended and tested at the University of Iowa.

Allied to the Gestalt or non-elementalist schools, as well as to genetics, is the development of child psychology through work such as that of Piaget, William Stern and others, showing the vast importance of goals and values in early development, and detailing the processes of perception and other forms of purposeful learning.

Also allied has been the work of the semanticists (Ogden and Richards, Korzybski, et al) who like the Gestaltists have stressed the importance of meanings.

It should be mentioned that Herbartianism and its modern descendants may have contributed to the organismic as well as to the elementalistic views in educational psychology. The emphasis upon a psychological sequence of learning has been productive, though its fault is that of over-logical organization.

7. The development of social psychology and its illuminating correlations of information formerly distributed among various fields.

Outstanding exponents are Kimball Young, Gardner and Lois Barclay Murphy.

Correlative with the advances in this field are those in anthropology (Sapir, Malinowski, Linton, Mead, Benedict, Kroeber) which have performed an equal service by beginning with the study of environment but have gone on to reinforce conclusions reached by the geneticists beginning from the other end - heredity.

8. Personology, the study of the dynamics of the individual adjustment to environment.
Outstanding contributions in this field have been made by Thorndike, Allport and the Harvard group headed by Murray.*

*As this is written, the Human Development Committee at the University of Chicago is preparing to publish the results of 4 years of study on this topic. Robert J. Havighurst, Chairman of the Committee, and Dan Prescott, who has headed the investigation, believe that considerable value to practicing teachers will result from this extensive investigation.

Four Theories of Personality

Knowledge and methodology in the study of the individual have been advanced rapidly through the eight developments listed above. Their contributions are manifold. Of special relevance to the present work, are attempts which owe some, if not all, of their force to the use of these contributions.

It is in the work of the personologists that the most recent and inclusive efforts to unify the science of human development have been made. There are four theories worth particular mention. Each differs from the others in some respects. They are the theories of Wheeler and Perkins, of Thorndike, of Gordon Allport, and of the Harvard study headed by Murray.

Wheeler and Perkins

The first of these most nearly achieves a working psychology based on the field hypothesis. It is directly related to the interpretation of maximum growth. It is found in Wheeler and Perkins's (332) Principles of Mental Development (1932) which asserts that all observable behavior is an aspect of growth; that growth of personality commences before birth, and continues throughout the life of the individual. These authors hold
the point of view that there are organismic laws (p. 18ff) which describe the main features of the processes of development, in the single cell, in the individual, and in the society.

The first of these, according to Wheeler and Perkins, is the law of Field Properties, that a whole is more than the sum of its parts. The second, the law of Derived Properties, states that parts derive their properties from wholes. In this way, it is said, the character of individual personality derives from the society. The third law, is that of Determined Action; the whole determines the activities of its parts.

The fourth: the law of Individualisation, states that parts of wholes come into existence through an emergence of structure or differentiation.

Fifth is given the law of Field Genesis, that wholes evolve as wholes.

Sixth, Least Action; that energy will follow the course of least resistance from high to low potential. Seventh: Maximum Work, stating that the whole energy system is affected by stimulus to any part of it and that the whole system is involved in the resulting action. Eighth, the law of Configuration: that an energy system functions as a unit.

Wheeler and Perkins make additional qualifications of importance, such as that no event can be explained in terms of itself. They say that any action of a person is "caused" by the whole process of the universe, both past events and future possibilities are involved. They also stress the constant struggle of energy systems to remain in balance, in the face of both present and future disturbance. They apply this concept to the maladjusted individual, whose abnormal behavior is due, they say, to his feeling "I am an individual whose normal future is being deprived me, therefore, I am abnormal now."
Thorndike

In contrast to this explanation (which may be called "creative-emergent") in terms of unities within unities, Thorndike has developed a theory of behavior which rests on the idea of an S-R bond. To him, it is the infinite variations of interest, abilities, propensities and wants which are the most impressive features of human nature. In the face of the fact that there are so many, and their relationships are infinitely complex, Thorndike has not abandoned his belief in a mechanical causation in favor of a gestalt point of view. He has, however, come to think of the S-R bond, the connection between one stimulus and one response as effecting a "back-action" upon the whole behavior of an organism (see 200, 12 f, 140). He believes that purpose is a very important factor in controlling action, but sees it as a compound of tendencies which are in part the heritage of all human beings, in part due to his sex, in part due to his parentage, in part due to tendencies of his culture and time, and in part to his individual experience. The interactions of these elements have their effect on the S-R bond, and determine the probability that S will result in a particular R.

Thus it is seen that Thorndike now takes a position closer to Wheeler and Perkins than he did in his earlier (1913) work (301), yet it is fair to say that Thorndike is still more nearly described as a neo-Behaviorist and thus to some extent a mechanical determinist. In his monumental Human Nature and the Social Order, Thorndike has met criticisms of his seemingly additive theory of the nature of man, however, by saying that the organism's responses to a total situation are so elaborate as to conceal the essential mechanism of the process. He summarizes the
point thus (300, 10):

The interminable flow of complex total situations evokes in a changing person who has, or rather is, an organization of multifarious abilities, interests and wants, a flow of elaborate responses.

But he does hold to the idea of tendencies springing from original nature as a given fact. He ends his statement above:

Certain parts of the situation-flow evoke chiefly certain parts of the response-flow because chiefly of certain parts of the person.

For Thorndike, the secret of behavior is to be found in the bond between stimulus and response. This bond or connection varies in strength and in effect. It is related to the goals which the individual considers important. The purposiveness of human behavior is explained for him as already noted by what he calls the "back-action of the consequences of a connection" upon the brain or some controlling part of the neurological system. Thorndike continues to emphasize the importance of reflex but he admits that in man, the almost automatic reflex of Pavlov's dogs does not occur. To explain this, he turns to a list of Desires and Aversions (300, 117, 118) which he considers in some part due to the genes, in part due to the stimuli of the culture. He believes that a list of human wants, based on these desires and aversions, would afford a real portrait of human tendencies.

In addition to the theory, the experimental evidence and the exhaustive labor of description which Thorndike has contributed, he has made plain a profound belief in the importance of relating psychological knowledge to the institutions of society. His greatest contribution is his persistent and vigorous question: "How does it work?"
Allport

It may be said that Gordon Allport (18), like Thorndike and like Wheeler and Perkins, is concerned with the how of individual behavior. But while he finds a number of important and valuable contributions in the followers of Gestalt, especially in Lewin's division between causative and descriptive categories, and while he is not an elementalist, he does believe that the psychology of personality has need of many approaches. He conceives of separable and coordinate influences as too important to group under the head of organic field, on the one hand. On the other, he is not satisfied with most results of the search for elements which combined may be said to constitute the individual personality. He finds usefulness in Murray's list of basic needs, but thinks it is inexact and inadequate - too de-personalized to serve as a theory of the structure of personality (see 18, 239f).

Allport discards Spearman's factor analysis technique because it depends upon averages rather than individual foci of organization for living. In similar fashion he disposes of Thorndike's theory of S-R bond, and the results of the Character Education Inquiry directed by H. Hartshorne and M. A. May (154). In both cases he is skeptical of allotting too much specific invariability to habits and traits which are never so unvarying as these students seem to imply. He points out that since there are never identical elements in a situation, and since the individual is never twice the same, any theory which assumes identities is false.

He concludes that integration and generalization play the leading part in transfer of insight from one problem to a similar problem. He believes that the similarity is one of meaning to the individual and that to discover it the individual must have a focal disposition which will
account both for stability and versatility of response. This kind of
focal disposition he calls by the name of trait.

Allport considers that the dynamics of personality depend on a
principle of growth which he calls the functional autonomy of motives.
This principle is contrary to the assumptions of McDougall, Adler, Rank,
Murray and others, since it does not assume a number of innate motives
shared by all men. It signifies that each personality builds its own
characteristic motives, and that once established they become persistent
and dynamic in varying degrees and forms.

In the concept of trait, Allport describes a personality-structure
which is functionally autonomous. In his exhaustive treatment of trait,
he believes he finds an answer to the need of psychology for a carefully
formulated theory of how individuals come to have determining tendencies.
It is similar, he says, to Dewey's formulation of generalized habit. His
theory deserves careful attention. Some salient aspects of it are given
below.

To Allport, a trait is a form of readiness for response. It is like
an attitude but is a manner of behaving rather than a point of view. It is
always general rather than specific as are attitudes. The two terms,
trait and attitude, seem to Allport to cover nearly every kind of disposi-
tion within a personality. Traits are never directly observable. They
are inferred from observed consistencies in behavior.

Allport's examination of the evidence offers convincing proof that
these traits or tendencies form a core of sameness, though the individual
goes through a history of many changes. Every personality, he says,
"develops continually from the stage of infancy until death, and throughout
this span it persists, even though it changes." (18, 102)

But, as he has also indicated, the tendencies are either exceedingly
diverse, or, if simple, have diverse forms. The diversity explains the
existence of 18,000 names in common speech and the many technical designa-
tions of trait in use among psychologists.

To the present writer, the whole problem is more satisfactorily
dealt with by conceiving the person as a living organism centrally
motivated (in both a physical and a psychological sense) by a desire
for growth adequacy. Then, all behavior, all traits, are seen as
aspects of the striving for growth. They will be unique and individual.
They will also have characteristics in common with the growth-drives of
others.

Allport stresses the fact that personality is always, finally, an
interior thing. Thus he meets the question of heredity vs. environment
by saying that if cultural influences are at work, it is only as they come
home to the individual that they have effect.

Murray

The work of Murray (234) and his associates at Harvard, (The Explor-
ations in Personality) is, like Allport's, a search for a dynamic general
concept which can be applied to the study of individual personality.
Murray believes he has defined such a concept in his doctrine of needs and
thomas.

Previous to the publication of Gordon Allport's work on traits, the
Murray group rejected that name, feeling that it had been allied with an
atomistic treatment of individual tendencies. They wished to search for
a more unified and basic description of human drives. They chose to put
it in terms of needs, some of them primary (viserogenic) and some secondary
(psychogenic). The primary have as their objects: air, water, food, sex, lactation, urination, defecation, harmavoidance, noxavoidance, heatavoidance, coldavoidance, sentience, passivity. The secondary consist of actions with respect to the environment. For example, some have to do with inanimate objects (e.g., acquisition, conservance, construction). Some have to do with ambition (superiority, achievement, dominance). Some with affection (affiliation, nurturance, rejection, succorance).*

*The list of primary and secondary needs becomes more meaningful as well as less cumbersome in the opinion of the present writer, if growth is taken as the central process of life, the dynamic core which has aspects describable as need, drive, motive, and all attributes of these, whether they are called needs or traits, are understood as aspects of it. Like Allport, Murray and his co-workers come very close to doing so, but seem to fall back in the end on the idea of variable forces which are, within themselves, "drives."

Through an array of twenty-nine procedures, the Harvard group came to accept the classification of primary and secondary needs given above. They also developed certain "Primary Propositions for a Theory of Personality" which contain the meat of their conclusions (284, 55-41). Since each proposition represents an important consensus with regard to fundamental evidence and opinion in the field, they are presented here, though in abbreviated paraphrase.

**MURRAY'S PRIMARY PROPOSITIONS**

1. The concept of individual organism is assumed.

2. It is a whole organism from the beginning.

3. It has rhythms of activity and rest ("states")

4. The organism is an infinitely complex series of temporally related activities from birth to
death. The life cycle is the long unit, within which there are shorter cycles. The history of the organism is the organism.

5. Environment becomes a part of the individual. "The conduct of an individual cannot be formulated without a characterisation of each confronting situation, physical and social." Much of what is now inside was once outside.

6. A stimulus situation "is that part of the total environment to which the creature attends and reacts. It is usually a patterned and meaningful whole. It can be classified by the kind of effect it has - facilitating or obstructing. (This hurts, "that is sweet," "this comforts," etc.)

7. The reactions of an organism usually exhibit a unitary trend, organization in a certain direction.

8. Behavioral trend may be attributed to a hypothetical force within the organism. (Drive, need, propensity)

9. The organism may seek a "press" (impulse to action) or meet it; a press and a theme (established trait) constitute the dynamic structure of a single episode in development.

10. Each drive reaction to a press may be measured in degrees of realisation (gratification or frustration). This often determines future direction.

11. Rhythms of assimilation, differentiation and integration are perceivable. No moment is typical of the whole life. "Life is an irreversible sequence of non-identical events. Some of these changes, however, occur in a predictable manner. There are orderly rhythms and progressions which are functions of the seasons, of age, of sex, of established cultural practices, and so forth. There is the "eternal return." (spiral evolution)

12. Though there are no identities there are uniformities - similar reactions to similar situations, and this is increasingly characteristic within increase of age. "Thus there is sameness (consistency) as well as change (variability), and because of it an organism may be roughly depicted by listing the most recurrent themes, or, with more abstraction, by listing the most recurrent drives or traits."

13. Traces of experience are left in the organism.

14. Progressive differentiations and integrations occur with age and experience and are mostly refinements, and creative integration. "Life is creation," says Claude Bernard.
15. Brain processes coordinate and unify adaptive development and behavior.

16. Dominant configurations in the brain at a single moment are regnancies, that is, processes of highest metabolic rate in gradient. (Cf. Child, C.M. Senescence and Rejuvenescence, Chicago, 1915).

17. Regnant processes are mutually dependent, but must be inferred (in relationship).

18. Constituents of regnancies in man are capable of achieving consciousness (self-consciousness) though not all at once.

19. During a single moment only, some of the regnant processes have the attribute of consciousness.

20. It is best to use terminology from subjective experience since no other is adequate.

21. Integrative force is required to unify various parts of regnancies.

22. Regnancies are at the summit of the hierarchy of controlling centers in the body. They are institutions established in the brain and constitute personality. They must be distinguished from the rest of the body.

23. Continuous interaction occurs between regnancies and the rest of the body processes.

24. Man is a "time-binding" organism, as Korzybski says. He is conscious of some of the past and anticipates some of the future.

On a later page (234), Murray states what he conceives to be the chief reason for using the concept of needs, admitting at the same time the difficulties of fitting everything into it.

The basic proposition is that there is no elementary variable which is not possessed and manifested, at least occasionally to a slight extent by everyone. In the case of needs, our indefiniteness as to what is being measured must be admitted. A psychologist cannot, as a chemist can, physically break up a behavioral compound and measure each of its constituents separately. Even if we should
assume that a defined variable represents a separate process, it must be evident that the intensity or frequency with which it is displayed will depend largely upon the strength of other operating variables, some of which facilitate and some of which oppose it.

Thus what one measures is always the resultant of numerous concatenating influences. Psychology is a long way from its ideal: the formulation of events as the interaction of forces of different strength. The vision of such a possibility, however, encourages us to continue our studies despite the barrenness and artificiality of the initial results.

These extensive propositions afford important descriptions of the nature of human tendencies. But they have been given here for an additional reason, namely, to show the possibility of reinterpreting these careful conclusions in the light of the growth-drive, with the resulting opportunity to benefit our understanding of behavior.

In the two final paragraphs quoted above, for example, the variables would be conceived as different aspects of the impulse to growth. The interaction of forces would be thought of as an interaction of feelings concerning possibilities of growth. Thus the interplay of forces would lose some of its mystery, though scarcely its complexity. Possible units of measurement in addition to those already employed would be energy expended, functionality or usefulness of the result, characteristic coordination of time-effort-result, and the like. It would not be considered that a need was simply for sex, or food, or fun, or dominance. To use an analogy from the arts, it would always be a need for these as materials, for fashioning a growth activity.

In such a way, it would be possible to clear the view of human behavior by starting with no given proposition but one, that there is a need to grow. Study would then concern itself with the processes of growth and the Why? The answer would be found not in the specific bonds of
Thorndike, the traits of Allport or the needs of Murray but in the individual's sense of growth and growth possibility. Each individual action and reaction would be analyzed to discover its part in a total process. Similarly, in education, each part of the school program would be evaluated in the light of the reactions to it of growing individuals.

If the growth hypothesis were thus used, it might help to answer some of the questions which Murray finds most vexing. He takes the problem of conditioned reflex, for example, and says of it (224, 96):

One can hardly deny that mechanization (actones established by repetition determine needs) occurs as well as its counter-part, socialization (the inoculation of culture patterns)....

My own opinion is this: mechanization (actonal consistence with one's self) and socialization (actonal consistency with cultural norms) are widespread, important phenomena, but only under rare or abnormal conditions do we find behavior patterns that exist for long without satisfying underlying needs.

From the standpoint of the growth hypothesis, the consistence, the socialization and the underlying needs would all spring from the need to grow.

In another place (234, 98) Murray mentions the indications from abnormal behavior of an underlying context:

Psychoanalysis has quite conclusively shown, in certain cases that many simple actones (e.g., hysterical conversion symptoms) "mean" something; that is, they are dissociated parts of a larger context and derive their force not only from the feeling of inability to cope with a situation, but from the deeper feeling that this inability is a threat to growth.*

*The Murray group finds that the organism seeks a balance through inhibiting or neglecting some activities. But, as with the various drives whose strength he attempts to measure (234, 253) the seeking of balance may have its meaning in terms of growth. The search for balance may be interpreted not as a negative process but as one kind of activity to assist in carrying on or preparing for further growth activity. The
seeking for balance is thus understood as a sign that the growth of the whole organism cannot go beyond certain limits unless it is all-around growth.

The development of a society would seem to be subject to the same requirement. (e.g., great increases in technology have not been accompanied by equivalent increases in the techniques of social relationships. Result: war and other destructive, limitations to social growth.)

Another factor mentioned by the Murray group is that "an abundance of data collected by psycho-analysis...strongly suggests that events of the pre-verbal period are in many cases as determining as, if not more determining than, later events." Murray sees this as a natural result of the plasticity of childhood, and through many pages follows the "themas" or purposive tendencies seen in childhood by the analysts. These he treats as the development of needs. The present writer would treat them as just the reverse, as needs for development.

An additional point of great significance, is the tremendous pace of the growth effort in the young child. It cannot be doubted that it leaves memories of a multitude of successful and unsuccessful results of these efforts which influence the individual's future predictions and control of his growth.

The Harvard Study (which deserves thorough-going respect) seems to show that needs, like traits or any other listing of aspects of behavior could become infinite in number if defined empirically. Perhaps the only way out of this problem is to make lists which are merely handy indicators of directions or classifications. These would be handles for educators who want to take hold of the subject of personality.*

*Gordon Allport has objected that no handle exactly fits more than
one individual. This is true, but implies only that the subject is not to be handled by rule, it requires thought.

A final question is left after study of Murray, Allport and other psychologists. It is this. Is a society, or an institution like the school, able to produce the maximum growth of all by centering attention on the growth of each individual?

Allport has expressed one answer very beautifully (16, 565-6):

...there are many ways to study man psychologically. Yet to study him most fully is to take him as an individual. He is more than a bundle of habits; more than a nexus of abstract dimensions; more too than a representative of his species. He is more than a citizen of the state, and more than a mere incident in the gigantic movements of mankind. He transcends them all. The individual, striving ever for his own integrity, has existed under many forms of social life - forms as varied as the romantic, feudal, and capitalistic. He struggles on even under oppression, always hoping and planning for a more perfect democracy where the dignity and growth of each personality will be prized above all else.

Summary

In general, the evidence grouped under Primary Facts emphasizes the following points of most interest to educators:

1. Individual variations are great. They are due both to heredity and to environment.

2. Activity is inevitable, and it results in learning, or growth.

3. The Gestalt whole-pattern theory and its implications for unity of personality and the organization of experience is upheld.

4. The intimate relation of the physical aspects of existence (both inside and outside the skin) to the mental and emotional aspects is basic.

5. Feelings or emotions are recognized as concomitants in all learning activity and as the power-centers of motivation and choice.
6. (Related to #1) Many factors contribute to maturation and the school cannot ignore this fact and oversimplify its procedures.

7. Directional movement (see #2) develops through experience and the feelings which result from it. It changes as the situation changes. Activity in one direction persists so long as experience indicates that the greatest satisfaction comes through it.

8. No. 7 results in time, in work activity, or activity for a comparatively long-range purpose.

The first significance of the evidence concerning primary facts of individual behavior, is found in its source. It comes from observations of the very young infant. It thus offers data on the rudimentary, elemental qualities of the human organism at the beginning of growth outside the womb.

Next, the significance of this evidence is to be found in the support which it offers for certain ideas of what education should be, viz; constantly recognizant of individual differences; offering a rich store of activities; proceeding from the general to the specific, and emphasizing the wholeness of experience; sensitive to the physical requirements of growing beings; finding ways to release and make positive use of the emotions; avoiding mass education and lock-step procedures; "socializing" and directing the child through providing a situation in which experience in discovery and problem-solving rather than preaching and mechanical exercises supply the guides.

These implications of "primary facts" about the individual appear to be heavily substantiated by the test of experience. They would therefore be of value, if employed in any social system. For a democracy, they would seem to be essential. In a democracy they would apply to the treatment of
all, rather than a few, and they would be employed for the purpose of constantly expanding the growth process, rather than for the attainment of a selfish and temporary objective as in the Nazi society.

Developmental Aspects - Personal Identity

Summary

As the human organism develops, more and more characteristic behaviors are observed. That is to say, there are temperamental characteristics and action patterns which become uniquely individual. These same patterns are shared to varying degrees by other individuals. They are the result of the complex interaction between heredity and environment. For the educator, a prime question is whether or not the traits, attitudes and habits of all human beings are subject to a considerable degree of social control. Answered in the affirmative, this question leads to a second: What means are most effective, and what considerations are first in importance?

The evidence on these questions can be summarized as follows:

1. Continuous change in the organism and its environment is inevitable. Intelligent control of those changes is not inevitable. However it is possible, and it can have far-reaching effects. In a democracy this can mean control for the promotion of maximum growth.

2. Temperamental type, attitudes, traits and habits are forms of behavior developed through experience. Their persistence is a sign of their utility in problem-solving, or of their fancied utility. Thus there is no substitute for first-hand experience in shaping these tendencies. This fact is a reiteration of the evidence based on studies of the earliest as well as the later behavior of organisms.
3. Since temperament and traits are affected by the situation, companions, nature, cultural patterns, and since individual heredity is also a part of their development, the educator is bound to have a concern for the situations produced in school, and for the individual feelings which are called forth by those situations.

4. The feelings and behaviors in a given situation are related to those of the past and the future. In other words, growth is a continuous process. The development of growth in the direction of any social ideal, becomes a matter therefore of day-by-day experience so planned as to take into account the elements of past, present and future most pertinent to it.

5. Self-realization is part of the continuous growth process. It is extremely difficult to understand one's own powers and limitations. The attempt to do so is a powerful "drive" in each individual. It requires great variety of experience and careful evaluation of it.

6. Insecurity, fear, self-dis-esteem, are obstacles to growth. It is possible to provide situations in which the individual is able to grow to the point where he overcomes these obstacles by learning to solve problems for himself and by experiencing the use of his powers so that he is adequate to the situation.

7. The "will-to-power" is at least in part a will-to-growth. Its most negative aspects (as it interferes with the growth of others) are heightened by circumstances which stress competition rather than cooperative effort.

These generalizations offer further support for belief in the first criterion of democracy: a concern with the individual man. They also suggest six aspects of individual growth which are essential in the full development of each human being for which democracy strives.
Developmental aspects - Tendencies in Relation to Environment: Summary

As already stated, the material of this portion of the work shows that the physical and social environment are vitally important in the control of growth. It is also reiterated that the environment can be favorable or unfavorable to the growth of all. Planning for uses and changes in the environment can have a strong effect in either direction. The implication of this statement for democracy is obvious.

A most important consideration in such planning, is the desire of human beings to belong. After the minimum requirements for existence are satisfied, the achievement of social approval, of recognized status is a necessary and ardently desired next step. Upon this fact kings, dictators, schools and social controls of all kinds can be built. Thus there is warrant for saying that a concern for individual achievement of recognized status is essential to the success of democracy. In a democracy this achievement will be based on the recognition by the individual of belonging to a common enterprise for the maximum good of all. Through this, there comes an increasing possibility for the direction of human growth so that all may benefit.

Developmental Aspects - Learning and Intelligence: Summary

The material of this part offers four major considerations to the educator:

1. Learning is another name for certain aspects of growth. It may come to be recognized as "natural," inevitable, on any level from that of cellular life to that of abstruse cerebration. In any case, the school's problem is not "how to get them to learn," but how to direct the learning
which goes on (for the maximum development of all, in a democracy). It is also a problem of capitalizing to the advantage of the school’s purpose on the individual’s attentiveness, suggestibility, curiosity, and responsiveness to stimulation. It is also a problem of recognizing the conflicts in stimuli and learnings. In the democratic school, for example, pupils will need outlets for their responses which will both give a sense of growth to each individual, and will, as well, contribute to the maximum growth of all.

2. The concept of whole-pattern learning, and of perception through relative meanings - these are sustained by the evidence. The unity of purpose and procedure become aids to the first. Dramatic and subtle contrasts in ideas and materials, the relationship of present to past experience, and of both to future plans - these are important in the light of the second.

3. The highest levels of intellectualization, the formation of concepts, are just as "natural" as recognition, memory, and symbolization. Conceptualism is mental shorthand, supplanting detailed recreation of past experience. It is the most lasting and strongest result of experience to generalize and to form principles. The school therefore, would do well to assume this, and to act upon the fact that many difficulties are not due to inadequate "mental powers" but to inadequate experience, evaluation, or unsolved contradictions. Some of the latter may be found in the practice of the school, as well as in the heads of the pupils.

4. Similarly, the activities of organization, orderliness, reflective thinking, are "natural," and it is for the school to recognize that there are individual differences in the way that they are carried on. It can block the effective development of these activities by inopportune...
or awkwardly attempting to force them into particular forms. The school can refine and direct the operation of these activities by providing appropriate situations for their use and adequate recognition of it.

All that has been said applies to creative, or artistic abstraction and expression, as well as to other forms of generalization and symbolization.
CHAPTER IX
GENERALIZATIONS

These generalizations are based in part on the discussion of the literature as it is found in Chapters VII and VIII, in part on the more exhaustive summary of the literature as given in the appendix to this section. A huge quantity of evidence, scattered through literally hundreds of researches is represented in this section of the Individual. Because the documentation is so extensive (for example there are more than 250 subsidiary qualifications given under the principal heads in the appendix and each has at least one source of reference) it has been arranged under the same classifications as are used in Chapter VII and has been reduced to outline form.

PRIMARY FACTS ON INDIVIDUAL TENDENCIES

1. Each individual tends to inherit physical characteristics resembling those of his ancestors. His color, size, and shape, for example, are strongly influenced by heredity, and may influence his social status and the quality of his performance along certain lines. Research shows, however, that this inheritance is not absolute, but is rather of tendency. Thus environmental influences, some of them controllable, may have a share in the "heritage" of each human being. It is known, for example, that nutrition plays an important role in the latter two of the characteristics noted above.

2. The maturation (increase in complexity and ability to function) of physical, mental, and emotional characteristics is partly due to inheritance and partly to environment. So many factors enter in to
maturation that a concern for maximum growth must cause an attempt to take account of physical, mental, and emotional relationships between each individual and the total environment.

3. Each individual is unique, and the development of each is unique—in extent, in time, in quantity and quality, in rhythm of rest and work, of attention and inattention.

4. Each individual tends to be active, to exhibit hunger, to like and to dislike in forms which are both physical and mental-emotional, and through stimuli, activity, and memory which occur at all levels and in all phases of growth. Thus a real opportunity for first-hand experience is likely to result in greater growth and greater happiness.

5. Vague, generalized activity becomes purposeful and skillful through experience. Through activity and the results of it upon him, each individual tends to directional movement and the specialization of activities. Large, undifferentiated movements of body and of "mind" become increasingly focused and skillful in their application for a purpose. Thus, feeding progresses from infant lip movements to the complex acts of finding, preparing, serving, and eating at the adult level. General handling of all objects may become manipulation of a knife and finally of a surgeon's tool.

6. As experience, memory, and foresight increase, as values become stronger (clear and more emotional) so do the efforts to achieve self-direction and individual purpose. It is the latter which results in "work"—that is, activity for a desired and which is not immediate, but requires intermediate steps for its attainment.
DEVELOPMENTAL ASPECTS OF PRIMARY FACTS

Tendencies in Relation to Personal Identity

7. Through physical cause within the individual as through environmental experience, each human being develops characteristic behaviors which may be classified as temperament, traits, attitudes, habits, and reactions. It has been shown that these "characteristic" ways of behavior are strongly influenced by the social patterns to which the individual is subjected. Thus his personality is very truly, and to a very great degree the result of social controls.

8. Both change and inertia, both security and insecurity, both self-esteem and self-disesteem, both submissiveness and power-seeking, are aspects of the individual's development of his capacities, and his increasing sense of comparative values. This fact emphasizes the need for freedom, participation, clarity of purpose for maximum growth.

TENDENCIES IN RELATION TO ENVIRONMENT

9. The individual is in constant interaction with his environment. He responds at first in chance, now-specific ways. Later, he becomes more purposeful and more controlled. He is influenced by physical and social environment. He particularly desires to belong, to behave in ways which make him feel desirable to others and increasingly able to profit by the presence of others.
TENDENCIES IN RELATION TO LEARNING AND INTELLIGENCE

10. Learning requires physiological structures plus opportunity, plus interest and application. It is rapid and efficient in proportion to the strength of motive and the complexity of the task.

11. Learning is a natural process, as are curiosity, attentiveness, suggestability, reasoning, generalization, and creativeness. Confusion on this point may come through the attempt of would-be educators to ignore one or more of the four requirements listed in §10 above.

12. Remembering is a natural process in which the significance to the individual, or the "feeling value" of the thing remembered is paramount.

13. The creation of order (relationships which are useful for the individual's purpose), the forming of concepts through generalization and abstraction, the transfer of meanings from one situation to another similar one are all functions of a normal individual in his use of past experience for the purpose of solving problems in the present which seem worth solving to the individual.

These activities involve, also, evaluation (comparisons) and reflective thinking (perception of contrasts and relationships); prediction - an attempt to stabilize and control his relations to the external world; scientific procedure (quantitative understanding) and artistic procedure (synthesis or pattern-making).
APPENDIX TO SECTION III

PRIMARY FACTS REGARDING INDIVIDUAL TENDENCIES

(Note: General references are given with first numbered statement)

Each Individual Being Has Tendencies.

1. To inherit physical structures resembling those of ancestors through genes (112, 58, 59)

1.1 Examples: color, size, and shape of fingers, skin texture, teeth, sex

1.2 Exceptions: mutations due to environmental factors (205, 30)

1.3 Implications: a) structural limitations on acuity and performance; b) social acceptability are affected by heredity

If eye structure is not mature, the child is not ready to read. If hearing is not good, special treatment is indicated. Variations from normal in size, height, color and other features may seriously affect the social acceptance of an individual and thus his own attitudes and adjustment. The school may help him by clinical treatment, and by creating an atmosphere in which certain variations are understood and accepted.

2. Each Individual Being Has Tendencies to Activity (112, 178, 185, 213, 215)

2.1 Protoplasmic: a) excitability; b) contractility; c) conductivity; d) rhythmicity (which differs in amount according to type of cells) (332, 39)

2.2 To general and undifferentiated mass actions as first response (332, 76) (Gross discrimination always precedes fine discrimination) (249, 286)

2.3 To play (301, 144, 75, 40)

2.4 To increasing precision and economy of response due to both maturation and learning

- 238 -
2.5 Implications: problems of extension, direction and inhibition. A living organism is always active.

The school can encourage exploratory activity, can guide it so that it has an improved chance of being fruitful for all, and can lay the foundations for intelligent response to restraints imposed in the interests of all.

In all learning the school will need to recognize that understanding proceeds from the whole to the part and back again.

3. Each Individual Being has Tendencies to Hunger \(194, 82, 83, 85\)

3.1 Food, drink, and sex. These must be satisfied.

3.2 For affection \(261, 116, 117\)

3.3 For stimulation

3.4 For rest

3.5 Implications: Failure to satisfy these hungers, directly or indirectly, causes basic mal-adjustment of personality.

The school can interest itself in all of these and can help satisfy some. It can, for example, offer nourishing lunches, pure milk, water and fruit juices. It can arrange rest periods and it can always attempt to be a place of lively interest. The school can also provide wholesome and enjoyable contacts between the sexes, but it cannot, as an institution, take care of all the affectional needs of the child. It is as important to recognize such limitations as it is to recognize responsibilities in these fields.

These hungers are as important in the lives of members of the school staff as in those of the pupils, of course. Administration must take that fact into account.
4. To profound changes in total organism due to slight endocrine shifts.

4.1 Yet these changes may be almost unobservable.

4.2 Implications: Ductless glands are important in education.

For example, excessive nervousness, cases of overweight, apathy and dullness are some symptoms which the alert teacher will see and refer for medical examination and care.

5. To mature increase in complexity and ability to function, no new muscles, sense organs, nerve cells (194, 33)

5.1 Physical maturation a vital factor in mental maturation (112, 95, 96) through: a) cell division; b) increase in size and weight; c) brain complexity; d) functional complexity — facility and efficiency.

5.2 As structure develops emotional expression also develops (261, 68) Example: race, age, sex, family, heredity, prenatal conditioning, birth trauma, birth order, maternal age at pregnancy, endocrines, nutrition, health, disease, seasons, atmosphere, race culture, socio-economic status, education, social pressure, family and neighborhood, acquaintances and friends, knowledge, exercise, interests, emotions (75, 30).

5.3 Sex changes (332, 89)

5.4 Implications: with how many factors does the school deal? (261, 131)

The school needs to know about the existence of these and allied factors and to see clearly its course in relation to each. The physical education program, the relation of emotional attitudes to learning, the unique characteristics of each child, the social relations of family groups, the appropriate changes of routine to accompany differing cycles of development — these are examples of concerns which the school can relate to the factors of maturation.
6. To periodicity (vital to emotional adjustment and to physical health (26), 115)

6.1 Rhythm of activity and rest

6.2 Chemical and physiological changes (194, 84)

6.3 Cycles of mental growth. Influenced by achievement and stimuli (249, 130) (Also see Whitehead, A.N. The Rhythm of Education, London, Christophers, 1922, p. 9; also, 322, 343)

6.4 Implications: Development does not follow a straight line. Therefore the school will maintain a flexible schedule and will administer it through teachers who know individual children and their requirements for alternation of work and rest.

7. To adience and Abience (Fro, Con) (194, 72, 77)

7.1 To like and to dislike, or satisfaction and annoyance (261, 16, 89; 112, 124) claimed by some to be the only basic "drives," affecting entire organism.

7.2 Adient reactions - curiosity, acquisiteness, gregariousness.

7.3 Adient response - adjustment to receive more of a given stimulus

7.4 Abient response - no adjustment or less

7.5 Connection with cranial autonomic operations (e.g., love) (235, 47)

7.6 Connection with thoracic-lumbar operations (e.g., fear and rage)

7.7 Particular quality of adient or abient emotion determined by object and circumstances (child-parent; lover-loved ones)

7.8 Sums up to: seeking, as an innate biological tendency of the organism, optimum conditions for self

7.9 Implications: Satisfaction and annoyance are basic reactions but environment has a large share in determining to what they are attached.
The school can form a good working knowledge of individual attitudes through study of likes and dislikes. If it seeks to change some of these, it will note the relative efficiency of various techniques such as discussion, trips, movies, reading, new situations and the like. It will not assume that likes and dislikes can be changed by decree.

8. To emotion (extension of 16)
Definition: Complex state of consciousness with high effective (pleasant, unpleasant) coloring, involving intellect and will; appears under stress - actual or imagined. (75, 80)

8.1 Accompanying all behavior (249, 10; 112, 228)

8.2 Love, rage, fear - Three fundamentals via Watson

8.3 Affective states often due to internal activities and processes of organism conditioned in early life; e.g., conceit, selfishness, timidity, unkindness, prejudice, pride, untruthfulness, dishonesty, self-confidence, self-abasement, fears, worries, anxieties, inhibitions, antipathies, mannerisms, antagonisms; Example: Teachers overlooked 58.7 errors of "best" pupils and only 12.5 errors of "poor" pupils (Zillig).

8.4 Moods may often attach to an object or person but be due in reality to left-over effects of physiological processes (112, 230, 31) following emotional reactions. (Anger and fear - adrenin and thyroxin - interference with digestion)

8.5 Leverage to get something - emotional outbursts (112, 213)

8.6 Mixed feelings - "parting is such sweet sorrow" (249, 151)

8.7 Tendency to empathize (project self into rhythm of situation (249, 157)

8.8 Quality of emotion related to deeper meaning of situation (281, 22) (often unconscious)

8.9 Strong emotion when energy of a drive is frustrated (281, 21, 26)
8.10 Beneficial results (good or efficient learning) from mild emotion (261, 28)

8.11 Disintegrative force in strong emotion

8.12 Joy in surmounting an obstacle; spending energy purposefully (261, 59)

8.13 Uncertainty a cause of emotion

8.14 International anarchy results in emotionalized nationalism. (261, 53)

8.15 Summary: a) Positive emotion from clear thought and definite action; b) Negative emotion from frustration (261, 79). Emotions are highly trainable.

The school will recognize the fundamental and extensive meaning of emotional condition in relation to achievement. It can help pupils to clarify their thinking, and can wisely judge the effects of frustration and failure in each individual case.

9. To Unity of Personality (332, 11)

9.1 Principal raw materials of personality: physique, intelligence, temperament (18, 107)

9.2 Physiological invariability includes desires, appetites, needs, whole series of principal effective tendencies (261, 49).

9.3 Total dynamic pattern of individual involved in each act (suckling). Also total environment. (249, 10; 194, 75, 152; 235, 17)

9.4 Partly fixed, partly flexible; dependent and independent (332, 13) spontaneous, interested, creative within limits of structure and environment. Law of give and take.

9.5 The part is controlled by the whole which is different from sum of parts (332, 424)

9.6 Struggles for unity of personality take such forms as: compensation, introversion, identification (hero worship); rationalization, multiple personality (332, 224)
9.7 Unity and order in fields and systems of force which comprise the processes of life; in growth of cells and systems of cells; in conscious behavior; e.g., seeing, feeling, thinking (332, 36)

9.8 Complete freedom, self-expression and continuous success endangers personal unity (281, 8)

9.9 Implications: Atomistic, compartmentalized education is contrary to nature.

This is probably the strongest single "fact." This holds even in pathological cases to some extent.

At the least this means that each school activity will be planned in relation to the individual interests of students. At the most it will mean that all aspects of the total educational process will be seen in relationship by pupils and teachers. "Seen" means felt as well as intellectualized or verbalized.

10. To Specialize Activities (332, 429)

10.1 For satisfaction

10.2 Examples and implications:
  a) Feeding, vocalizing, manipulating, locomotion
  b) Writing, dancing, drawing, reading, analyzing, imagining
  c) To tantrums to remove frustration
  d) To sulkiness to break monotony
  e) To talk back, bully, day dream or become a sissy
     in reaction to repressive discipline

The school will take account of the individual's desire to develop superior skills in one or a few directions. It will also recognize aberrant behavior as a symptom of something wrong in the school's treatment of the individual. This may not mean that the school program is wrong, but only that its method of administering it has failed to reach home.
11. To directional movement

11.1 To take the line of least action (see field-potential - gradient theory) (332, 28, 27)

11.2 To increasing self-direction (if psychological weaning takes place) (261, 122)

11.3 To seek motivating challenge. (Connected with desire for a significant place in life (261, 107).

11.4 To be influenced by value concepts - organic conditions of viscera are changed by autonomic stimulation which in turn is influenced by value concepts (261, 13; 194, 205)

11.5 Questions of right and wrong cause most emotional response - adult influence

11.6 Prepotency of direction of one feature of a situation corresponds to distribution of energy within the organism. Choice towards outstanding feature of graded series of qualities (brightest, loudest, etc.) (249, 259)

11.7 Implications: The natural tendency to self-direction, influenced by values, can be aided or impeded. Values are always relative.

The school will encourage pupil thinking, planning and self-direction. It will teach sound techniques of making choices of direction, it will use the authority of reason rather than that of place. It will encourage self-evaluation. It will make educational capital of current issues which are emotionally charged and therefore both more meaningful and more critical tests of the uses of intelligence.

12. To Work

12.1 Definition: activity for an ulterior purpose (75, 51)

12.2 Energy system is a unit. Any disturbance will call for maximum energy to restore balance (332, 31)

12.3 Best work depends on: a) internal stimulation (periodicity or environment); b) an attractive goal; c) the problem being on the learner's level of insight;
d) the teacher or guide or companions being enthusiastic, generous, well-balanced and attractive; 3) chance to be creative. (332, 409, 410).

12.4 Maximum-efficiency work period is individual
   Too long period produces diffusion

12.5 Implications:
   The school will recognize in all its relations to pupils
   that they have some serious and long-range purposes for which
   they will work devotedly if the conditions stated above are
   present.

DEVELOPMENTAL ASPECTS OF PRIMARY FACTS

A. TENDENCIES IN RELATION TO PERSONAL IDENTITY

1. To temperamental type

   1.1 Due to physical causes, as: secretion of ductless
       glands (112, 223)

   1.2 Social causes, as: imitation of cheery or fretful
       companions

   1.3 Sanguine, melancholic, choleric and phlegmatic types
       (75, 84, 85) long recognized in literature indicate
       existence of some stability in type.

   1.4 Implications: change in temperament can be affected
       by medical attention and by attitudes of companions.

       The educational process can be most effective as it
       recognizes and values the contributions of different tempera-
       ments to the social group. It can be especially helpful in
       giving, by its example, a demonstration of how to deal under-
       standingly and put to fruitful use the temperamental differences
       of a group.
2. **To develop traits** (typical ways of behavior)

2.1 A bioc-social name given to types of behavior not psychological entities, but habitual (18, 237)

2.2 Dependent both on hereditary material and conditions in which it operates. Same genes produce different results in different conditions (56, 106; 18, 319)

2.3 Trends or habits early established likely to be representative of individual through life (184, 102)

2.4 Trait changes can be made by change in correlation and efficiency of individual, e.g., fear "cured" by change in motor efficiency.

2.5 Implications: High importance of nurture in developing traits.

The fact that traits established early have deep and lasting effects on all development points to the great importance of home and primary school training. It suggests that the elementary teacher should be well-schooled in psychological knowledge, and an artist in dealing with personalities. It suggests also the importance of parental education as part of every school's function. It indicates that in the upper grades and beyond it is not a simple or speedy task to alter traits.

3. **To form attitudes**

3.1 Self-interest the psychological base (261, 61)

3.2 Positive and negative. Related to adience and absence. (115, 224; 261, 37)

3.3 Attitudes become associated with symbols (jung)

3.4 Attitudes or tendencies are more enduring than specific content of situation. Correct general impressions retained after content which led to them is forgotten. (261, 40) General attitudes remain relatively constant though specific objects of them differ.
3.5 Private feelings differ from public attitudes, especially in case of members of institutional groups (261, 41).

3.6 Some attitudes are unconscious, due to trauma, etc.

3.7 Greatly influenced by majority and expert opinion. (261, 85)

3.8 Dramatic experience has much effect (261, 85)

3.9 Implications: Attitudes can be effectively taught.

The effective school will be that one in which pupil attitudes are not ignored or suppressed. The school will not assume a stereotyped attitude toward its pupils, nor encourage them to conceal their real feelings. It will instead offer plenty of opportunity for the expression of interests and attitudes as a regular part of planning, work and evaluation. It will "socialize" the attitudes of children by free discussion and the weight of evidence rather than superficial regimentation.

4. To form habits

4.1 Through pleasurable feeling tone results (194, 113)

4.2 Through volition: a) focus of attention; b) attentive repetition; c) invariability and success (129, 117)

4.3 Implications: Habit is always learned, not innate, related to conscious or unconscious purpose (18, 291)

The school will assist in the formation of good habits of work, play, social relationship and thought by seeing that purposes are considerately and thoroughly discussed and that the situation is such as to engage the participation of all in tasks which they are sufficiently able to do so that they have the satisfaction and pleasure of work well done.
5. To type reactions

5.1 Contradictory experience is resisted by resort to stereotypes which satisfy and protect (261, 86)

5.2 Stereotypes save time and effort (261, 86)

5.3 Stereotypes cover instead of reveal

5.4 Active or depressive type of reaction depends on both physiology-temperament and experience. (Temperament degree of emotional lability) (261, 27)

5.5 Implications: type reactions have deep foundations. Changes are often needed but require development of understanding, skill, experience.

The school will distinguish between matters which can properly be fitably reduced to routine, and those which require real thought. It will realize that the more nearly automatic any form of behavior becomes, the less likely it is to be adequate to changes in the situation, some of which may be subtle but very important.

6. To inertia (stability) (261, 13)

6.1 Shifts from instability to stability characterize physiological processes

6.2 Inertia as a form of rest - physical and mental

6.3 Inertia re changes in core of stability account for conservatism.

6.4 Implications: some degree of inertia is requisite to preserve continuity of self and society. It is so basic that attempted change can rarely go too far.

The school will go step by step. It will not expect children or parents to make sudden changes in conviction or activity. It can expect that with a proper beginning and preparation, important changes will occur seemingly overnight after a sufficient period of growth and adjustment to new ideas.
7. **To change**

7.1 Through perception of error (75, 26)

7.2 Maturation and environment - purposes

7.3 Through imitation (75, 29)

7.4 Implications: Change is inevitable, continuous, and takes direction from the situation.

The school will a) exemplify an organization to meet new situations intelligently; and b) create conditions such that change is purposefully controlled by all concerned.

8. **To make contact with reality, especially of social forces**

(To avoid reality - always a sign of illness) (261, 119)

8.1 Including success and disappointment, antagonisms and cooperation, pain and pleasure, hard work, relation of effort and return, praise, accidents, etc.

8.2 To achieve harmony with reality through mental organization.

The school will not put a screen between children and the vital experiences and difficulties of life. It will encourage children to solve problems for themselves rather than offering ready-made answers. It will not worry as much about mistakes as it will about whether pupils are learning through their mistakes. In short, it will respect the rights of children to participate and learn from real experience.

9. **To self-consciousness**

9.1 A process of development. Consciousness and self-consciousness not identical (18, 169)

9.2 Attaining self-hood or individuality and status characterizes many of activities of each person. "Ideally, each individual should feel that he is the latest link in the unending chain of a
developing race or nation, thus 'finding himself' in both a personal and a social sense." (261,124)

9.3 Pain, frustration, social ridicule engender acute states of self-consciousness; cause awareness of incompatibility between world outside and within (18,164).

9.4 Implications: Striving for independent self-hood is natural. Over protection hinders it. Co-mingling personal and social goals is the true artistry of life.

The school will recognize that consciousness of self, of strengths and of weaknesses, of possibilities and of limitations, is a life-long process. It will not expect pupils to be wise beyond their years in the knowledge of their own powers and limits. It will equally encourage honest evaluation, especially self-evaluation. It will administer praise and blame as fairly as possible, but always with due recognition that self-respect is a basic necessity for growth.

10. To be insecure

10.1 Due to difference between wants and realization (261,144)

10.2 Due to over-stimulation

10.3 Due to phobias contracted in early experience

10.4 Due to uprootedness (esp. in city civilization)

10.5 Due to inability to control or to know all factors — need for continuous thread of stability, physical or mental or both. Examples of greatest incidence: loss of income, work, illness (261,146)

10.6 Implications: Provide core of security to aid development. This may be a point of view as well as physical.

In addition to a solid structure of planning scheduling and activities, the school can make its best contributions to
the insecure person through the comradeship of shared responsibilities and confidence.

11. To self-dis-esteem

11.1 To greater feelings of inferiority than actually are justified, in physical, social, and intellectual realms. (Esp. girls to boys in our culture.) (18:175)

11.2 Rhythms of maladjustment and adjustment are normal, but too great or too many failures cause deep sense of deficiency (common cause of: physical incapacity, low vitality, sexual impotence, unpleasant appearance, social inadequacy, poverty, lack of education, poor memory, meager vocabulary, sense of guilt and sin, inferiority complex) (18:175)

11.3 Implications: common responses to inferiority complex: Direct action or compensation - (cf. Adler) as Demosthenes, Roosevelt, self-made man - all good. By telling tall tales - not so good. Substitution - plain girl becomes charming or witty; defense mechanisms - exaggerations of adolescent, lyings; self-justification or rationalization - to fool self as well as others, condemnation of those in high places. Phantasy or day dreams may become schizophrenic. Neurotic compensation - pseudo illness, etc.

The school will provide a relationship between staff and students such that doubts and worries can be discussed appropriately in private or in groups. Besides the therapeutic catharsis this will offer, the school will encourage serious study of the best available knowledge bearing on personal problems of students.

12. To religion

12.1 As a compensation for frustration of control over external reality. (Animism, artificialism and art, medicine man, science, philosophy) (261,120; 112, 237)

12.2 A form of self-abasement. (75,237)

12.3 As response to the mysteries of the universe (112,53)
12.4 As patterning of experience.

12.5 Implications: Is religious behavior in relation to the universe as a whole?

The way of life of a school can be made a spiritual force.

This cannot be done through mass methods of work, but will require a sincere simplicity in the relations of teachers and pupils who work and play together with a real sense of common purpose. A common purpose is created, it is not imposed.

13. To self-esteem (18,169)

13.1 Egoism is characteristic of early childhood

13.2 Altruism, codes and manners, however, are genuine, not superficial alterations in personality.

13.3 Implications: Persistence of great egotism is a sign of undeveloped personality.

The school may challenge the egotistic individual with real responsibilities. Performance becomes the test, and success of a group undertaking the taskmaster. The school will avoid pampering those who are "school-bright," lest they become life-dull.

In other words, the school is a social as well as an academic proving ground.

14. To be powerful (To be submissive - not so fundamental)

14.1 Dominance aids satisfaction

14.2 Relation to social success

14.3 Competition

14.4 Collection

14.5 Implications: frustration results in new effort, new direction or pathological negative.
Our business civilization stresses the value of competition and the rewards of dominance over others. The school can recognize this and heighten its effect by offering rewards for winning over others. It can, on the other hand, turn attention to progress relative to one's self and the good of all. The system of grades, reports and credits; class elections, methods of work can be based on appeal to triumph over others or upon excellence relative to a group undertaking and personal growth through it.

B. Tendencies in Relation to Environment

1. To Respond to Physical Environment (112,82)

1.1 First in chance, non-specific ways

1.2 In increasingly significant, purposefully ways

1.3 Both structurally and psychologically (112,83,54); Examples: a) Eskimo belly; b) dreamers of tropics; c) producers of temperate zones; d) with senses of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, pressure, warmth, cold, pain, touch, posture, balance, movement, strain

1.4 Implications: The physical world is an essential part of development.

The school can provide a wealth of experience with nature, with the materials and principles of the physical sciences, with all the rich opportunities for creating from the materials of the arts.
2. To adapt activity to physical environment (75, 137)

2.1 Examples: Play, inquisitiveness, constructiveness, migration, acquisitiveness

The school will recognize play as a form of experimental and creative learning. It will not dull curiosity by over-formalizing or neglect of interests. It will encourage exploration.

3. To respond to Social Environment (112, 122, 194, 104, 148, 149)

3.1 To signs of youth, old age, health, disease, frankness, deceit, aggressiveness, fear, affection, security, etc. (301, 106)

3.2 To all forms of communication (112, 55, 56)

3.3 To moral and ethical codes, customs, conventions (the prejudices, ideals, hopes and aspirations of men)

3.4 To all devices and inventions

3.5 To all work activities

3.6 To all institutions

3.7 In a word, to people

3.8 Implications: Every person and social activity has developmental influence

The school will make use of all forms of social contact as part of its curriculum. It will encourage discussions and other expression of individual reactions to the world of human beings and will help point up the significance and meaning of social phenomena.
4. To adapt or channel activity into forms most encouraged by social environment (75, 137; 249, 81; 112, 237, 248)

4.1 Examples: expressions of: fear (flight or cooperation); pugnacity (single or group combat); gain (selfishness or cooperative industrial organization) self-assertion (rivalry or obedience); growth (as outcast or loyal member of group; parenthood (possession or altruistic); play; ideals from acquaintances, from history, from contemporary life; honesty, bravery, patriotism.

4.2 To lie: through not understanding discipline; through not understanding uses of honesty; through imitation of parents; through using imagination (332, 435).

4.3 Implications: Blind loyalty is immature (261, 105). Mature loyalty cannot be directly taught. Congregation and competition, communism and leadership thus are seen as environmentally directed forms of opportunity to express tendencies (184, 139). Much imitation is effort to acquire these forms.

The school will aid students to see directions and conflicts of values in our society. It will encourage students to ask "WHY?" and will help them find answers.

5. To want to belong (261, 117)

5.1 To group

5.2 To resemble others is means of belonging (301, 108).

5.3 Feeling of obligation to group relates to achievement and to feelings of guilt

5.4 Stealing and cheating often due to jealousy of others, desire to have what they have, keep up with social group (332, 435)

5.5 Desire to be consistent - desire to conform and be socially acceptable (cf. savage stereotypes)

5.6 Subordination as individual to society accompanies recognition of part-whole relationship (332, 28).

5.7 Implications: group esteem is vital to good development. Punishment should not isolate but should provide way of return to group.
The school will foster in all of its citizens a sense of belonging to a common enterprise. Faculty as well as students need this sense. It can come at its best only through the participation of all in determining purposes and methods.

6. To desire justice (261,123)

6.1 An outstanding characteristic of adolescent (cf Leta Hollingsworth)

6.2 Related to empathy

6.3 Related to adoption of models and ideals

6.4 Implications: Means to secure justice need to be developed.

The passion of young people for justice is sometimes ignored by administrators and teachers who are accustomed to a world of compromise and makeshift expediences. The school will be aware that its pupils may take ideals seriously and act upon them. It will also recognize that some demands for "justice," are a sign of envy. In this case the envious one feels himself unfairly limited and needs special study and guidance.

c. TENDENCIES IN RELATION TO LEARNING AND INTELLIGENCE

1. To Learn - Structures, opportunity, interest, application (194,32)

1.1 Due to utility for personal needs not because of "laws." (261,163) Examples of "needs" - air, food, water, exercise, sex, affection, status, rich experience; pleasure, annoyance.

1.2 Stronger the motive, the more vigorous the effort (112,206); more rapid learning; shorter period of trial and error. Retain longest (Miss Mateer's exp.) See Garrett, H.E. Great Experiments in Psychology, 1930. (112,196)
1.3 Through a continuous process of making discoveries (322,76)
1.4 Obstacle to be overcome causes learning (235,169)
1.5 Increasing precision and economy of response in real learning (235,169)
1.6 Particularization occurs when objective becomes explicit (249,234)
1.7 By assimilation or synthesis rather than accretion (Kohler’s apes) (249,250)
1.8 By gradation, contrast, pair-wise selection, relative properties (Kohler – hens and child). Perceptions not to one correspondence of stimuli and discrete response (249,255)
1.9 As a whole organism. Totality of interaction (235,176) Therefore better, quicker, longer learning when whole is understood and part related to it. (235,191) Unit learning undesirable (235,185). (One thousand could perform operations, only 500 could solve problems, said Everett)
1.10 Frequency – recently may explain temporary fixation but not selection. (Pavlov) (184,142)
1.11 Motive plus practice over a considerable period best (235,206)
1.12 Most learning incidental to goal-reaching. (Multiplication table exp.) (235,187)
1.13 Poor learning when failure is predicted (E.B. Sullivan – nonsense syllable test) (261,186)
1.14 Better accomplishment through joy (75,45)
1.15 All learning finally consists in doing (75,214)
1.16 Implications: begin with motive and choice; offer conditions for exploration and discovery (235,171); relate parts to whole; and happy approach.

2. To be curious (To ignore what is irrelevant)
2.1 Satisfying in so many ways that sometimes is called "finding out for the sake of finding out." (75,48)
2.2 Basic drive to activity includes mental activity (305,449)
2.3 Leads to independent thinking, initiative, desire to learn, desire for excellence (332,6)

2.4 Implications: Encourage curiosity and teach methods of satisfying it and organizing results.

3. To seek stimulation. To respond to stimulation. (To avoid over-stimulation - not so basic) (255,17; 261,2)

3.1 Driven by needs which are always being modified but are rooted in biological urges.

3.2 Implications: Anything is preferable to boredom (daydreaming, football, movies).

4. To be attentive

4.1 Involuntary - light on eye, etc.; contrasting and rhythmic stimuli (75,54)

4.2 Voluntary or semi-voluntary comes about through relation to: object of immediate value; the intense, the moving; the novel (75,60, 295,296)

4.3 Boredom is usually due to absence of relation between object and interest. Sometimes to fatigue (261,2)

4.4 Implications: the learner will pay attention to what has value for him.

5. To suggestibility

5.1 Imitation

5.2 Contagion of emotion (194,103)

5.3 Adoption of belief or action in the absence of complete self-determination (may be of goal or of means (18,166)

5.4 Language and other symbols important as influences for acceptance of social suggestion. Social inheritance through the means of symbols by man unique among animals (194,139).

5.5 Implications: Suggestion is effective in proportion to adequacy of expression and reception of symbols and to inadequacy of self-determination.

The school therefore has to talk a language that is meaning-
ful and to be wary of substituting the easy road of domination
for the hard one of encouraging self-discovery and development.

6. To communicate (129,105; 249,289)

6.1 First by vocal sounds (baby, Helen Keller) then by
creation of symbols and signs; names, gestures,
position reference (numbers), etc.

6.2 Implications: Communication is natural. Form and
effectiveness are artificial and depend on purpose
and social direction.

7. To remember by significance or feeling value (332,402)
To "forget" (this is somewhat doubtful. To "suppress"
might be closer to fact)

7.1 Is natural behavior to organism (194,131)

7.2 Ability to use, not repeat is real test (75,245)

7.3 Related to attitude or purpose (eight to ten times as
easy to remember "meaningful" material) (75,269)

7.4 Affected by prejudices

7.5 Aids: Recent experience; pattern; clear and correct
first observation; increase in age (up to senility);
impressiveness (feeling value); symbolism

7.6 Association may aid or may cause confusion (249,182)

7.7 Images lose edacity due to other recollections or
creative imagination (249,182)

7.8 Implications: Remembering and forgetting are natural
means of achieving purpose, conscious or unconscious.
They have to do with patterns of meaning — are not
isolated.

The learner must first recognize its importance before he
will remember a fact. Its importance will come through a genuine
perception of its relationship to him.
8. **To relative perception** (332, 86; 112, 328; 249, 303; 255, 19)

8.1 All perceptions are of relationships, not absolutes. Examples: whole-part and part-whole; special; temporal; causal; constancy of magnitude, color and shape (by comparison with concept-pattern)

8.2 "Perception" or orderliness in nature leads to concept of order which in turn leads to "abstract" thinking.

8.3 Implications: Well-directed learning depends on psychological sequence.

9. **To partial awareness**

9.1 At any single moment the range of consciousness is slight (18, 159)

9.2 Of our own natures

9.3 We see what we look for (many things or one thing)

9.4 Implications: Since purpose dominates, there is a need for harmony of teacher-pupil purpose.

10. **To error**

10.1 "Error" describes all learning behavior which does not immediately reach its goal.

10.2 There are clever and stupid errors (249, 268)

10.3 Implications: Distinguish between clever and stupid errors.

11. **To perceive and to form concepts**.

11.1 Perception is mental reaction to a particular thing (acquired) (112, 319)

11.2 Concept is reaction to symbols representing a number of things (language, art, etc.) (75, 192)

11.3 Perception is recognition in context. It is vivid if there is: primacy (first impressions are lasting); affectiveness (marked pleasure or displeasure); integration into pattern of past experience; motive (cf. Finklestein)
11.4 Pattern integration of perception involves refocusing. (Earthworm learning left turn) (249,263)

11.5 Implications: Superficial observation and perception indicate: lack of background experience; faulty first impressions; lack of motive or effective reaction.

12. To reason

12.1 When faced by a difficulty (75,300)

12.2 By both induction and deduction (75,308)

12.3 Always based on past or present experience of the individual (194,212)

12.4 Can be hindered by emotional barriers.

12.5 Implications: Reasoning grows out of applying experience to problems, the learner's experience to the learner's problems.

13. To evaluate


13.2 Carries emotional context, especially in relation to life, wealth or purpose (This emotion is a cortical release and is more frequent in our modern society than in primitive ones. The danger can be real or imagined) (261,25)

13.3 Comparison, evaluation, is an inevitable part of growth. Watch out for false fears.

14. To generalize (of abstraction)

14.1 Generalized meanings or concepts most important resources for thinking (75,316)

14.2 Generalizations are worth only the data they embrace; they have but hypothetical value (194,129)

14.3 Many goals are determined by generalization (261,80)

14.4 There is a tendency to generalize from small data, especially where the situation is emotionally charged. (You are never considerate!)
14.5 Implications: Generalizations are vital resources. They require extensive experience, organization and symbolization (250, 121). They are worth only the data (past, present and future) which they embrace.

15. To transfer

15.1 Through integration and generalization (18, 285)

15.2 Through trait formation.

15.3 Through sense of similarity - "two-ness," not "one-ness" (18, 282)

15.4 Since no two persons see or experience the same, transfer cannot be standardized.

15.5 Affective transfer common (e.g., weapons, tools, earth, business for its own sake) (194, 205)

15.6 Prediction assumes transfer

15.7 Implications: It is total meanings and coordinations which transfer, not identical elements (235, 251).

16. To Orderliness (To disorder only in pathological cases) (129, 126)

16.1 Form, order, and arrangement can be seen to dominate mental life from first to last.

16.2 The individual has personal order which may or may not conform to other people's ideas. "Disorderly" may mean "different from my order."

17. To organize (235, 200)

17.1 Any present meaning which carries into the future does so because organized pattern permits.

17.2 Organized pattern affects the total personality.

17.3 Implications: Organization can be made helpful and predictive.

18. To reflective thinking

18.1 Kinds: by images, by symbols; by logic (conformation to accepted standards of correct thinking (112, 321)
18.1 Basically depends on perception to contrast and relationships (i.e., usefulness to purpose)

18.3 "Consistency" sometimes due to mental limitations. Tendency to push operations of concepts beyond the point where they are applicable.

18.4 Rich experience, store of images and symbols, are needed for development.

19. To predict (194,205)

19.1 Related to satisfaction of internal processes (hunger)

19.2 Form of attempt to stabilize and control relations to external world.

19.3 Implications: Quality of prediction depends primarily on general validity of meaning patterns formed by individual. Based on breadth of experience and acuity of perception. Also based on fitting symbolization.

20. To imagine

20.1 Productive: new combinations of old things (75,240)

20.2 Employs physical and symbolic signs

20.3 Implications: All people are imaginative

21. To abstraction (112,322)

21.1 Definition: putting things in classes. Examples: redness, roughness, roundness

21.2 Closely connected with ability to symbolize as well as see group relationships

21.3 Implications: Depends on breadth of experience, etc., as in §20.

22. To be artistic

22.1 Creation of new pattern from interactive process takes place continually (235,18)

22.2 Qualities labelled "esthetic" are of the warp and woof of the bio-social human organism (75,137). Examples:
rhythm, harmony, perception, symbolization, joy.

22.3 Implications: Every human being is naturally artistic.
SECTION IV

GROWTH
CHAPTER X

EXPLORATION OF CHARACTERISTIC ASPECTS OF GROWTH

Introductory

Democracy, as defined in this work, is a form of society which makes its object social control for the promotion of the maximum growth of all.

It has been indicated in Section II that society and natural environment can be effective in stimulating and directing growth.

A study of the individual shows that growth is a description of many of the life processes of the human organism. In this study as in that of the preceding sections, also, it was emphasized that opportunity and liberty to use it are essential requirements for growth.

The preceding sections, then, may be said to indicate that the ideal of democracy is maximum growth; that social control for this purpose is possible, and that all our knowledge of the individual indicates both the desirability and some of the working principles necessary to its achievement. The present section undertakes to intensify and expand the examination of the central process in the stated purpose of democracy — growth.

Meanings and Uses of "Growth," in the Biological Sciences

There is a surprising scarcity of literature bearing the word "growth" in its title. For the most part, the word has been applied to physical development. But even as the studies of bones and muscles, weight and height, have accumulated, the relationship of the "physical" to emotional
and mental aspects of behavior and development have become increasingly apparent.

A word may be said about these terms. In considering growth, or development, or maturation, it is useful to employ the terms physical, mental, and emotional, to designate commonly understood aspects of man's behavior. This can be done without accepting any division between mind and body. When these three terms are employed, the definition of growth must include all three aspects.

Since the "physical" structure is both basic and "objective," it is the purpose in the pages immediately following to examine characteristic meanings of growth to be derived from the biological sciences. Some important generalizations about growth can be made from their findings.

A recent (1939) issue of the Review of Educational Research summarizing findings regarding growth, contains the following definitions of the term:

Growth is simply bodily changes which occur in a biological organism with advancing age. In human beings it is changes in size, complexity, form, texture and pigmentation of the body between the beginning of embryonic life and the close of senility. (Meredith, 222,79)

This is a modest definition. It confines itself to bodily changes and therefore must be extended. In this definition, the fact of physical change through time is emphasized. Another emphasis should be made. That is, that growth is coincident with life. In addition, there is, from the organismic point of view as well as that of the man on the street, a quality inherent in the growth idea which may be called expansion. This latter is well described by Wheeler and Perkins (332,25) as follows:

Wholes evolve through an expansion and differentiation... The human being grows in the course of cellular multiplication, but growth is the expansion of a dynamic field, not an accumulation
of cells. As the body develops, its tissues become more specialized, or differentiated into types and organs.

The idea of growth as change, and as the expansion of a dynamic field may suffice for a preliminary definition. It now becomes the task to seek additional meanings. For convenience they may be grouped under two heads, The Nature of Growth, and Directions of Growth. Both are pertinent to the democratic educational process, the latter somewhat more particularly than the former.

The Nature of Growth.

The biologists have already provided a large stock of common knowledge concerning physical growth. We know a good deal of the general process of the organism from fertilization to senility, not so much about decay and death. The great developments which have followed Mendel have given us much information concerning inheritance of characteristics through the genes. Rapidly developing knowledge of the ductless glands, of tissue culture, of surgery, of pharmacology, has made us aware of the chemical nature of bodily change. The neurologists have shown that body cells employ electrical charges. New concepts of energy as the basic unit of mass have gone along with the exploration of the borderline between the organic and the inorganic to alter our concepts of matter. All such developments have added to our store of knowledge concerning the how of growth.

Assuming a fairly wide amount of information already common, it is worth inquiry to find what recent experimenters have sought to add, or to test anew. Since much of their work has been explored in the section of the Individual, it may suffice here to offer a few additional and repres-
sentative examples and to outline the general framework for thinking with regard to growth which is basic to all sections, in relation to the when, how, and why of the democratic purpose.

**Physical Growth - Time, mechanism, cause**

The question of when, how, and why the body and the personality develop involves such more specific questions as the time of development, the continuity of growth, and whether there are significant sex differences.

Study of embryonic development shows that "each organ has its time of origin and this time factor is as important as the place of origin." (122,488) This means that if the eye does not rise at the appointed time, it will never be able to achieve adequate development...The organ which misses its time of ascendancy is doomed not only as an individual but it endangers at the same time the whole hierarchy of organs; normal development implies the "proper relationship of size and function among the body organs."

Other studies have shown that there is not only a sequence of "emergence" in each organ, but that each individual organism and its part has its peculiar time and range of growth. There is thus no "normal" growth curve. For example, measurements of nineteen physical and skeletal dimensions have been made on many subjects to show that each has its own distinctive and characteristic pattern of growth and that they occur at very different chronological ages. (Shuttleworth)

The relationship between physical and mental growth is complex and has not been adequately investigated. In general the trend of the evidence would show:
1. The ranges of "normal" physical growth are much greater than the use of averages or medians would imply.

2. Within a very wide range of physical growth indices, mental growth may be high.

3. Intelligence is not measurable by the speed or early learning of a specific skill like reading, contrary to popular opinion.

4. The definitions of age levels are not trustworthy indices to general maturity (Howard, 1939, p. 68)

Uniqueness: General to Specific

These statements support the assertion that the growth of the organism as a whole, as well as the development of specific functions and skills, follows an individual pattern. But while the differentiation of bodily organs and the rise of intelligence follow a characteristic time sequence of their own, a still larger fact is that this differentiation proceeds from the general to the specific. Coghill has put the case very clearly (1939, 19). He says,

"It is obvious, therefore, that the first limb movement is an integral part of the total reaction of the animal, and that it is only later that the limb acquires an individuality of its own in behavior."

The course of development, according to Coghill, follows the general principle of proceeding from large mass reactions to movements of the special organs of segments of the total. Thus, elbow flexion comes after the limb movement as a whole, and wrist and finger responses in turn after elbow flexion. Such movement in the four limbs together gives rise in time to locomotion movements necessary in walking.

In somewhat the same manner, feeding reactions are developed. Beginning with the larger movement of the trunk, including a certain lunge at the object of food, in time the specific movement of jaws and the
muscles of biting and swallowing develop. Coghill is so impressed with this aspect of the serial nature of development that he is convinced that organic growth in general operates on such a principle. He says (72,38):

Behavior develops from the beginning through the progressive expansion of a perfectly integrated total pattern and the individuation within it of partial patterns which acquire various degrees of discreteness.

A good deal of reliance may be placed on these observations, as they are well supported by other experimenters. For an excellent summary of this evidence, see Young (344, 35ff).

The Gestalt and organismic psychologists have contended that development proceeds from the general to the specific in mental activity and emotional attitudes. They have assumed that the total organism is involved in each activity and that learning is by wholes. Aside from the experiments of Kohler and Koffka, the brilliant demonstrations of Lashley, and the observations of child psychologists, there is testimony of the sort collected by Wheeler and Perkins (352,58f). Among the evidence to which they refer is a measurement of electrical energy from the cerebral cortex which seems to show that the brain as a whole functions in accomplishing any specific task.

The same process from general to specific may be said to occur in the development of emotions and attitudes (Murray, 234, 36f; Plant, 257,88, 93; and for qualifications, Allport, 18,34f).

There are, however, many contradictory experimental results, and in particular, there is evidence for what might be called cyclical and concomitant development. Because of the cyclical nature of growth it has been observed that one aspect of the organism’s behavior may dominate and
progress more obviously than another during a certain period. This is noticeable in school children in connection with their interests. It is noticeable among infants in connection with motor ability and mental power. For example, it is stated that motor ability grows more rapidly in the first 21 months than mental ability. After that, more slowly. (Payley, 29, p.8) This view seems to be confirmed by a variety of experiments. (Togawa, 178, 1939, p.30; Nelson, 178, 1939, p.30; (Cousinet 178, 1939; Hall, 178)

**Sequence: Spurts or Cycles?**

Because of the increasing recognition of the relationship between the phase of growth, on the one hand, and the treatment of the individual by parents or institutions on the other, a number of attempts have been made to classify periods of development into sequential (though sometimes overlapping) phases. One such classification states that the first six years of development can be described through study of the sequence indicated by the following terms: a) sense reception; b) bodily control; c) social awareness; d) learning (Buehler and Hetzer, 178, 1939, 19).

Another distinguishes these phases: a) sensori-motor; b) egocentric thought; c) rational coordination (Piaget, 178, 1939, 19).

Others are: a) augmentation; b) differentiation; c) integration (Thompson); and a) alertness; b) complexity; c) pliability; d) temperament; e) cadence (Plant, 1937, 267, 75-76, 79-81).

The differences in these classifications of the sequence of development are partly due to the differing points of view of the investigators, of course. Another factor in the difference is the fact already mentioned that all the evidence is not clear. There are some who will still
maintain the idea that growth occurs in spurts, and others who seem to emphasize the independence of growth from environmental influences. Still others argue for a concept of development through the coordinate growth of somewhat independently activated parts.

It would probably cover the evidence as a whole to say that growth is cyclical, and at the same time it is a continuous process from conception to death, usually proceeding from generalized to specific structure and function. The consistent continuity of growth has been challenged in the past by reference to what was conceived to be the special nature of adolescent development. Recent studies do not support the challenge. On the physical side, it is now asserted that it is not scientifically sound to say that general bodily growth has a spurt stage from 0-7, slowing down from 8-11, spurt from 12-16, maturity and inhibition from 17-21. (Howard, op.cit.) With regard to emotional and mental behavior it has been stated that "...most professional workers with children, whether they work in schools, clinics, or courts, are increasingly coming to feel that problems which emerge in adolescence are simply the end result of trends in emotional response which were becoming consolidated during the pre-school and elementary school periods." (178, 1941, 492-3)

Sex Differences in Growth

Disagreement regarding the relation of sex factors to rates and types of growth covers a much broader field than adolescence, of course. In a review of the subject in 1939, one writer made the assertion that in certain important respects girls mature earlier than boys till adolescence, then slow down, while boys begin a period of increase in positive accelera-
tion at about age 12 and slow down at 16. (Abernathy, 178, 1939, 95)

In the next year, a writer in the same journal, reviewing the subject made the comment that "ten years ago any review of this sort would probably have emphasized age and sex differences in behavior. Now only a few studies treat these relationships specifically." (Wenger, 178, 1940, 459)

Three researchers at the New Haven Hospital rejected the concept of sexual and racial type, even in basic physiological differentiation: Greulich, Thoms, and Twaddle found no typically "male" or "female" pelvic index. They state that the textbook "normal" female pelvis was found in only 15 per cent of 582 white women in their hospital, in 5.7 per cent of 104 student nurses, and in 8.5 per cent of 107 young girls from 5-15. (178, 1940, 573).

On the other hand, Kimball Young (344, 406) while not discussing type summarizes physiological sex differences as follows:

A scale of anatomical differences in boys and girls of given chronological ages - based upon X-ray studies of the ossification of the carpal bones in the wrist - has been developed. As measured by this sort of physical criterion, the girl of one and a half years is anatomically as old as the boy of two years. Moreover, this difference gradually increases. At the age of four the girl is anatomically equal to the boy of five. By the age of seven and a half years she is on a par with the lad of nine. And at the coming of puberty, say at twelve and a half years, the girl is anatomically as old as the boy of fifteen. (Op. cit., ref. to B. T. Baldwin, 1921; and Gilliland and Clark, 1939)

These physical evidences of more rapid maturity are reflected in the fact that on the average, for our society, girls arrive at puberty from one and a half to two years in advance of boys; and this may have important implications for the social adjustment of both.
The last point has a long history. In 1933 the statement was made (176, 1933, 117) that some evidence showed an increase in the range of individual differences in mental ability during adolescence. However, the same source stated that sex influences were negligible. Gesell has stated that "the general course of mental maturation is only slightly perturbed by the onset of pubescence."

One investigator found that higher I.Q.'s at any age belong to earlier maturing (sexually) children in 62 per cent of girls and 35 per cent of boys. Still another (Richey, 176, 1939, 75) feels that the best index to general maturity is found in the stage of development of secondary sex characteristics - that this is much more reliable than chronological age.

The Evidence in General

Such evidence as has been indicated above, with studies of the sort given still earlier, are put into excellent form by Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb in their charts on prenatal and infant development. (231, 114 et seq. esp. p. 121) For the present purpose, the trend of the evidence may be summarized as follows:

1. Growth implies expansion - in the sense of a dynamic field, not a mere accumulation.

2. The human organism tends to grow larger with age (bones, organs, skin, muscles, etc.)

3. There is observable sequential regularity in the development of organs given a normal individual and a fairly constant environment.

4. No physical structures are added after birth, but there is continuous change in their complexity and function and increased differentiation (cf. efficiency of nerve structure and functions of autonomic and conscious muscle control). Differentiation seems to develop a) through functional
relations within the organism; b) through relations to the environment (people, things, wants, aims, etc.)

5. Growth is continuous, but it has aspects which are cyclical or phasal. It takes place in each organism at no predictable rate. Some general predictions can be made to apply to groups. These predictions can be indicated by the following symbols:

- Increase
- Age
- Size
- Physical Efficiency
- Thinking Ability, Imagination, etc.
- Physical Energy
- Control

6. There are some differences of rate and growth due to male or female sex factors, and sexual maturation may be a good index of general maturation. It would be a mistake, however, to generalize too freely with regard to male and female type.

In the scope of this brief discussion it is impossible to make more than passing reference to a few representative problems and researches dealing with some of the most important characteristics of growth. There has been only slight mention of the question as to the meaning of growth in relation to old age and decay of powers, for example. This is partly because neither the definition of old age nor the determination of physiological and psychological changes accompanying it are clear. Again, there is the consideration of growth in relation to learning. This has been largely covered in the Section III on the Individual.

It is desirable at this point, however, to both widen and deepen the discussion by considering anew the factors which a democratic society must reckon with in its attempt to influence or control growth
so that it may be maximum for all. In particular, it will be desirable to summarize the literature and the writer's point of view on the two classic questions in this field: 1) What are the motive forces which animate physical, mental, and emotional growth; and 2) What is the relative importance of heredity as contrasted with environment?

**Directions of Physical Growth - Heredity and Environment**

The two questions are as obviously related as is the interaction between desire and possibility. Since the whole question of motives (drives, instincts, traits, needs, and the like) has formed an important part of the discussion of the individual, it will be treated only in general outline here, and will begin with the environment-heredity problem first.*

*For a brief inclusive review of this subject in terms of recently published material on twins and foster children, see Woodworth, R.S., Heredity and Environment. Social Science Research Council. New York. 1941. x; 95 pp. (542)

Carmichael once wrote (60, 282):

The fact as it appears........is that no distinction can be expeditiously made at any given moment in the behavior of the individual, after the fertilized egg has once begun to develop, between that which is native and that which is acquired. The so-called hereditary factors can only be acquired in response to an environment, and likewise the so-called acquired factors can only be secured by a modification of already existing structure, which in the last analysis is hereditary structure. Facts too obvious to bear citation show that the somatic structures that can develop out of a fertilized egg are in some measure dependent upon the physical and chemical structure of the given germ itself. The characteristics which develop out of such a germ, nevertheless, are not predetermined. They are, on the contrary, determined by an environment acting upon the present nature of the individual at every stage of development from fertilization to death.
It is this fact which led Franz Boas (173,182-184) to emphasize the adaptability of the human organism to wide ranges of environment. He says,

New evidence is constantly forthcoming that anatomical forms, though primarily determined by heredity, are stable only so long as environmental conditions remain the same.

The factors which influence growth are only partially physical. A list of some physical factors having physical effect was given in 1941 (173,575) as follows: Geographic and Temporal; Race; Heredity; Birth Conditions; Illness; Obesity; Activity; Diet.

In each of these cases it is noteworthy that every factor would have readily apparent psychological and social connotations, as well as the physical ones and that the individual responds to the total effect of his environment. Berger (173,1939, 31) for example, has found that in terms of urban and rural environment, city children distinguish between ideas by discussing their values and consequences, rural children more through example and description.

This is not to deny, however, the focal influence of definitely physical causes and effects. For example, mention may be made of Brown's study (173,1939, 57) of 26,000 males and females in which he found that urban children were larger than rural children. Mills' findings (173,1939, 57) from studies of stature and weight of college women that "greatest size and robustness of form tend to come where the climate is stimulating and heat loss from the body is readily accomplished." Perlstein and Levinson concluded (173,1939,58): "Children born during the warm months of the year have a tendency to be slightly heavier than children born during the cold months. (3,149 children at Illinois hospitals in 1928). Tin-an Li said (173,1939,58), "There exists a real difference in birth weight with respect to season." (Study of 1,938 Chinese infants.)
The hereditary limitations and possibilities of an organism are themselves in some measure the product of environmental influences. Even genetic mutations can be produced by planned control. In the case of the fruit fly, experimenters were able to create the variety of types so effectively described by Young (344, 40),

All types of mutations, large and small, ugly and beautiful, burst upon the gaze. Flies with bulging eyes or with flat or dented eyes; flies with white, purple, yellow, or brown eyes; flies with curly hair, with ruffled hair, with parted hair, with fine and with coarse hair, and black flies....Big flies and little ones, dark ones and light ones, active and sluggish ones, fertile and sterile ones, long-lived and short-lived ones...They were a motley throng.....

Whatever the limitations imposed by heredity, we know that within them exist almost unknown possibility for development. As Child has said (71, 151)

Any particular individual represents only a small fraction of the hereditary possibilities of his protoplasm.

This statement would seem to apply equally to the mental and emotional, as to the physical possibilities.

Growth Possibilities - "Drives!"

If it is the concern of education to foster the growth of the individual in the democratic society, then it must also be concerned not only with the goal of maximum growth by its uses and changes in the social and natural environment, but also with techniques for increasing the use of all the hereditary possibilities which would further this purpose. And this, in fact, is what education has tried to do. It has met difficulties in this attempt, and has often explained them by criticizing the human material rather than its own mistakes in handling the material. Many of these mistakes have come from ignoring or minimizing the import-
The importance of the drives which determine interest, fixity of purpose, persistence, and efficient learning. It is therefore particularly important to understand the meaning of the first obvious fact about living things — they are active.

Activity, the use of capacities, is a requirement of their growth (function develops structure and vice versa). Some environmental conditions block, others encourage growth. Experience (activity, condition, and results) eventually brings to the organism a sense of growth and of growth possibility.

When the physiologist, Coghill, says that the individual acts on his environment before he reacts to it, he emphasizes the primary nature of action and reaction.

**All Drives Are Growth Drives.**

From this primary fact, it is possible to foresee the development of a desire for specialized activities or the drives which have been variously labelled as "instinct," "traits," "needs," and the like. And if what is needed is a unifying theory or framework which will encompass them all,* it would seem that growth as defined in Chapter I, and the desire

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*With reference to this need, Kimball Young says, "Thus from the day of Spearman's (1904; 1927; with Hart, 1912) two-factor theory of intelligence — one general, the other specific — to the work of Thurstone (1938) with his categories of "primary abilities," uncovered by elaborate statistical devices, we have witnessed an increasing recognition of the need to relate the evidence for specificity and that for generality into some more adequate theory which will encompass both. (For review of this whole field, see Guilford, 1938; [544, 288])"
for growth can provide such a theoretical framework.

Traits

Under the hypothesis that a striving for growth animates every living organism, the development of specific traits is recognizable as a process of the channeling of growth (and the sense of growth possibilities) through experience. This may apply both to traits and tendencies of the individual and to those of groups creating cultural patterns. But these traits are conceived to be (in form at least) the result of experience, not the result of in-born and specific reactions. They are the result of changes which occur in the organism through its activity.

But, it may be argued, traits are persistent, therefore, there must be some special quality which makes them so. This is a good point. With regard to it, however, there is reason to believe that the persistence of traits is chiefly, if not entirely, due to two factors. One of these is the similarity (not identity) of situations. The other is the relative fixity of certain meanings, or concepts which the individual finds useful and which direct his behavior.* The usefulness of these concepts (to

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*Cf. Ogden and Richards. The Meaning of Meaning. (248)

growth) leads to habitual action (trait characteristics) which is pleasant because it leaves the organism free from the need to make too many choices, solve too many problems at once.

A second objection may be made to discarding belief in the label of "instinct." This objection is that habitual action, and the mental "set" which influences it, may often be quite unsatisfactory for meeting
problems, yet remain comparatively unchanged. The anthropologists would cite pathological effects of taboos. The psychotherapists would cite their case study records. Yet it is from these same records that we derive the conclusion that psychologically obstructed persons are truly disturbed about their condition.* The therapists say that the conflicted individual

*Cf. Trigant Burrow's provocative discussion of growth pathology and awareness of it. (54, 9f, also 151)

can only resume normal development if he is able to direct his attention to the inadequacy of his way of meeting a particular situation or to the need for change in the situation itself. This is the process of conscious evaluation.

But, a doubtful questioner may ask, why doesn't it work better, if the individual really wants to grow and is unrealistic in his efforts to achieve fuller growth?

The answer seems to be that growth involves many aspects of the organism. The growth of feeling is essential to the growth of intellectualization. The findings of conscious evaluation are often more painful to the individual than what he may believe to be temporary inadequacy in meeting a situation. The emotional "meaning" of the problems and personal factors which bring about inadequacy is often greater than the emotional meaning of more successful action in meeting a problem. This is confirmed by clinical case studies. *

*Cf. Rogers, Carl. (274)
Status and Role

The relation of feeling to the whole progress of growth is exemplified in the problem of status, or social role. The connection of status to feeling about growth is real and practical. The observer can see that the possibilities of growth actually are intimately bound up with status. That is, a superior position in a social group affords many opportunities for the use of an individual's capacities which an inferior one does not. The sense of growth and growth possibilities, so intimately connected with the sense of status and status possibilities, is therefore, a highly important factor in creating values-for-action.

This is borne out by clinical records of successful therapy, which steadily increase the amount of convincing evidence that changes in personality and behavior which "cure" people of their psychological distress are the result of a reorganization within the individual of his estimate of himself in relation to the environment. The intellectual part of this process is the evaluative analysis which he himself achieves for himself. The emotional part is the willingness to apply such analysis. Both achievements seem to be processes of growth.

It should be noted that these achievements consist in establishing new relationships, through the discovery of new meanings and the clarification of values. Since this is true, emotional and mental growth and learning may be said to be essentially the same.

Instincts

It will not do to leave the subject without some more specific reference to the instinct theory, if only because it is so closely connected with the old notion inimical to democratic purpose and education,
that "you can't change human nature." This slogan has been the battle
ory of those who have had little faith in the educability of persons
and societies, and who have relied on the omnipotence of instinctive
behavior.

Theories of instinct have been many. Perhaps none has had success
and influence in our time equal to those employed by Freud and his
followers. Freud believed that the life-instinct, or "eros," took a
variety of forms. He believed (rightly in the present writer's opinion),
that the libido, or sexual urge, was so strong that if inhibited it was
not destroyed or lessened, but took other channels such as sublimations
or neuroses. (His theory will be discussed further in Part II of this
section.)

The physiological evidence gives support to Freud's emphasis on the
sex drive. It is a fact that the germ cell which develops into the human
being has two parts - one which becomes the sexual structures, the other
which becomes all else. This fact would indicate that much of human
growth would have to do with sex in its primary and secondary manifesta-
tions. But to say that sexual life is highly important is not to say
that it is all, or that it is so basic as the total of the organism's
growth. The attention of Adler to dominance and submissiveness gives a
clue here to the conclusion being sought. Aggression, the desire for
power which Adler posits, is crucial and recurrent in human relations.
But it is not a desire for power in itself, according to the present
writer's thesis. It is a desire for power as status, as affording a
position in society which gives freedom for growth.

A final word needs to be said concerning one other postulate which
some psychological analysts have made regarding the control of man's
behavior. That postulate is that advent and absence are the given or instinctive reactions which develop into all the rest. Regarding them it can be said that if the organism is, as has been here asserted, motivated by a "seeking" for growth, then it will be sure to go toward some things and go away from others in the process.

Conclusion

This brief summary of an exploration into characteristic meanings of growth has been extended to include a statement of how growth may be employed as a descriptive term to unify the study of human behavior by relating its several aspects to the organism's growth. It is indicated by the writer's statements that growth, and the individual's and the society's sense of possibilities of growth, can provide direction and motivation of living things. Part II of this section contains an elaboration of hypotheses about growth in relation to the problem of this work. It has been the purpose of Chapter X to explore characteristic meanings of the term, growth. Chapter XII will attempt to develop generalizations based on that exploration and hypothesis connected with it.

At the beginning of the present century, John Dewey asserted that it was the all-embracing need of the organism to live and grow. He had no use for the idea that man was motivated by desires to satisfy an array of autonomous hunger. He saw even the hunger for food or self-preservation as not completely an end in itself.*

Dewey also saw that the process of growth is individual in rate and form. He has pointed this out beautifully in a comment which may fittingly close this chapter, since it illustrates the relevance of the whole subject to formal education:

The idea of ripening, maturing, is evidently fundamental in the question of individual growth. Now what needs to be especially borne in mind with reference to maturing is that it is plural, that is, various powers and interest mature at very different rates. Maturing is a continuous process; the mature fruit may appear, as with fruits on a tree, only at some later stage, even if we assume, which it is probably wrong to do, that there is any such completely matured fruit in the case of a person as in that of a plant. But the normal maturing as a process goes on all the time; if it does not there is something the matter with conditions. Arrest of growth and incapacities to cope with subject-matter and inability to respond to methods employed at a later period are all of them always signs of something wrong. They need to be studied as symptoms and be diagnosed with a view to constructive remedies.

No parent ever makes the mistake of overlooking this plural nature of maturing. When we come to schooling, however, I wonder if there is not too much of a tendency to assume an equal, uniform, four abreast maturing, and if that does not underlie the conception of 'epochs' of growth which correspond to various units of the school system. If the assumption is not made in a positive form, it is made in a negative way, that is, by overlooking the specific needs and capacities that are ripening, or that may ripen, during each year and month of school life. It is this neglect which is responsible for the idea that each stage is merely preparation for some later stage, particularly that the aims of the early years of the elementary school is chiefly the purpose of gaining social tools to be independently employed and enjoyed later on. (Dewey, 105, 208)
CHAPTER XI
AN ELABORATION AND RE-DEFINITION

The Growth Hypothesis

The central thesis of this work is that a description of life processes may be unified by relating them to the concept of growth, and that from such a relationship comes the purpose and the meaning of human life; that the effort to explore and develop potential growth may be regarded as inclusive description of results of the drives which animate the single cell, the infant, the adult, and the democratic society.

Granted this hypothesis, it then becomes of prime importance to all who are interested in education to discover what is known concerning all aspects of growth. Thus it may be that we can come a few steps closer to aiding and directing growth more effectively toward the ideals of the democratic society. In school and out, there may be built more efficient means of using fundamental human urges in the direction of maximum growth.

The succeeding pages offer a further examination of the growth concept, and are preparatory to its re-definition in the generalization of Part III.

Recapitulation of the Preliminary Exploration of "Growth" in Part I

Does growth follow a predetermined pattern, or is it subject to a multitude of blocking, and aiding, diffusing and channeling influences which alter its course significantly? If the latter, then it must be the
business of all interested in human development to understand those possibilities for aiding, hindering and directing growth. It is necessary to understand their degrees of importance, and to act intelligently with regard to them. To say, "Let nature take its course" in such circumstances, amounts to saying, "Let accident determine the future of all of us."

It is not only growth, but the feelings of the individual about the direction, sense of growth, possibilities of growth, that are to be understood. For example, the infant, who is constantly active, very early acquires a feeling of the difference between freedom and restriction and in some degree comes to realize their relation to future possibilities. These possibilities may be related to the growth process. It comes about in two ways.

First, the infant is active, and only through use, through doing things, do the parts of his body achieve their development. Growth, then, is physiologically bound up with the activity of the human organism. In the second place, as the infant kicks or pushes, he encounters obstacles - clothes, crib walls or adult handling. Thus he gets a sense of obstacles to movement, and the beginning of a realization that he is free in some directions and not in others. Later he will encounter obstacles in the form of commands to do this, or not to do that. Finally, he becomes aware of intangible social pressures. All through the experience of life will go action, movement, reaching out in many directions, the experience of being hindered in some actions, aided in others. Thus will be formed the sense of growth - potential possibilities and limitations which are related to growth in thousands of directions and degrees.
Instincts and Drives

But if growth is taken as a term to describe the desirable characteristics of human behavior, what then, of the question raised previously regarding "drives" and the like?

Some may quite naturally ask, "Is a desire for increased possibilities of growth simply a new name for the operation of instincts?" Is there, perhaps, good ground for believing that a supernatural control is operating through the mysterious processes of gods, demons, "forces," sex libido, or something comparable to them? As a matter of historical record, from the time of Plato's absolutes on through the vast literature of "civilized" religions, up to the most recent times in the work of that school of psychologists of whom William McDougall is fairly representative, it has been assumed that there is instinctive nature, that it operates willy-nilly, regardless of external circumstances and is the pre-eminent determining fact in man's efforts at self-preservation, sex activities, the operation of fear and aggression.

The question of instincts and drives is one of the most troublesome in psychological thought. Reference has already been made to the basic assumptions of psychoanalysis regarding instinct. But Freud, for example, recognized the need of clarification in this matter. He acknowledged that his theory of psychoanalysis (one of the great creative forces in modern psychology) calls out for a better definition of the meaning of instincts. He did not doubt that they exist. The classical picture which he and his followers have painted of the sex drive and its powerful manifestations in pathological cases was derived from clinical experience, which repeatedly gave evidence of unconscious, uncontrollable basic urges which could not be denied. As a doctor and laboratory technician,
Freud was initially not committed to this notion. But as he says, there was first the evidence of a powerful force at work, then he came to see this as a particular kind of force:

I now learned from my rapidly increasing experience that it was not any kind of emotional excitation that was in action behind the phenomena of the neurosis but habitually one of a sexual nature, whether it was a current sexual conflict or the effect of earlier sexual experiences.*

*Freud, Sigmund (Translated by James Strachey) An Autobiographical Study, London, Leonard and Virginia Woolf & Hogarth Press, 1938, 137 pp. The theory of the present work is that this is social taboo operating to restrict individual development in a way peculiar (individual, social taboos, restrictions) to our culture. In savage society where sex taboos are different one would not find the same causes of neuroses.

Since the scientists have so long been concerned about them, it is reasonable to inquire further into the question of what becomes of instincts under the present hypothesis.

Instincts as Growth

It has been noted that from the standpoint of scientific thinking, "instincts" always suffered from one notable and almost insurmountable defect. They were made, by definition, into mysterious, un-testable attributes. In the second place, the evidence was contradictory. Thus there were assumed to be the contrary instincts for fighting, and for self-preservation. When it was seen that people killed themselves or sacrificed themselves, Freud explained this negation of self-preservation by adding an assumption of the "death-wish." Some psychologists have pointed out the human desire to be submissive. As already mentioned, Adler postulated a controlling, over-powering desire for dominance as
basic to all human behavior. Then, to account for submissiveness, the idea of intraposition was introduced.

In the long history of instincts, it has become more and more apparent that there are too many exceptions to the general rule. The exceptions may be met by multiplying the number of instincts indefinitely, as some have tended to do. On the other hand, even they have had the feeling that there must be a simpler, more integrated explanation of behavior. It may lead to assuming a few basic instincts and then adding qualification by positing "needs" in great number, as Murray and his Harvard co-workers have done. It may lead to the designation of traits and tendencies, as first Thorndike and later Gordon Allport have done.

The discovery of a basis for analysis and classification of behavior may, on the contrary, lead to the opposite direction taken by Moreno and his disciples in sociometrics, who assert that the individual personality is the basic whole, the reality, the unit to which all descriptions of behavior must be referred.

But this whole has differing aspects. For this reason, Moreno and his followers find practical use in the more partial descriptions of trait study. Even Wheeler and other organismic psychologists still find it useful to single out aspects of behavior for explanation. So it becomes reasonably clear that at one and the same time there is called for a unified, total description of motives and behavior and there are necessary some sorts of subdivisions by which to describe and study human actions. And to say, as the organismic psychologists have done, that the organism acts as a whole, or as is probably true, that no behavior is ever repeated, every case is unique; to go further and say that each unique case involves not only one organism but all of its surroundings - ultimately the
universe; this does not go far to clear up the mystery of Why?, of the nature of purpose. There is still needed a better picture of the central point of reference which is yet manifested in many forms; a key to understanding and prediction. I believe that key to be the process of growth, and the increasing relationship and valuing of growth possibilities which result from the organism's experience. This seems to me to be the physiological "goal" of the body cells; the psychological goal of the nervous system - higher and lower; the sociological goal of group behavior.

If an increasing desire to achieve increasing possibilities for growth is really the key to human behavior, then it should unlock many doors, adding to the understanding of human history and human problems. It is the belief of the present writer that it does so, that the aspiration for freedom and long, often blindly groping search for means of achieving it is evidence that all men in all times have recognized, however dimly, that the end of human living is for each man to become all that he may, to use all his capabilities to the utmost.

This, not political fancy, was the aim of the Founding Fathers of America.

But some have thought to achieve growth for themselves alone, at the expense of others. Such persons have not seen the inward meaning of "He that loseth his life shall find it." They do not see that no one of us can be truly well off while others are not. Thus there has been the long conflict in history between the one, the few, or the nations seeking freedom to grow at the expense of others, instead of with others. The old man of the herd who took wives and wealth for himself at the expense of his sons; the free citizens of Greece who lived at the expense of the slaves; the rulers of the Roman Empire who fattened on the slave nations
and the poor within their own borders; the glittering potentates of the
Roman Catholic Church who found their apologist in Machiavelli; the wars
and evasions of Elizabethan England; the Civil War in the United States;
the present world conflict are all instances of the delusion that the will
to free growth is peculiar to some but not to all, and a second delusion
that the achievement of conditions for this growth can be made for some
but not for all - that the growth of one must be won at the expense of
many. This way is the way of the uneasy rulers of the earth. And be-
cause it has always caused some uneasiness to the practitioners of it,
they have always called for a high witness that it was more than selfish,
that it was right! This terrible mockery has been deftly uncovered by
Romain Rolland in his Lillul, where he shows the conflicting powers
making God a street vendor, selling to any who would buy, the sanction of
his authority.

**All Living Things Grow**

In contrast to these delusions is the fact that the will to growth,
or better, growth itself, is a characteristic of all living things. As it
becomes more deeply felt it becomes a stronger motive power. In the
process of growth, there are many aspects and levels of behavior. Plants
push up to the sun and down to the earth, young lovers find each other,
captains of industry seek larger and larger arenas, research workers toil
in obscure laboratories.

Through identifying growth as a process of all living things, the
psychologist can relate two basic behaviors of living things - adience
and abience, liking and disliking to this process and the organism's
direction of growth. Similarly, the "values" which we hold, the "drives"
distinguished by the psychiatrist - these may be aspects of conscious and unconscious choices of direction which reasonably seem or emotionally feel, like directions for fullest growth.

**Society and Growth**

If desire for increasing the possibilities for growth is so basic, societies (which may themselves be an expression of it) would seem to do well in accordance as they take account of the growth of all. Actually, they have done so to varying degrees. Sometimes their concept of benefit was very limited or perverted. But it is the effort in this direction through history which has resulted in the customs or mores which seem to encourage the growth of many in this and other countries. (e.g., political systems, religions, and educational systems).

But customs, the generalized rules and techniques for promoting growth are perpetually infirm and inadequate - they fail to meet the conditions of all cases; they are inflexible in the face of ever-changing circumstances. It is for this reason that there is need for an exploratory study such as the present one. There is occasion to indicate directions which may be pointed without being rigid; to bring together some of the findings of philosophers and scientists which may add a little to our understanding of inclusive possibilities. It is to be hoped that if directions and possibilities are thus outlined, there may be benefit to those who plan and execute, re-value, re-plan, and re-execute, particularly in the field of education.
The Concept of Growth

It is not intended here to assert that growth is an entity — far from it! On the contrary, the concept of growth is useful because it has wide and rather popular understanding in many of its aspects. Growth is rather a term to include an infinity of forms of behavior. But its distinction lies in the fact that basically it describes the simple process of development, of change from one condition to another in which there is more adequacy to a situation. This involves changes and increasing adequacy of structure. It also involves changes and increasing adequacy of function. It applies to the development of bones and muscle. It applies to the development of ideas and emotions. It applies to the organism — all that is within one skin. It applies to relations between organism and environment, human or natural.

The concept of growth does not supplant, then, many of the useful findings of psychologists and others who have attempted to explain the bases of development of human personality without specifically relating them to the process of growth. The inclusive concept of growth can employ successfully numerous results of Watson’s studies, without accepting his theory that conditioning is all the explanation. In fact, it can employ every present and future description of what takes place when behavior is studied with care and honesty. But to the studies of the laboratory controlled experimenters, and to the syntheses of the philosophers and social scientists, the concept of growth adds something close to an answer to “Why?” — as close as we can come with present knowledge. It names a dynamic process which is more inclusive, hence more multiform, than a Freudian libido. It brings that dynamic down to the realm of everyday understanding.
For example, it has been mentioned in Part I that the psychologists and the social scientists are much concerned with "status" and "role," in describing human behavior. These are made to seem, to some considerable extent, as given facts, as ends in themselves. But as has already been pointed out, it appears quite likely that the importance of social status to the individual, like his imaginary concept of his own role, derives from the fact that the status and the role seem to him to provide opportunities for growth which are denied otherwise. This view would seem well supported by the common experience of great expectations before an experience, disappointing reality afterward. It would account for the empty feeling of the child who gets a mechanical toy, only to find that the pleasure of winding it, watching it, and rewinding it, is soon exhausted. In exactly the same way, the attainment of a high-sounding title by an adult may turn out to be an empty honor.

The opposite case is found in the behavior of the child who has a shovel that will really dig, or a saw that will really cut. Or in the case of the adult who gets a job, whatever the title, that calls on his powers and capacities and leads to unlimited development.

Murray, of Harvard, in trying to account for the variations in goals and behavior uses the terms "manifest" and "latent" to describe the needs, tensions, or drives which operate in a given class. Would it not be more useful as well as simpler, to operate on the assumption that the effort to achieve maximum growth involves many roles, many channels of action to be taken by the individual. Thus the behavior may take varied forms, the individual may assume varied roles, but in all cases it seems likely that he is striving to use his resources, to develop them so that he is adequate
to his present situation and increases the possibilities of future growth.

**Capacities for Growth: Who Has Them?**

Again, the concept of growth as the process of living things, and the concept of seeking for a sense of growth and of growth possibilities is helpful in understanding negative aspects of behavior. For example, dullness in school or the prevalence of the average man - these seem superficially to be manifestations of lack of capacity, lack of interest in growth or developing. By contrast, an individual who uses all his powers effectively is considered as a being apart (as a genius, in cases where his development is widely recognized as socially useful). To popular opinion it appears that only a few are born to live in this way. Francis Galton made a great point of it, and supported his contention with statistics to show that genius was hereditary.

But unfortunately for Galton, it has since been discovered that the children of outstanding parents are not numerically the most outstanding second generation. It is the average families which contribute the great bulk of "superior" people to the world. And actually, there is no evidence that environmental restrictions operate equally. For this reason it is impossible to predict the limits of growth of any individual. It is also increasingly evident that changes in environment can lead to great changes in an organism during one lifetime. The implications of this probability for parents and educators are obvious and tremendous.

**Goals and Growth**

In following the discussion so far, the reader is very probably asking with increasing insistence the question: "What becomes of goals, as commonly conceived? If growth is the goal, why don't more people say so,
instead of saying, 'I want a job.' 'I want food.' 'I want money.' and so on?" This too is a very reasonable question. The answer is not complicated, however. For each of us can give instances of his own recognition of the fact that any goal, once achieved is no longer an end in itself. It is not the thing (such as food or the job, or the work of art) which remains important in itself to the person who wants it or makes it. It is what the thing leads to. Thus goals become means. Thus takes place the infinite progression from one activity, one objective, one experience, to another and another and another. Realization of this fact, whether highly explicit and verbal as that of a John Dewey, or simply in the form of an inherent feeling, is characteristic of happy and productive persons. It is tempting to say, thus prematurely, that a better index to learning level than any test now marketed, would be found in the extent of an individual's ability to see possibilities for growth.

And in this connection, the concepts of selfishness and altruism have something to tell us. For selfishness may turn out to be only a narrower, more limited realization of growth possibilities, while altruism, "social-mindedness" is the same basic desire for growth-possibility on a larger scale, with realization of larger opportunities in a larger theater through cooperative effort.

**Biological Signs of Growth**

But to return. Somehow the human organism is aware of the fact that it grows here or is checked in growth there. It likes things that enable it to move, experiment, develop, and it dislikes things that interfere with development. In this sense, adience and abience are basic. But they are not quite so ultimate as total growth. It is in their relation to
maximum growth that they attain their highest significance. And because full recognition of the meaning of growth possibilities is not common, it is not usual for people to say, "How can I grow?" It is usual for them to say, "What can I do?" The impulsion to activity is recognized as basic to all life. In this sense, activity is a basic requirement for growth. Thus the words of Darwin are justified in a new setting: Function follows structure. And the reverse is seen as equally true: Structure develops through function.

To follow the growth hypothesis a little further.

All living things exhibit irritability. The irritability leads to action. Action is requisite to growth.

In turn, the traces of past action and growth remain in memory. Learning is said to have taken place as a result of each action which leads to foresight in directing future action. Foresight leads to planning. Planning leads to action. Evaluation as a part of the whole process occurs. In terms of the past? No. In terms of the present-future. In terms of the sense of growth and growth opportunity.

Such a chain of reasoning leads to the following question: Is there any immediate sensual satisfaction divorced from relation to past-future experience and growth? Isn't new sensation, whether sexual, tactile, taste, or whatnot, a sign of growth so often encountered in experience that we seek it merely for itself? If so, and if more broadly, general hopes and fears are related to experience of growth and of growth blocking then what of pain itself? Is that not a function of independent nerve action, unrelated to growth and the sense of it? Perhaps. But it is at least an equal possibility that no nerve action is independent of the sense of the whole organism. Hysterical paralysis, for example, is an
instance of nerve action (or rather lack of reception of nerve impulse) which is dominated by the organism as a whole and its hopes and fears. These in turn, must quite patently be related to the sense of growth or of growth blocking.

Choice, Growth and Democracy

A further problem is the extent to which choices are consciously based on a desire for growth. The matter of choice, whether conscious or unconscious, and of choices which prove to have been bad for growth - what does such choice mean to the growth hypothesis? It means simply this, I think, a preference for one opportunity to grow as opposed to another. This means a preference at a particular moment for one particular limited or limiting use of capacities as opposed to others.

If that is what choice means, then freedom of choice is a fundamental requisite to human growth as it is to democracy. It is true, of course, that a bad choice may have sprung just as truly from a desire for growth as a good one. The development of wise choice, like the development of manual skill is facilitated by experience in making choices. For example, it has been shown that the development of working insight in the psychotherapeutic situation depends on freedom of choice - freedom to exercise feeling and judgment and test it. And once more, the implications for education are enormous (and not at all comforting to authoritarians).

For the fact is, that is is eminently possible to get compliance, easily or with force. But compliance is not always the same as maximum exercise of capacities to the end of maximum growth.

This brings home the need for applying in the schools of a democracy, all the knowledge available from the sciences which deal with human growth.
As Dewey has said (105, 222):

...if (progressive) schools become complacent with existing accomplishments, unaware of the slight foundation of knowledge upon which they rest, and careless regarding the amount of study of the laws of growth that remains to be done, a reaction against them is sure to take place.

A Challenge and an Answer

Because the procedure here calls so heavily upon the sciences, it is well to take into account the warning which Bode (45, 288) has issued against looking to scientific analysis for the goals of education. He says:

Education, like invention, is primarily concerned, not with what is, but with what may be. Facts are of interest and importance simply as material or means to the end in view.

The point is well taken, and it has been already stated that the end in view in the present work is to aid the growth of the individual in the democratic society. The assumption is that the ideal of democracy - the maximum growth of all - is the guiding reference.

W. W. Charters (63, 32) has long since clarified the relation between ideals and means in his statement with regard to the value of activity analysis:

Activities are not carried on without ideals to govern, and ideals will not operate except through activities.

A further point with regard to the use of scientific findings may be pertinent here. It is that the significance of all findings does not yield readily to systematic quantitative treatment. Experiments may be "controlled" to the point where results are extremely reliable statistically, but not significant for a purpose such as the present one.
There are other dangers, of course. Fourteen of them have been incisively stated by Jennings (170,203f). Of these, three are especially appropos here:

II  The fallacy of attributing to one cause what is due to many causes.

XIII The fallacy that superior individuals must have come from superior parents; that this will continue to happen.

XIV The fallacy that biology requires an aristocratic constitution of society.

Conclusion

The case for the maximum growth of all as a social purpose is a strong one, morally and scientifically.

Dewey has said (1922, p. 12) that:

A moral based on study of human nature instead of upon disregard for it would find the facts of man continuous with those of the rest of nature and would thereby ally ethics with physics and biology. It would find the nature and activities of one person coterminous with those of other human beings, and therefore link ethics with the study of history, sociology, law and economics.

While Dewey would not go so far as Jennings, the geneticist, who quotes with approval John Hunter's dictum (170,372): "Don't think, try! Thinking is an instrument, a very fallible instrument, for helping to decide what to try, but the last word must be try." - nevertheless the three men are in close accord.

All, whether philosophers or scientists, would probably agree that the universe is in constant change, man along with the rest. From the sciences mentioned by Dewey has come the belief that there is demonstrable reason for saying that evolution is a creative, "emergent" process,
not a mechanical result of predestined fate turning fixed cogs according to unvarying law.

From this dynamic idea of human and natural development has come the imperative to study individual growth in relation to an interacting situation. The development of education in this country has shown an increasing emphasis on the study of the individual child, and the scientific movement has stressed the need for study of the surrounding society. The new developments in the field of evaluation have shown the need for special attention to generalization, and the weakness of the old memoriter "learning." The challenge of other ideologies has resulted in widespread concern for the discussion of democratic values in education.

There is beginning to be glimpsed a new frontier, the frontier of social planning and of democratic methods of work.

If the maximum growth of all is the accepted end of the democratic school, it may be hoped that the generalizations of this and preceding sections will suggest many applications of some service in both planning and practice.
CHAPTER XII
GENERALIZATIONS AND APPLICATIONS

(Characteristic meanings of growth and some suggested applications to institutional education.)

1. Life and Growth

Where there is normal or healthy life there is growth.

2. Physical-Mental-Emotional

Physical experience and physical structure are related to so-called mental and emotional growth. It is not recognized that development in the psychological aspects of an organism's life may be equally described as growth with those which are physiological. However, the relationship is not the simple one of increase in size equals increase in mental power. Rapid physical growth is not necessarily accompanied by rapid mental growth.

3. Emotional and Mental Maturation

Emotional and mental maturation are the result of experience and the interpretation of it. The emotionally "mature" person is one who faces new problems confidently and competently. The confidence and competence do not come from the possession of ready-made answers. Primarily they come from a faith that an answer can be found. Secondarily they come from the experience of past success and the knowledge of techniques which have been useful in similar situations.
When such confidence is lacking to a considerable degree the individual exhibits pathological symptoms due to a feeling of inadequacy.

4. Growth Is Never Vicarious

Physical, emotional, and mental growth have never been observed to take place vicariously. No one can grow strong legs for someone else. No one can graft his own judgments and thought processes onto another individual.

5. Negative Growth

There is reason for the concept of negative growth — as in atrophy and decay of old age, or the progress of a malignant growth in the body. It should be recognized, however, that this is pathological. Both negative and pathological take their point of reference from the idea that normal or healthy growth means the continuous increase of either the amount or the complexity of the efficiency of activities.

6. Cycles and Phases

There are cycles and phases of maturation. Development does not take place equally on all fronts at once — in the individual organism or in group and cultural development. Periods of intense outward activity are likely to be followed by periods of outward passivity, during which there may be intense inward activity. For example, great physical exertion such as a soldier makes in fighting for 36 hours without sleep is followed by deep, stuporous rest. During this "rest" the internal organs and the body cells are very busily at work.
The pattern and tempo of exertion and relaxation are individual and cannot be predicted from group "norms."

7. **Uniqueness and Variability of Phases of Growth**

The existence of cycles and phases of growth has led to many attempts to describe age levels and development. The more specific the allocation of any particular kind of development to a particular age level, the more untrue it is shown to be. Thus it cannot be said that all adolescents are nervous, pimply, gangling, and the like. Even the ages of adolescence vary considerably.

The fact is that each individual human being has his own unique cycles and phases of development. This is also true of social groups so far as the development of interpersonal relations are concerned, and also in efforts at achieving common goals.

This uniqueness and variability do not alter the fact that certain generalizations can be made about the succession of phases in human development. They do mean that when the generalizations are used the user must be alert to the differences and exceptions from the general "rule."

All of which is simply a way of restating a fundamental experience of scientists, namely: classifications are useful for the purpose of discovering finer and finer distinctions and for dealing with them adequately.

8. **From the General to the Specific**

Just as physical activity grows from the seemingly vague general movements of the newborn baby to the extreme precision and control
involved in handling tools or walking up stairs, so also, the emotional and mental aspects of development move from the vague and general to the explicit. Increasing specific ability, increasing recognition of differences - these accompany and give content to the increasing ability to generalize usefully, and to particularize efficiently.

9. **Sequence of Development of Internal Organs**

The sequence in which each internal organ of the body develops, its rate of development and its effective functioning is not yet subject to complete control from the outside.

10. **Sex Differences**

Sex differences in growth are not so clearly established now as they seemed to be earlier. Present knowledge does seem to indicate that girls mature earlier in some physical and social respects than boys. The age differential (very roughly) from the period of birth to that of puberty is one and one half to two years.

11. **Continuous Process**

Growth is a continuous process, both of individual organs and of the relationship between physical and mental structures. Continuous does not mean equal. It means that present development is closely related to past development.

12. **Direction and Circumstances**

Growth is stimulated, blocked, and given direction by the circumstances in which it takes place,
13. Environment and Heredity

The circumstances which most influence growth are: 1) social environment, and 2) natural environment, including heredity. Actually, it seems impossible to distinguish between the effects of the two, since environment and heredity operate as one. The statement may be made to read: Two kinds of factors influence growth: those within the present control of man and those outside his present control. Enormous weight can be attached to the factors which are within man's control.

14. Immediate Environment

The environment close to the child, especially the human beings whom he knows best, are more important to him than to older individuals.

15. Control by Man

It is possible for man to control much of the natural and social environment.

16. Instincts and Drives

There is reason to believe that what have been called instincts, drives, needs, and traits are various aspects of the organism's total growth activity.

17. Advance and Abiense

Very early in the life of the individual he learns to like or dislike according to whether he feels an increasing sense of freedom or an increasing frustration of growth activity. Through
all his sensory organs the individual learns to recognize growth and the possibilities of growth.

18. Intensity

The intensity of a drive, or tendency, is partly involuntary. As such it represents the condition of the internal organs of the body (the health of cells, the locations of energy-potentials). In part the intensity of a drive depends on the system of values which the individual holds, whether conscious or not. The value systems have to do with past experience: the past satisfaction or frustration attendant on action and growth as applied to a present or presumptive situation.

19. Status

The evidence seems to show that status - or any form of privilege and opportunity which accompany a desirable role in a social group - such status or privilege is desirable because it affords opportunity for growth through the use of capacities. This implies that people like to work if they gain a sense of increasing development through their work. It implies that the successful captain of industry really likes the power to use all of his abilities more than anything else. It implies that the person who resents a position of inferiority does so basically because he feels cramped and constricted in his opportunities to develop.

20. "Favorable" Conditions

Favorable conditions for growth will be as diverse as the differences in human beings. For some, at some periods in their
lives a favorable condition might be severe difficulty, sternness, or even antagonism - obstacles of various kinds. For these same people at other times, favorable conditions will mean kindness, affection, cooperativeness, and agreement.

21. **Hereditary Limitations vs. Limitless Development**

There are hereditary limitations to the possibilities of growth for each individual organism. What these limitations are is not known with any exactness. The evidence shows that few, if any, human beings from the "dummies" to the "geniuses" develop more than a small fraction of their hereditary possibilities. It is a fair assumption, from the present scientific evidence, that the possibilities of human development are limitless.
APPENDIX TO SECTION IV

SOME TRENDS IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

A Report by a Seminar Group in Secondary Education under the Direction of

Harold Alberty

(Revised Edition)

The Ohio State University
1942

311
INTRODUCTION

This report was originally prepared in the Spring Quarter of 1942 by a seminar group in secondary education, consisting of the following students: Glenn Austin, Wilbur Bausler, Eleanor Browne, Harry Eberhart, Newton Hodgson, Clara Martin, Bernice O'Brien, Helen Starr, Harold Shane, George Walter, Ralph Pounds. The results were checked, certain revisions in phraseology were made and additional references were added by George Salt in the following summer and autumn quarters.

It is the result of a brief study of the problem of adolescent development and its implications for the secondary school curriculum. It makes no pretense of being complete or exhaustive, but rather is an attempt to bring together in small compass some of the leading trends that are to be found in the scattered literature. Some of the trends listed are not well documented experimentally, and occasionally authorities appear to be in conflict. In these cases the seminar group arrived at the decision to include or exclude after extended discussion. The findings should, therefore, be regarded as tentative and subject to further examination in light of actual classroom data.

THE MAJOR CATEGORIES. The five major categories (i.e., Health, Security, Achievement, Interests and Outlook on life) which are used to classify the trends serve only as centers of emphasis, and, of course, are not mutually exclusive. For example, if "health" is taken in its broadest aspects, it would include much that is listed under the other four categories. Likewise any one of the other categories could be expanded to include much of the material. It was felt, however, that they were helpful in serving as a sort of checklist to be sure that no trends were left out, and also that they facilitate an understanding of the many facets of the adolescent personality. In preparing the list of categories and the areas of exploration under each one, the following sources were utilized freely. Science in General Education, Report of the Committee on Needs, University School, Reports of Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association, and the Report of the Health Committee of the University School. The categories were developed by the director of the study and accepted by the group with slight revisions as the basis of the study.

RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES. The trends listed in no wise point a definite direction for education. It is true that some of the "from - to" statements indicate desirable growth. This is because the characteristics of behavior are profoundly influenced by the nature of the culture in which the adolescent develops. Obviously he reacts in terms of the democratic values which impinge upon him in the school and community. If such trends were not in evidence, it would seem to mean that schools were doing little or nothing to develop those characteristics of personality that are held to be desirable in a democratic society. However, effective use of these trends in school practice, either from the standpoint of the curriculum or guidance, presupposes that the ideals and values of our democratic way of life are utilized to give direction to development.

POSSIBLE USES. The group assumed that the report would be useful to the school in at least two ways: to provide clues for determining the scope and sequence of the curriculum, and to assist the teacher in understanding the adolescent personality and in more effective
guidance toward adult status. These two uses are, of course, interrelated.

LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT. At the outset the group attempted to use three levels of development (i.e., Early, Middle and Late) of adolescents as a basis for classification but soon discovered that it was more satisfactory to list the trends as *from* early adolescence *to* late adolescence. This is because the behavior of adolescence is so variable, often indicating ambivalence, and also because of wide differences between the sexes, and in chronological age groups of the same sex. In short, the findings are held to be reasonably valid only for large groups, and even then great allowances must be made for differing interpretations. When it was impossible to establish a trend as belonging exclusively either to "early" or "late" adolescence, it is listed in the center of the page.

Harold Alberty  
The Ohio State University

December, 1942
### SOME TRENDS IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

I. MAINTAINING PERSONAL HEALTH AND PROMOTING HEALTHFUL LIVING BY:

A. Providing for the protective and maintenance phases of health such as:
   a) adequate rest
   b) proper diet
   c) freedom from infection

B. Providing for proper recreation

C. Providing for optimum physical and organic development

D. Understanding the concept of normality in relation to oneself and others in such aspects as
   a) physical development
   b) mental development
   c) social development

E. Developing a zeal for promoting healthful living in the immediate and wider community

F. Providing for adequate emotional and mental development in relation to personal health

### TRENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Requiring a minimum of 10-10½ hours of sleep because of the demands of physiological changes taking place within the body</td>
<td>Requiring a minimum of 8-10 hours of sleep because of relative completeness of physiological change in the body</td>
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<td>2. Tendency to nervous over-activity</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Needing a daily caloric intake of 4000 calories for boys and 3000 calories for girls</td>
<td>Needing a daily caloric intake based on standards of adult consumption and amount of work done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Having a tendency to overeat</td>
<td>Having a tendency to base eating habits on food fads which have been accepted by the group as the thing to do</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Having susceptibility to the common cold</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Having little or no susceptibility to contagious diseases of childhood</td>
<td>Having susceptibility to food deficiencies, organic and environmental diseases</td>
</tr>
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<td>7. Not realizing fatigue, and continuing activity until a point of chronic fatigue is reached</td>
<td>Having more resistance to fatigue, becoming somewhat aware of the condition and discontinuing activity</td>
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<td>8. Being extremely interested in strenuous group games and activities with the same sex</td>
<td>Being interested in the opportunities for socialization provided by games and sports with those of the opposite sex</td>
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<td>9. Desiring participation in activities with the same sex</td>
<td>Desiring dates with the opposite sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Being interested in organized group activities such as Scouts</td>
<td>Being interested in individualized and small select group activities on adult level, cliques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Enjoying outdoor sports, such as picnics, hikes and expeditions</td>
<td>Continuing interest in sports, but an added enjoyment in sedentary activities, such as visiting, entertaining company, attending concerts and entertainments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Maintaining wide versatility in play interests where practically all games are enjoyed</td>
<td>Having less versatility in play interests, and desiring participation in highly organized team games and specialized sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Rapidly increasing strength, although lag behind potential strength of boy's frame</td>
<td>Approximate doubling of boy's strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Being clumsy and awkward</td>
<td>Improving use of the body and motor ability in games which demand skill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Rapidly developing physiological changes, - heart increasing in size, increasing blood pressure, perspiration increasing, sex glands developing</td>
<td>Body reaching a state of balanced and harmonious physiological condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Growing unevenly in various parts of the body, legs lengthen, jaw bone develops, boy's shoulders widen, girls' hips widen</td>
<td>Achieving uniformity of development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Rapidly maturing organs of reproduction and secondary sex characteristics</td>
<td>Completion of the development of secondary sex characteristics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Girls developing ahead of boys (about 3 years); girls heavier and taller</td>
<td>Boys catching up with girls in pubescent changes, becoming heavier and taller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Having poor posture because of difficulty of adjusting to extremes in weight and height</td>
<td>Achieving typically adult posture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Girls having poor posture due to embarrassment caused by development of secondary sex characteristics</td>
<td>Girls adjusting to these characteristics, and changing posture (may be good or bad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Fatigued posture in evidence in boys and girls during both stages</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
22. Desiring participation in vigorous muscular activity (both boys and girls); sports and in themselves
   Day-dreaming, imagining. Girls interested in non-strenuous activities, and in sports for social advantages. Boys interested in sports when girls will be spectators

23. Increasing weight due to growth of muscle
   Increasing weight in girls due to development of subcutaneous layer of fat

24. Varying degrees of nervous instability evidenced by reactions to situations, due to uneven development of bodily parts and organs
   Beginning of development of insight into motivation of people's activities

25. ................. Fearing that development is not normal .............................................

26. Being unconscious of the body
   Girls becoming interested in bodily adornment, and boys in developing a strong physique

27. Feeling socially inadequate
   Developing feeling of social adequacy

28. Fearing social situations
   Desiring social experiences

30. Highly emotional, and easily motivated for competition in athletics

31. Alternating periods of flight—Evidencing adult personality
   ing and roughhousing with periods of dreaming and withdrawing

32. Changing moods suddenly, from extreme happiness to dullness and moodiness
   Maintaining a better balanced condition of emotional expression

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II. ACHIEVING AND MAINTAINING A SENSE OF SECURITY THROUGH:

A. Gaining and holding affection, confidence and esteem:
B. Status within the family group, which includes:
   a) Feeling of responsibility
   b) Feeling that one "counts"
   c) Feeling of "belongingness"
   d) Satisfaction through contribution to common ends
   e) Gaining gradual independence
C. Status with age-mates of both sexes, with involves:
   a) Making friends
   b) Growth toward heterosexual adjustment
   c) Developing standards of personal conduct
   d) Allegiance to "gang"
D. Status in groups (school, church, small group activities, etc.)
E. Status in immediate and wider community which involves:
   a) Social recognition
   b) Participation in socially significant activities.
F. Status in economic life, which involves:
   a) Earning money
   b) Work experience
   c) Satisfying occupation
G. A sense of interdependence
   a) Understanding role of the individual in social-economic life
   b) Understanding ways of working together in terms of one's own abilities

TRENDS

From            To

A. Gaining and holding affection, confidence and esteem:

1. Being rather boisterous, vigorous, and active in manner
   Becoming more dignified and self-controlled

2. Seeking confidence of parents through obedience
   achieving independence by being able and willing to accept accompanying responsibility

3. Having a limited sense of self-confidence and esteem
   Developing self-assurance

4. Developing mutual interests and similar points of view with others

B. Status within the Family group:

5. Depending upon parents for guidance
   Depending upon persons other than parents

6. Desiring emancipation and new experiences outside of home; at the same time wanting to keep security of love and understanding in home
   Desiring mature relationships in home, and participation as adult in home life, interpreting family relationships in the light of founding own home

7. Increasing independence
C. Status with age-mates of both sexes:

9. Wanting to understand the physiological features of sex
   Understanding emotional and social features of sex as involved in everyday life

9. Associating with "gangs" with little regard for age, intelligence, or social status
   Seeking membership in those groups in which one most desires status

10. Desiring identification with the herd, the crowd of boys or girls
    Identifying self with small select group

11. Experimenting in relations with opposite sex. This behavior usually characterized by teasing and boisterous antics
    Dating, looking forward to founding a home

12. Establishing oneself through loyalty to members of one’s own sex
    Participating in activities involving both sexes

13. Dating only occasionally
    Accepting dates and studying as the usual things

14. Learning how to get along with others
    Increasing insights into self and others

15. A conscious seeking of masculine or feminine role
    Understanding of one’s appropriate sex role

D. Status in groups:

16. Tending to be self-centered
    Learning to co-operate

17. Questioning existing moral and social conditions
    Developing more or less stable and consistent attitude’s toward life

18. Being a "good mixer" and displaying skill in games with own sex
    Developing tact, poise, and other social graces in one’s relationships with both sexes

E. Status in immediate and wider community:

19. Rarely doing or saying anything without first considering the probable reaction of one’s group
    Desiring approval of small, select groups

20. Desiring regulation and direction, aid in making decisions; yet also desiring freedom and opportunity to assume responsibility
    Increasing self-dependence
21. Desiring security of adult understanding, guidance, and friendship
Seeking a place in society of adults, on adult level

22. Beginning identification with community life
Establishing self in relation to community and world

23. Experiences confined to immediate social environment
Reaching toward activities and interests in wider environment

24. Selecting acquaintances from immediate environment
Extending contacts into enlarged social groups in wider environment

25. Identifying oneself with persons very much like oneself
Finding one's place in the social and economic world

F. Status in economic life:

26. Working for little or no economic financial reward
Working for money to gain economic independence

27. Assuming some responsibility for oneself in family group
Assuming more responsibility in family and other groups on more adult level

28. Deriving occupational interests from life work of family, relatives and friends
 Seriously considering particular types of occupations selected on a more objective basis

29. Willing to do many different kinds of work
Concentrating on a few more specialized types of work

30. Developing a desire for economic security and independence......

G. A sense of interdependence:

31. Having rather vague awareness of one's interactions with others
Better defined ideas of interdependence with others

32. ......... Developing some feeling of interdependence..............

Bibliography


Magazines:
III. DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING A SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT BY:

A. A sense of personal adequacy through satisfaction in accomplishment, which involves:
   a) Abilities and requisite skills in sports, games, arts, crafts, special interests and the like
   b) Confidence in one's competence in one or more significant areas

B. Successful participation in group activities (school, home, etc.)

C. Successful participation in community life (e.g., community groups, recreation, health, social, and civic organizations)

D. Successful participation in economic life, through
   a) Part or full time work, in satisfying socially significant activities
   b) Planning with others for improving the economic system

E. Gradual attainment of independent status as an adult

F. Understanding of and participating in the solution of basic economic problems (e.g., capital and labor, government control, conflicting economic systems, unemployment, standards of living, and the like).

G. Increasing effectiveness as a consumer of goods and services through:
   a) Efficient use of authority
   b) Adequate planning
   c) Improved standards of judgment
   d) Improvement of taste

TRENDS

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<tr>
<th>From</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Being absorbed in manipulative, constructive and experimental activities</td>
<td>Pursuing intellectual activities with enthusiastic devotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Shifting attention frequently</td>
<td>Increasing attention span</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Having difficulty in concentration, brief attention span</td>
<td>Increasing ability to concentrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Diminishing creative abilities, making unimaginative configurations</td>
<td>Experimenting with new situations, seeking expression in various arts with reawakened creative spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Enjoying &quot;gang&quot; activities</td>
<td>Changing social interests, toward smaller, more select groups, which consider community standing, race, car ownership, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Avoiding heterosexual contacts</td>
<td>Increasing interest in opposite sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Being physically restless</td>
<td>Achieving greater degree of direction (by individual) of restlessness along more constructive lines conditioned by the school environment</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Utilizing frequently varied attention-getting devices

Utilizing more subtle attention-getting devices, dress, etc., attempts to get prestige through athletics, dramatics, dancing ability, sophisticated behavior. Display of femininity and masculinity

Well established childhood standards and values breaking down under strain. Un-couth, inconsiderate to family, nail biting, slovenly speech habits, slang and swearing, sloppy dress, lack of care for belongings, etc.

Personal appearance becoming an important concern. Greater acceptance of established values. Desire for adult status motivates greater conformity

Period of regression toward infantile habits of bodily gratification, (ambivalence), temper tantrums, greediness, etc.

Increasing self control, less confusion of values

Being interested in Scouts and other democratic groups

Being interested in sororities, fraternities, less democratic groups. Economic and class considerations becoming important

Behavior fluctuating from rough-housing to day-dreaming

Desire for adult status inhibiting exuberance of spirit

Lessening of sense of satisfaction in simple pre-adolescent activities; creative dramatics, helping teacher, simple parties. Antagonistic toward adults at this period

Increasing sense of establishment of status and willingness to cooperate with others

Having narrow socio-cultural relationships

Widening socio-cultural relationships, identifying self with socio-cultural groups, especially underprivileged and heroes

Desiring acclaim of age mates, especially of same sex

Desiring status and popularity in the total school

Increasing emotional instability

Emotional stability increasing, but instability still a potent factor

Showing little concern for more than immediate future. No concentrated interest in social adjustment, immature and unrealistic vocational attitudes

Exhibiting deep concern for future and for social adjustment. Adulthood a general goal. Increasingly intelligent vocational attitudes
Bibliography

Books:

Magazines:


IV. DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING EVER-WIDENING AND DEEPENING INTERESTS AND APPRECIATIONS THROUGH:

A. Understanding and gaining a measure of control over the environment (e.g., scientific, artistic, and literary interests)

B. Understanding of and respect for the cultural heritage
   (e.g., zeal for using cultural understandings for improvement of living)

C. Favorable response to art in all aspects of living.

D. Participation in games, sports, hobbies

TRENDS

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Being concerned primarily with family relationships</td>
<td>Being concerned with ever-groading relationships outside of the family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Working out harmonious relationships with siblings and parents</td>
<td>Making more friends, getting along with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Having relatively few, home-centered, specific, concrete interests</td>
<td>Having relatively extensive, catholic, broad interests, not necessarily based on immediate experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Liking pets, wanting possessions as ends in themselves (Bicycles, hunting knives)</td>
<td>Seeing possessions as means to more socialized ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Being antagonistic toward opposite sex, seeking society of members of own sex almost exclusively. Gang age</td>
<td>Developing an active interest in opposite sex. Seeking means of associating with opposite sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Caring little about general personal appearance</td>
<td>Paying considerable attention to matters of dress and neatness of appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Displaying independence in social conduct and disdain for manners</td>
<td>Making an attempt to acquire rudimentary poise and social graces</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
8. Avoiding dancing. Tending to be miserably self-conscious at mixed parties, exhibiting antic, boisterous behavior by way of compensation

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<tr>
<th>8. Avoiding dancing. Tending to be miserably self-conscious at mixed parties, exhibiting antic, boisterous behavior by way of compensation</th>
<th>Learning to dance. Participating in parties and other mixed social gatherings as major centers of interest</th>
</tr>
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</table>

9. Exhibiting antagonism toward adults

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<tr>
<th>9. Exhibiting antagonism toward adults</th>
<th>Seeking association with adults on adult level of interests</th>
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10. Playing without reference to techniques of games or sports

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<tr>
<th>10. Playing without reference to techniques of games or sports</th>
<th>Playing as a form of social action. Finding satisfactions in the development of techniques</th>
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11. Finding intellectual activity interesting only as associated with immediate experiences

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<tr>
<th>11. Finding intellectual activity interesting only as associated with immediate experiences</th>
<th>Finding satisfaction in intellectual activity for its own sake. Finding pleasure in organizing and classifying knowledge</th>
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</table>

12. Manipulating, constructing models and apparatus, tearing up old cards, alarm clocks, etc.

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<tr>
<th>12. Manipulating, constructing models and apparatus, tearing up old cards, alarm clocks, etc.</th>
<th>Seeking functional &quot;why&quot; of things, scientific theory, other explanations of the workings of things</th>
</tr>
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13. Spending allowance with maximum success and satisfaction

<table>
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<tr>
<th>13. Spending allowance with maximum success and satisfaction</th>
<th>Looking for ways of increasing available spending money as means of establishing relative economic independence</th>
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14. Definite, but rather unrealistic choice of vocation

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<tr>
<th>14. Definite, but rather unrealistic choice of vocation</th>
<th>Developing interest in and more realistic selection of vocation</th>
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15. Regressing in creativity as indicated by waning appreciations and interests in respect to artistic activity

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>15. Regressing in creativity as indicated by waning appreciations and interests in respect to artistic activity</th>
<th>Surfing artistic creativity, characterized by imagination and considerable care and precision in work</th>
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16. Focusing interests on immediate home-centered environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16. Focusing interests on immediate home-centered environment</th>
<th>Developing high idealism and concern for welfare of society. Identifying self with oppressed social groups or with &quot;causes.&quot;</th>
</tr>
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</table>

17. Special interests

<table>
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<th>17. Special interests</th>
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A. Boys - Driving a car, owning or borrowing a car as sign of social status and symbol of sexual role

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<tr>
<th>A. Boys - Driving a car, owning or borrowing a car as sign of social status and symbol of sexual role</th>
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B. Girls - Shopping, personal adornment, lipstick, hairdo, etc. with similar motivation

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<th>B. Girls - Shopping, personal adornment, lipstick, hairdo, etc. with similar motivation</th>
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</table>

**Bibliography**

**Books:**


Magazines:

Other Sources:
3. Albright, N. et. al. *An Inventory Study of the Personal and General Problems of 256 Students in Grades Seven to Twelve Inclusive, Ohio State University School*, 1940.
V. ACHIEVING A SOCIAL OUTLOOK ON LIFE THROUGH:

A. Increasing unity and consistency in thinking and action
B. Personal standards of conduct
C. Increasing ability to deal with related abstractions
D. Increasing ability to recognize and deal with conflicts
E. Increasing ability as to the nature of truth and techniques for discovering and utilizing it

Characteristic development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.</strong> Acceptance of family and gang standards</td>
<td>Formulation of new codes of conduct, ideals, and standards of love, comradeship and group association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.</strong> Loyalty to family, teachers, gang and friends</td>
<td>A national and even international loyalty through an increasing degree of conceptualization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.</strong> Egocentric, transient, fanciful, unfruitful and even impossible plans and purposes</td>
<td>Plans and purposes expanded to take in welfare of larger groups and grown more realistic in terms of possibilities inherent in cultural situation and individual potentialities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.</strong> First experiences in loving another, in &quot;crushes&quot;, and in hero-worship</td>
<td>Satisfactory emotional relationships in personal life which drive individual to strive for success in social-civic and economic life and thus prove worth in adult world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5.</strong> Identification with family group</td>
<td>The seeking by some, through an interest in contemporary problems for identification with mass movements and perhaps for losing themselves in crusading religious or political idealism (May revert to gang-age form of expression, as in fascism.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6.</strong> Religious concern, on part of some, based on fear and guilt-feelings</td>
<td>A settlement of religious problems based upon a more abstract concept of God as a disembodied spiritual force or one based on acceptance of humanitarianism in the place of supernaturalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7.</strong> A great degree of conventionalism and conservatism on social problems,</td>
<td>A lesser degree of conventionalism and conservatism on social problems; perhaps even to liberalism. (Girls usually reject accepted beliefs less frequently, less profoundly, and at a later age than boys.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Narrow generalizations in regard to moral qualities

A clarification of continuously developing wider ideals and a tendency to mental manipulation of these new moral ideals and attitudes, along with deep concern for some concepts like honor, democracy, humanity, etc.

9. Emotional patterns loosely organized in expressive attitudes

Patterns becoming more definitely organized in harmony with personality drives, with perhaps a development of insight into own reactions and a conscious effort to remodel personality in harmony with newly acquired ideals

10. An intense interest in practical activity, manipulation and observation

Wider understanding of, and interest in, what is learned from reading and listening.

11. An interest in exploring and trying out the immediate social environment

The intellectualization of the wider social environment and the feeling of a close relationship with it

12. Reflective thinking distorted by childish wishes and desires

Relatively objective reflective thinking

13. Solving simple problems demanding little more than observation and manipulation

The solving of problems depending to a greater extent on the formulation of hypotheses and the submitting of them to practical tests

14. Lack of confidence in problem-solving ability

A confidence in and willingness to use scientific methods of solving problems in general

Bibliography

Books:

Magazines:

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON BASIC POINTS OF VIEW

Articles presenting points of view of workers in different fields on the study of the adolescent and his problems:

Sociological:

Psychological:
CONCLUSION

At the outset, this work assumed that the growth of the individual in the democratic society was the purpose of education. It was also assumed that the purpose of democracy is the maximum growth of all, a purpose which requires that questions of principle in the school as in the nation be settled on the basis of providing maximum opportunity for all.

Given these assumptions, there remain many questions regarding the meaning of the statement of educational purpose given above. Each of its major terms includes a wide range of human experience. It seemed worth while to inquire into what the students of that experience had found to say about democracy, the society, the individual and growth. It seemed that what they had to say might provide valuable data for interpreting the terms, and at the same time might suggest what desirable and undesirable practices are now in force to put these concepts into operation. Faith without works is nothing, and the democratic ideal is meaningless without instrumentation. The test of democracy is whether or not it serves to develop human beings in fact, as well as in intent. If it does not, it is not a useful ideal, it fails of its announced intention.

Yet it is in the very process of putting it into action that conflicts and doubts arise. Some of them have to do with a clarification of the goal. Many have to do with points of practical application on which experimental evidence and trustworthy opinion are already available, but which have never been brought together from the many sources which offer them. The result is, that there are many, both believers and non-believers, in the
democratic ideal in education, who do not know and do not know where to
look for substantiation of faith in that ideal, and already available
evidence as to desirable practices to make it more fully operative.
Questions like the following are present, for example, in the minds of
every school staff:

Is the democratic ideal really attainable? Is it in keeping with what
is known about human nature?

Is the maximum growth of all individuals really the central, the most
desirable aim of a society?

Are all individuals capable of further growth? Is each pupil worth
the effort that is entailed in individualized treatment?

Is it reasonable to strive for intelligent participation by all in
planning and executing a common enterprise?

What knowledge is available to improve the techniques and to clarify
the basic emphases necessary to promote the maximum growth of all?

It would be absurd to suppose that there is any short or easy answer
to these questions. They require continuous reexamination and interpre-
tation as the test of experience is applied to them. Yet it is equally
absurd to ignore evidence and opinion already available from the many fields
of study of man and his environment.

Hence the present exploration of the materials has been attempted,
to review a considerable variety and quantity of recent literature bearing
on the meanings of democracy, society (and natural environment), the
individual and growth. It has gone at the task not from a philosophical
but from a practical approach. It is historical and descriptive, in the
main, though the use of "growth" as a descriptive term for the central
processes of life may be called theoretical. It has been an attempt to
give an objective report, based on the record, and summarized in the
generalizations offered at the end of each section.

As the records were examined, every effort was made not to load the
dice in favor of the democratic hypothesis. But the material selected for
emphasis was chosen for its pertinence to the question: Is democracy
possible of realization?

It happens that the growth of all is the central aim of democracy,
and that the meaning of the term has assumed a central place in the present
discussion. This did not happen accidentally, of course, but because of
the initial assumptions and because of the nature of the evidence.

If the material of the four sections is representative, and if the
generalizations are fully justified, then they may be useful to the reader
who is forming opinion and plans for making democracy work.

Again it should be emphasized, that to the writer it seemed important
to provide material which would be dispassionately presented and which
would form a resource for the study of practicing educators. It seemed
also, that the utmost goal of the explorations was to discover the
possibilities. In order to come at them more freshly, and with less
special pleading for democracy, each of the four terms was made the
focus of a special exploration.

In the following statements, the highlights of the generalizations
and implications of each section are summarized and brought together.
Special notice is given to points which have been reiterated time and
again in the literature studied.
II

For the purpose of testing and exploring the meanings of the democratic hypothesis, a list of criteria were offered at the conclusion of Chapter I. These were:

1. Man is the central concern.
2. The maximum growth of the human capacities of all is the purpose.
3. The purpose is relative and changing as men and conditions change.
4. Means must be consistent with the end sought (the maximum growth of all).
5. Equality of opportunity is necessary for the maximum growth of all.
6. There must be liberty of choice and participation.
7. Social control must operate to provide for the maximum growth of all.

It was pointed out in Section I that a social concern for man and the utmost development of his capacities is in harmony with the deepest desires of each human being. Yet, at the same time, the world of men has but a confused and partial understanding of the goal, or of the best methods by which to approach it. It is not yet clear to many that the development of each is inextricably bound up with the development of all. Nor is it easy to some to see that the democratic purpose cannot be achieved by undemocratic means. The criteria themselves, are of some use at this point. Translated into their terms, the last statement would read: "The maximum growth of the capacities of all cannot be achieved by means which do not foster the growth of the capacities of all." But the statement is more than a matter of logic. The usefulness of verbalizing in bringing people into united action is undoubtedly high.
However, if there be faith without works, or democratic purpose without effective instrumentation, it avails nought. Therefore, it is of the first importance that the democratic purpose has been shown to be in accord with human desires, and that it has also been shown to be possible to achieve a greater measure of that purpose through united social action. Planning together, participating, testing in action, planning anew, it is possible for a human society to move forward to new and increasing opportunities for the attainment of human potentialities.

Besides these major points, Section I postulated a social unity through the democratic purpose which would allow for great variation within it. This would make for wide ranges of opportunity and participation and for much opportunity to test a variety of procedures. It would also require a constant application of the intelligence of all to question conflicts over the best application of the democratic principle, and the best means of enlarging and making its operations effective.

It was also pointed out that the schools of our nation are not adequate to the task of educating for democracy unless they are themselves examples of the attempt to provide and to test means by which to encourage the maximum opportunity for the optimum use and development of the capacities of all students.

Section II re-emphasized the need for social planning and instrumentation based on a knowledge of how environment and social institutions operate to affect human development. This section illustrated the fact that the circumstances of nature and of culture which affect the direction of human growth can themselves be controlled. If the control is to be in the interests of all, then there is need for all to understand and
participate in forming and administering it. There is therefore need
for universal education and for constant study and revision of purposes,
programs and results.

The human being, for whom the democratic purpose is to operate, was
discussed at length in Section III. There it was shown that the relativity
of the democratic purpose is in accord with the best available knowledge
of human development. The physiologists represented, strongly supported
the idea of great and undeveloped potentialities in all normal human
beings, thus giving aid and comfort to those who would have faith in the
ability of all to grow. In the same section, a great number of observa-
tions bearing on the physical, mental and emotional aspects of human
development were given.

These showed the necessity of the utmost use of artistry and science
to bring about progress toward the democratic goals: to provide equality
of opportunity through wide ranges of suitable experience, to encourage
the broadening of participation in determining values and carrying through
with worthwhile activities.

In elaborating and summarizing Section IV showed that growth which
is beneficial to the organism is descriptive of basic processes of life -
physically, mentally, emotionally considered. Thus the chief aim of
democracy was once more upheld. The forms of human development were con-
sidered, and each shown to be a result of interaction between individual
and environment. This again, illustrated the necessity of keeping the
means, the external elements of the process as it goes on, such that
the present growth of all leads to further growth.

The discussion of growth provided a special point of view from which
to examine the data on each of the other terms - individual, society, and democracy, to determine the relation of the evidence and theory regarding each to the fact of growth. It offered a means to harmonize the treatment of the social ideal of democracy and the "facts" of nature. It was relevant to the interpretation of facts concerning the cell, the total human organism, and all forms of social and natural environment. It also gave the clue to what emphases should be made in the applications of these facts to school practice for the purpose of the maximum development of all human beings.

It was again asserted that growth means increasing adequacy of structure and function, such as occurs while the cell or the total organism lives. The evidence resulted in the generalizations that life means the presence of growth, that the living thing "seeks" growth, and that this growth effort explains the "needs" and "drives" which animate the organism.

The significance of these generalizations for democracy, to repeat, is that they offer solid support for centering on the growth of all as the whole concern of democracy. This concern is a unique social purpose. It gives democracy a decided advantage over other guiding concepts of society, since the evidence shows that all are concerned about their own growth.

The significance of the data for education as one of the instruments of democracy, are many, of course. The generalizations of Sections I and IV suggest a very great obligation of educators - to start with the expectation of growth in each pupil. This, we would say, is democratic and good but it contrasts with observation and experience which indicates that a good many school people and parents seem to regard growth as something
to be forced upon the individual.

As explained in the section on the Individual, growth is intimately bound up with curiosity, the desire to learn, attentiveness, remembering—these eminently desirable attributes of a good scholar are all present in the human organism. They are essential to its existence. They take various forms and directions according to individual heredity and experience—including that of the social pattern. Effective democratic school practice will therefore recognize that these attributes exist, and will seek to serve them. It will start with the student where he is, to use the common phrase. It will aid his development with rich opportunities and effective techniques, rather than imposing a narrow program which limits and obstructs the development already going on.

Again, it was pointed out in Section III that the data on perception, conceptualization, reasoning, generalization show that these take place in all experience of the individual. Error leads naturally to evaluation. The forms and utility of these processes are proper subjects of school attention. But again, since the evidence shows that they must proceed from individual experience, the school is bound to consider how that experience can be used, increased, and directed with true relevance to the continuous process of growth. To be maximum for all, this will require particular care to employ a knowledge of all in preparing the curriculum, and in establishing social controls. Text books, syllabi, exercises, topics of study, assigned projects which are produced out of the context in which they are used will quite likely be severely limited in applicability. It might even be argued that the most rigidly logical (from the point of view of the curriculum maker himself) courses are the least effective aids
to full development. The opposite plan, which takes the learner into fullest account, and makes him a partner in planning, work, and evaluation, is what is described as a psychological approach. The child-centered school is a step in the right direction, then, since it emphasizes the importance of each human being. The objection to it, that it seems to overlook the demands of environment and the necessity of social authority is valid only if the interaction of these factors with the personality are ignored. For the most part, the evidence seems to show that schools err in the opposite direction. They need, perhaps, a bit more of their attention focussed on the child — all children — whose full development is the goal of democracy.

Section III further disclosed that reasoning, imagination, generalization, are natural, vital processes through which the individual translates experience into a resource for future use. They too are influenced deeply by social patterns, but they take individual forms. The democratic school, as indicated in Section I will cherish the many forms of these activities. It will designedly offer many situations which will encourage their expression. It would be possible to say that the mathematics and science classes, the English and social science teachers, who set the assignment, dictate the method of work, and stipulate finding the "right" answers, are not providing such situations. Unless the problem for study is real and unsolved, unless the student is engaged in what is to him a search for interesting and important discoveries, unless his own ideas are treated with respect, he is not likely to reason, imagine and generalize at the top of his ability.

With the emphasis on understanding the uniqueness and individual meanings given above, it is quite evident from the studies of the social
scientists explored in Section II that the school must have parallel understanding of social meanings.

That food, dress, affection, prestige, and other values assume forms characteristic (broadly) of a particular social pattern is undeniable in the face of anthropological findings. This is, in fact, the guarantee that there can be an effective operation of a social purpose such as the democratic one. But these two facts—the uniqueness of individual personality on the one hand, and the existence of common types and common social meanings on the other, do not form a true paradox. As explained in Sections II and III, both exist. Both are infinitely varied. To say that identity is not repeated, is not to say that influence and similarities do not exist.

It is shown by the literature of Section II that the margins of similar meanings in experience are what we trade on in developing a common speech or a common ideal. To speak of a large social ideal, or a large meaning, is to bring out the essential point. It is that in proportion as a word, a school project, or a social ideal includes a wide range of individual meanings and differences, to just that extent there can be a common meaning and mutual aid to development. The ideal of maximum growth, for example, is perpetually limited in operation so long as it does not include the growth of all. A dramatic instance of such limitation has been furnished in this country by the stripping of natural resources for the financial gain of a few persons or corporations. Because the exploiters were not motivated and were not restrained by a common concern for the growth of all, their children, along with many others suffer now from the resulting malnutrition and economic problems attendant on the loss of irreplaceable minerals.
Through a common experience with deep emotional impact such as flood, famine, war, or the more constructive inspiration of planned economy in the TVA, certain large common meanings come into existence. These meanings may result in what are called common purposes. But insofar as these purposes or any others are imposed by force (i.e., without real individual experience, understanding and positive feelings) they fail in their full effect. This fact, may well lead the parent and the school to see that if they take their purposes for granted, without insuring that they are meaningful and desirable to their children, they are not aiding the maximum development of those children.

From the studies of growth reviewed in Sections III and IV, the inextricable relations of what are called the physical, mental and emotional aspects of life are emphasized. The basic hungers for food, drink, love, are seen as so important that their normal satisfaction becomes a prerequisite to all other healthy development. Thus it is indicated that the democratic school will have a concern for the nourishment of these hungers of all its students. That nourishment is primarily the responsibility of the family, to be sure, and the school will need to recognize its limitations in working for them, as well as the limitations which inadequate provision puts upon the individual. A child who is starved for affection or vitamins lacks a primary requisite for healthy growth. The hot lunch program can help. The consideration and friendliness of teacher and fellow students can help. But they may not supply the lack of three good meals, or of parental love, and when these are lacking, expectations of development must be limited accordingly. It cannot be said that this obvious fact has been heeded generally in school practice to the extent that a democracy would desire it.
Outstanding in the descriptions of physical, emotional and mental growth given in Sections III and IV are the physiological and psychological findings regarding the cyclical and phasal nature of their development. They indicate once more the importance of individual differences, and might well show that the democratic school will conceive of the ideal curriculum for the maximum growth of all as one in which situations, materials, and activities are varied and are used in a flexible time plan. Taken with the continuity of growth, these differences also indicate that the democratic school will recognize the importance of common purpose reached through common agreement of all participants. This is one way in which individual differences can be made to contribute to the enrichment of the process of development. It is a way that is largely ignored in assuming that "grade level" or "homogeneity" exists in fact.

If individual differences are thus treated, not as a shibboleth, but as requiring close study and sensitive recognition in practice, there will result individual participation, flexible planning, flexible scheduling, a wide variety of materials and experiences, relativity of achievement standards, evaluation in terms of growth rather than absolutes. These characteristics which might be called essential in the democratic school are not now in universal operation in our country. In part, at least, this may be due to a lack of understanding of the nature of growth which is verbally accepted as the aim of education in a democracy. It seems easier to get people to agree on the ideal than to use it effectively as a basis for subsequent implementation.

In like manner, though the ideal of Gestalt or whole-pattern behavior is gaining general popularity, it is not well enough understood to prevent atomistic practices and analytical procedures which are of little meaning
to the child except as busy work exercises. These practices reflect, of
course, the earlier assumptions of psychologists and the atomism which
accompanied an indiscriminate enthusiasm for scientific method.

Above all, the studies of learning evidence the fact that in all
behavior, in all learning, emotion or feeling is the spark which sets all
else in motion. Yet the evidence is that this too is denied in much
school practice. In schools which profess to promote the "highest stan-
dards of intellectual achievement" it is sometimes thought that emotion
is not welcome, and that it must be "disciplined" or suppressed. Of
course, it cannot be suppressed. At best it can be attached to new
objects. At worst it is forced into underground channels.

In the discussion of adience, abience and the emotions and their
definitions in Section III, it was shown that feeling is closely related
to the individual's or the group's sense of growth possibilities. The
democratic school, therefore, in which the student participates as a
responsible, respected member of a common enterprise, with his individual
creativity welcomed, enlists the feelings of the student as positive
allies to learning. When choice is genuine, and based on true interests,
the ad and the ab feelings are allowed expression and can be reckoned with
effectively in promoting further growth.

In sections III and IV, the simple, inclusive fact that growth is not
only desirable in theory but as a demonstrated purpose of organic living
was illuminated and vastly extended by consideration of growth in its
physical, mental and emotional aspects. It was shown that growth as a
whole, and any particular moment of growth include a multiplicity of
factors. It is not an exaggeration to say that the students of individual
psychology and those of society both support the idea that the whole universe
is involved in the production and development of a single individual. Such vastness staggering the school teacher, yet it is definitely helpful to recognize it if it protects him against the error of over-simplification. To recognize that the process of life is multiform, that absolutes are always untrue, that either-or choices are artificial, can be genuinely helpful.

This knowledge, for example, can aid the educator in a democracy to formulate procedures which help students face realities instead of fear and obscure them. Recognizing that many factors, from endocrine glands to family relations enter into the development of behavior, he will be less likely to call for performance, or to impose judgments of performance (such as "norms" or minimum standards) which are inappropriate, or beyond the capacity, experience or emotional readiness of the pupil to use. He will also recognize the existence of personal identity (or unity) for what it is - a miraculous (because so complex) achievement in continuous integration. The job of assisting in the development of this miracle is one which calls for the utmost scientific and artistic skill. At the least if personal unity, a wholeness created from the multiform influences of environment and heredity can exist, the school experience can itself be aimed to be a meaningful whole. It need be guided, then, by a socially created control, meaningful to all the individuals in it; and it need be whole with respect to the consistency of relationships of its people and its procedures.

It has been shown in the last three sections, that heredity and environment are inseparable elements of human growth. It has been shown also, that each is more clearly understood when it is studied in relationship to the other. The progress of knowledge shows that operations of neither
are mysterious beyond human power to understand to an increasing degree (and thus to aid and direct). It has been shown that as knowledge increases the possibilities of human growth seem incalculable. What a challenge to the educator!

At the least, the educator in a democracy begins with a professed faith which makes it natural for him to strive for wholeness in his approach to his work, and for the constant attempt to recognize and use what is known about the multiple factors with which he deals.

For example, the fact of continuity in individual and environmental development has already been noted as a factor with implications for beginning where the pupil is. The pupil cannot run before he can walk. He cannot read before his eye structure and interests are developed sufficiently. He cannot use materials with which he has no experience in the same way as others who have. He cannot take seriously ideas for which he has no use.

In summing up this matter it might be put this way: wholeness and continuity are characteristic of growth. They are unique in form according to individual experience. At the same time, they are coincident and overlapping with the characteristics and experiences of others. Thus, as detailed in Section III, there are temperamental traits, attitudes and habits which, by the time the child reaches the first grade, are so established that they have to be taken into account by the school which is truly concerned for the growth of all. As further shown, both school and family have the possibility of influencing the development of these behaviors. And the influence they have would appear to be directly commensurate with the reality and the intensity of feeling and action which the family and the school provide for.
In other words, through the varieties of experience provided, through the strength of personal relationships, school and family exercise their influence on the developing personality. The influence may be unintended, or it may be intentional. In any case, it will be effective in proportion to its relevance to the structure, the situation, and the purpose of the organism.

The material of the last sections showed that activity is normal to the growing organism. Since this is so, the school can either channel that activity wisely (taking many things into account) or it can restrain it so generally as to slow development and force it into secret paths or sudden outbursts. Since a knowledge of self is a life-long goal, and since exaggerated self-distrust and conceit are alike products of the search for one’s status and potentialities in a world of other people, the school can and does often heighten these exaggerations through such means as grades and punishments. It can, on the other hand, encourage the recognition of the true value of experience, both to develop and to test the growth of individual powers. In this latter case, the school will see in a problem to be solved, one that is real and important to the pupil, the true educational task-master. The ability to recognize a real problem, to attack it intelligently, to evaluate the experience—these are proper evidences of growth. If the democratic school accepts these assumptions, discipline thus means the requirements of a situation and a purpose, rather than arbitrary, imposed regulations and punishment. (It may be argued that such imposition is just as real as any other part of environment. It is. But is is not a "real" means to maximum growth. In fact, it is likely to be an irrelevant interruption to internal progress and external relations.)
This brings us to the final point regarding the direction and control of growth.

It has been shown in Sections I and II that man-made purpose can influence all environment and all growth. The purpose of quick returns on investment can strip the hills of timber and the soil of irreplaceable minerals. The purpose of continuous and maximum growth can lead to conservation of resources and to schools for the use of intelligence. With the fall of theories of mechanical evolution went the notion that progress, or continuous development in a particular direction was inevitable. It is recognized now, that ideas are tools, that planning is necessary.

It is recognized also, that to secure maximum growth of human beings there must be undertaken a continuous search for better understanding and techniques. An experimental approach is required. Therefore, planning needs to be tentative and flexible. It cannot rely upon rigid and absolute procedures and answers, but must study ever-changing circumstances and must continually create new ways of dealing with them.

The social and educational purpose of democracy, therefore, as stated in the Introduction and in Section I, implies a developing concept of goal. It needs to rely upon institutional operations which are open to change as experience changes the meaning of the democratic concept. Thus the social purpose and its instruments alike will grow and will encourage growth.

As evidenced in Sections I and II persistently, such a changing purpose and such instruments are difficult of acceptance because institutions as well as individuals have been found irresponsible to social purpose and inflexible and fearful of change. It is well to remember, then, the testimony that the responsibility to a common goal, indeed the existence of a common goal, implies common participation in creating and
administering it. As stated in Section IV on Growth, it is not enough for growth possibilities to be present - they must be felt as such. It is also not enough for a political leader or a school teacher to preach the existence of this opportunity. It must be felt through actual participation, through first-hand experience.

If the data of the earlier sections are trustworthy (that growth is inevitable where there is life, that it depends very much upon the environment how full it will be and what direction it will take) then it is apparent that the assertions of Section I are justified. It was there stated that the democratic ideal of the maximum growth of all looked toward the fulfillment of man's existence as a living being. It is a unique social purpose (as contrasted with the tyrannies of kingdoms, the partial democracy of Greece, the financial oligarchy of Republican Rome, or the super-state and super-man of magian.)

It is apparent that while much is known about the nature of growth, no one knows the limits of its possibility. Thus democracy becomes an ideal whose meaning grows with the growth of man for which it seeks.

In all that has been said in the four sections about the individual nature of experience and meanings, it has been plain at the same time that through common participation only, can even tentative common goals and understandings be reached. Democracy appeals to all concerned for its authority, and so is an effective instrument of growth.

And democracy, like all ideals, has been shown to be meaningless except as it operates in the affairs of every-day living. It operates through its traditions and institutions. These can encourage universal growth, to the extent that they are adjusted to the changing environment and persons which constitute our world. Political traditions and institutions
are only a part of the story. In economic life, in the family and in the school there is equal need for planning, participation by all, freedom of choice.

In Section I it was emphasized that our traditions are varied — so varied as to be confused. But the ideal of democracy was demonstrated to be in harmony with American tradition. That tradition asserts from the first, in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution the necessity of changing principles and institutions in accord with changing experience. It has called for a continual enrichment of culture through the contributions of every member of society. It calls for the restraint of the few in the interest of the greatest freedom of all. Its announced purpose is to foster the feeling of freedom, as well as the forms of social control which will contribute to it.

It is true, also, that this tradition is shown by the record to have faltered and to be faltering at many points. It is written in that record that the growth of technology beyond the design of its use in human living, the plunder of public resources, the frontier tradition of rugged individualism, the private profit motive and cut-throat competition have flourished.

But these latter are facts which do not controvert the presence of the democratic ideal. And the believer in that ideal can see from the evidence of the data already presented, that it has to do with the central purpose of all living. Thus its power is potentially greater than whatever opposes it. Faith in man and his intelligence has already produced in this country the great instrument of universal free education. Through it, man and his problems can become the center of study. The techniques
of education can become the proving grounds of democratic techniques for more participation, for the creation of common goals, for the continuous testing of these goals, and for their common evaluation.

So this study, through its four divisions, has indicated that:

1. Democracy means planning to control, to educate, in the interest of the maximum growth of all.

2. These circumstances are to a great degree within the control of man's planning.

3. The individual means an organism of great and unknown potential, subject to direction from the environmental circumstances.

4. Growth means increasing adequacy of structure and function.
APPENDIX TO CONCLUSION

SOME PRINCIPLES TO BE KEPT IN MIND
IN EVALUATING CURRICULUMS

By Louis E. Raths, O. S. U.
February 18, 1938

Not infrequently members of the Evaluation Staff are asked to assist in the
development of curriculum materials. If their interest is exclusively in
the behavior end-product, e.g., ability to detect implicit assumptions,
they are apt to lose sight of significant criteria which are important in
reaching that objective. In order, therefore, to assist all of us in con-
tributing to more effective curriculum reorganization, the following points
may be considered useful:

1. Is there an over-arching theme dealing with the improvement of
life in the democratic society? This implies, of course, that
the assistant who raises the question will have some ideas about
democracy as a way of life and will have suggestions about
materials and methods which will integrate the end-product with
the curriculum.

2. Are the materials suggested for testing and teaching related to
the needs, interests, and purposes of students? The assistant
who asks this question should know some of the techniques for
ascertaining needs, interests, and purposes, and some of the
ways of articulating the results with the curriculum.

3. Are there any integrating themes or problems developed in the
curriculum to which the proposed testing instruments relate?
The assistant should have at his command various techniques
or methods for developing integrating centers, and should be
able to tell his teachers how this has been done.

4. Are the materials suggested in agreement with what we know
from related fields such as psychology, physiology, and anthro-
pology? The assistant in this case would have to point out how
provision will have to be made for individual differences and what
implications there are in the testing materials for grade pla-
acement and for learning by activity.

5. Do the testing materials sample the important generalizations
and the important information from related subject-matter fields?
In this case the assistant would have to be familiar with source
materials which point to collections of generalizations or to
methods by which they are derived.
6. Do the curriculum materials draw upon community resources (including parents) or do they make any contribution to community welfare? The assistant in this case would have to relate testing materials to the effectiveness of the community life and draw upon that community life for appropriate curriculum and testing materials. Methods for developing this type are numerous: interviews, questionnaires, activity analyses, analysis of newspapers, of reading, types of industries, types of industrial opportunities, etc.

7. Are there opportunities in the curriculum materials for practical functional behavior? This includes opportunity for creative activities of many sorts, for thinking, for experimentation, for developing interests, attitudes, and study skills, etc.

8. Do the materials point effectively to the basic relationships of living? (See the Science Report)

9. Has consideration been shown for the problem of how to organize materials for learning purposes?

10. Is the school program well balanced in terms of time allotments for the various studies and in terms of "free time" for students?

11. What kinds of records and reports are available for promoting articulation with lower schools, within the school itself, with upper schools, with industry, and with parents?

12. Who participates in the organization of the school program? Who shares in setting up the curriculum and in selecting the activities?

13. What provision is there for continuous curriculum revision? The assistant in this case will need to know something about organizing procedures for curriculum revision and various kinds of procedures which have been followed.

14. What provisions have been made for orienting the student in all of these relationships and making clear to him the primary purposes of the school and the success which he is having in achieving his own purposes?
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AUTobiography

I, H. H. Giles, was born in Oberlin, Ohio, October 6, 1901. I received my secondary education in the public high school of Oberlin; my undergraduate education at Amherst College (B.A. 1923); my Master of Arts degree at the University of Wisconsin (1937). During the years from 1922 to the present I have taught and have held administrative posts in a number of institutions. These are as follows: (Full time) Holyoke Jr. Achievement Foundation, 1923-1924; Eastern Illinois State Teachers College, 1924-1930; Hull House, 1929-1930; University of Wisconsin, 1930-1933; Ohio State University, 1933-1941; West Georgia College, 1942-present. (Summer schools and Workshops) Toledo University, 1931; University of Wisconsin School for Workers in Industry, 1932, 1933; Ohio State University, 1935, 1936; Bronxville Workshop, 1937; Denver Workshop, 1938, 1939; University of Tulsa, 1940; University of Chicago, 1940; Pennsylvania State College, 1940; West Georgia College, 1943. I have served on the Commission on Relation of School and College, 1937-1941; the Curriculum Study of the Ohio High School Principal's Association, 1940-1941; as special consultant to a number of schools and school systems, and as consultant on rural education to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1942-present. In 1941-42 I spent four quarters in residence at Ohio State University, working for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and have been registered for four additional quarters of off-campus research since that time.