Cultural Affirmations as a Source of Curriculum Content and Design Elements.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1970
Education, theory and practice

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CULTURAL AFFIRMATIONS AS A SOURCE OF CURRICULUM
CONTENT AND DESIGN ELEMENTS

DISSERTATION

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

By

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1970

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Several people have been of more than usual influence in the development of this exercise. Professors Paul Klohr and James Duncan offered many helpful suggestions in terms of organizing and conducting this study. Professors Alexander Frazier, Robert Jewett, Raymond Muessig, and Charles Galloway have shown through example that one need not be dissuaded by difficult problems. In addition, though not direct in this case, the influence of the writing of Dr. Harold Alberty is always present in the educational thinking of the author.

My wife, Judith, has been an infinite source of help and encouragement throughout this project.
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CHAPTER ONE

CULTURE AND THE CURRICULUM

The Nature of the Problem

Background of the Problem

The consideration of society and culture as a source of curriculum content and design has been accepted for a considerable period of time. Dewey's considerations involving the improvement of society through education were predicated upon analysis of the important problems of the day. In the 'twenties, Bobbitt saw the empirical analysis of people's social activities as a source of curriculum content. W. W. Charters, a contemporary of Bobbitt, thought in terms of social efficiency which could be attained by solving society's problems.¹ Social problems were thought of as concerns exerting pressures on individuals. Their source was derived from weaknesses in the status quo. Rugg felt that one must look beyond the present conditions of

society and attempt to project the effect of "insistent and permanent problems" which would form a source for at least part of the school curriculum.\(^1\) In the 'thirties, Caswell and Campbell pointed to the cultural lag that existed between the school and society. They suggested, consequently, that the school consider social problems as a source of curriculum content.\(^2\) In 1937, it was noted by the Educational Policies Commission that education need center its attention upon the manner in which culture interprets the function and purpose of education.\(^3\)

Curriculum specialists writing in the postwar period continued to emphasize the role of culture as a curriculum source. A frequently used curriculum textbook of the 'fifties pointed to the close relationship of the purposes of the school and the nature of society by proposing that any curriculum should be based on an insightful sociological analysis.\(^4\)


During the same period, Ralph W. Tyler, who has influenced curriculum thinking in recent years, asserted that the sources of information for deriving curriculum objectives are the learner, contemporary society, and the nature of subject matter.\(^1\) In a somewhat different vein, an American Council on Education project noted that the cultural nature of the school need be considered, for it could produce learnings which are counter to the expressed objectives of the school.\(^2\) In 1962 Taba followed with an influential curriculum textbook which placed emphasis upon the role of the culture as a source of curriculum planning.\(^3\) A number of current curriculum textbooks followed in the same pattern.

The preceding historical sketch demonstrates the persistent regard of culture as a source of curriculum content and planning. It does belie, however, the turbulent existence this theme has had in relation to the role that cultural considerations should play in curriculum decisions. Historically, a number of tensions have resulted from unre-


solved questions concerning the role of the school in society. These questions have centered around such issues as the place of the school as an instrument of cultural change, as a socializing agent, or as an influence to prevent social change. One possible source of difficulty concerns the lack of systematic effort on the part of educators to analyze American culture. It is true that some curriculum specialists have dealt with the culture utilizing work of social scientists with an attempt to be objective. Nevertheless, much of this work lacks systematic treatment and tends to reflect the current problems of the day rather than a comprehensive attempt to draw relationships between the curriculum and cultural elements.

Statement of the Problem

Formulations of the proper nature of the public school curriculum and the source areas fundamental to it vary greatly with the times. Also apparent is the fact that curriculum textbooks current during any given period have significant influence in determining how the curriculum textbooks published over the last fifteen years show that many treat the area of American culture as fundamental to the formulation of school curriculum. However, there is enough variance in the manner and emphasis that these textbook authors place on culture to suggest that there is not a
systematic procedure for handling this curriculum source element.

The lack of systematic procedures which are not linked to the personalized value system of textbook authors creates a critical problem if a curriculum designer agrees with the importance of inducing cultural elements into the curriculum without introducing strong bias of a political, philosophic, or economic nature. In effect, the curriculum planner lacks categories in many instances which provide a frame-of-reference to guide him in the selection of cultural factors. Without such criteria, curriculum designers rely upon the "conventional wisdom of the field" to provide a view of society. Hopefully, the design will be relevant to the needs and structure of the culture. This research effort will provide a set of categories of cultural elements to be used by curriculum designers. Such a conceptual structure will enable curriculum workers to draw more effectively upon culture as a source of design and content.

Design of the Research

Method

The general methodological approach is philosophical—logical in nature. The conceptual structure to be developed
for the utilization of cultural elements in curriculum content and design is a way of organizing thinking about (a) culture, (b) aspects of American culture, (c) the relationship of the culture to the school, and (d) procedures for using cultural elements as criteria in curriculum design and content selection. The development of this conceptual structure involves: (1) a study of contemporary curriculum theory as reflected in general curriculum texts in order to determine how conditions of culture are treated as a source of curriculum planning, (2) an analysis of influential writing in the field of American culture to identify "cultural affirmations," or pervasive themes or conditions of culture, (3) an explication of how the identified affirmations can be used to derive criteria for curriculum design and content selection.

Five textbooks dealing with curriculum development in general are analyzed to determine the position of the authors in regard to the following areas: (a) culture and culture change, (b) condition of contemporary American culture, (c) relation of the culture to the curriculum, (d) induction of cultural elements into the curriculum. The textbooks were selected on the basis of their actual or estimated potential influence. The selection was made in consultation with the following curriculum specialists who are Professors of the
The analysis of social criticism used in this research is based on several factors. A modification of content analysis is used. The literature of the curriculum experts is surveyed and categorical statements related to the use of culture as a source of curriculum design and content selection are extracted. Secondly, a survey of critical literature related to cultural analysis is done and certain types of propositions (referred herein as cultural affirmations) related to American culture are extracted.
Cultural analysis becomes difficult as attention is turned to more industrial and complex societies. In order to make such an effort manageable, Opler suggests that:

In every culture are found a limited number of dynamic affirmations called themes, which control behavior or stimulate activity. The activities, the prohibition of activities or references which result from the acceptance of a theme are its expressions.1

The substance of these cultural affirmations in this study are derived according to the following definition:

Culture can be regarded as consisting of three types of elements: values, beliefs and norms...Values are ideas concerning the desirable, the beautiful, and the morally right. They define for the members of a culture what is worthwhile and what is not...(they) are not provable by scientific means...Beliefs and ideas concerning fact as such are distinguished from values by the possibilities of testing them...Norms are cultural rules that guide behavior within the society...Any statement that can be expressed as a commandment, either positive or negative, will exemplify a norm.2

Some regard culture as "...the total way of life of a people, the social legacy the individual acquires from the group."3 Tools and hardware of all types would be included

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by this definition. However, less confusion results in terms of this study if these are considered as products of the culture. Culture can be thought of singly as abstractions from behavior rather than conceptions which attempt to harmonize the abstractions with material objects.

The substance of the cultural affirmations are identified in the form of general propositions. The subject of the proposition is in full extension and in that sense will be regarded as total (substantive Sap propositions). The propositions will be considered as total if asserted as a modal necessity (modal Sap propositions). If the propositions relate cultural norms, they may be asserted negatively (modal SeP propositions). The truth or falsity of the proposition can be derived from an analysis of its terms without an investigation of all the facts (the distinction made between general and empirical propositions).¹

In a general sense the research has an historical bias in that the works selected for analysis were drawn from the bibliographies of cultural literature included in the five curriculum textbooks which were surveyed. The intent was to generally keep within the range of literature available to

the textbook authors. This is the reason that most of the literature selected was published during the nineteen-forties and fifties. The books analyzed for the type of propositions previously described are the following:


Organization of the Research

In general this study relates to the five areas which were examined in the analysis of the five textbooks written by the curriculum experts. That concerns (a) the nature of culture and culture change, (b) American culture, (c) culture and the curriculum, and (d) incorporation of the cultural elements into the curriculum. Chapter Two concerns the views of the curriculum experts on these areas. Chapter Three is an analysis of society as viewed primarily by social analysts rather than educators. In this chapter the substance of the propositions drawn from the literature of the social analysts is presented in textual form. The propositions are included in the Appendix. A form of coding is used in the second chapter to link the ideas presented in the text to the specific propositions. The propositions are numbered consecutively in the Appendix. After each footnote in Chapter Three, a number is included in parentheses. The number refers to a proposition in the Appendix. Chapter Four concerns an interpretation of the analysis of culture by the critics in terms of what it reveals about the function of culture and how that relates to curriculum design and con-
tent selection. Chapter Five is primarily a summation of the study with conclusions and implications concerning teacher training and the desirability for further research connected with this problem.

The principal limitation of this research lies with the restricted amount of literature which is surveyed for the extracting of "cultural affirmations." First, the literature is restricted to pertinent material cited in the bibliographies of the works written by the curriculum experts, which in itself was rather limited in terms of the extent to which culture and conditions of society were treated by those authors. Only critical material limited to the bibliographies of the experts is included in order to determine whether significantly different conclusions will be reached by using roughly the same material but employing a technique for sampling statements. Secondly, not all of the literature in all of the bibliographies is used due to the lack of availability of some material and the fact that a portion of the works cited were obviously not employed in the texts. In addition, some material is eliminated on the basis of redundancy. However, all of the important topics covered by the experts, and more for that matter, are treated by the literature which is incorporated in this study. The conclusions reached in this research are based on hypothetical rather than empirical evidence. It is not within the scope
of this research to construct and test instruments which would empirically validate the hypothetical conceptions generated. This is another limitation of the study.
CHAPTER TWO

THE USE OF CULTURE AS A SOURCE IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Analysis of Fundamentals of Curriculum Development

Conception of Culture

In the text, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development, the authors define culture as "...the fabric of ideas, ideals, beliefs, skills, tools, aesthetic objects, methods of thinking, customs and institutions into which each member of society is born." Borrowing heavily from Ralph Linton, the authors see three elements as composing the structure of culture. The universals are all those cultural factors which are commonly accepted by members of a particular society. In every society there are activities which are germane to portions of the population, such as vocational skills, that are known as specialties. The third category of structural elements are the alternatives. These are

methods, procedures, modes of thinking, etc., which are not particular to any group within a society, nor are they generally accepted by the society at large. The alternatives include those cultural factors about which individuals can exercise a measure of choice. Culture, then, is composed of two major portions: the relatively stable cultural core consisting of universals and specialties, and the alternatives representing inconsistent and unintegrated cultural elements.

The general nature of a culture is molded by the core. The cultural core is the foundation for the particular kinds of institutions and political and economic habits that characterize a society. It is composed of "...the fundamental rules, knowledges, and skills by which the people conduct themselves."¹ The core provides a measure of stability and security for individuals. The bases of self-orientation to the present and future reside in the core, for it provides the rules and appropriate skills which constitute patterns of behavior related to success and survival. These patterns of behavior relate to activities in such areas as industry, military service, family life and athletics. Society is "...comparable to an alliance of games, all of which are being played simultaneously, with what is being done in one

¹Ibid., p. 8.
game influencing in more or less degree what is going on in all the others."¹ Because the influence of the cultural core permeates the activities of the members of society, it is of most importance in giving a society tradition and continuity. In short, the cultural core composes the "...elements from which society draws its stability and vitality. They underlie all social institutions and constitute the bases of moral and social judgment."²

The elements of the cultural core which are most important are the rules which govern patterns of behavior. These rules are referred to as values. The values of society consist of those generalized norms which are so much a part of a society's members that many are unaware of their presence. However, the value system constitutes the framework of society which integrates its institutions. The generalized concept of discipline may be taken as an example of one of these values. It connotes a pre-disposition to play the game as expected, to make one's behavior conform to the expectations emanating from his position. A society's value system serves the following functions when internalized in the minds of its members:

1. The value system provides the individual with a sense of direction and purpose.

¹Ibid., p. 62.
²Ibid., p. 8.
2. It provides a common orientation and is the basis for individual and collectivized action.

3. The value system serves as criteria for individual and group behavior.

4. It serves a predictive function. Individuals know what to expect from others in terms of the dictates of the situation and the nature of their own behavior.

5. The value system serves a moral function. It serves as criteria for judging what is desirable and that which is not.¹

The degree of efficiency to which a value system can serve the above functions depends on the compatibility of the rules.

Cultural change is related to the culture core and the cultural alternatives. The alternatives are not imbedded in the culture as are the specialties and the universals. Alternatives are elements induced in the culture which may be either choices to accepted ways or entirely new procedures or techniques. Alternatives compete with elements in the core and their general acceptance means that a modification of relationships between core elements will need to take place. Cultural alternatives tend to be disruptive of established patterns. However, when the number of competing alternatives are low or lacking intensity, the relatively undisturbed core will insure a relatively high degree of stability. On the other hand, an increase in alternatives

¹Ibid., p. 61.
in relation to the core elements will cause change or will increase pressure for it. As change, the acceptance of alternatives, takes place at a relatively high rate, the need for a re-integration of culture becomes necessary if societal disorganization is not to take place. During such a period of cultural transformation, there will be a great deal of confusion among the people relating to proper goals, accepted beliefs, and correct behavior. Such a period will be marked with conflict.

Condition of Contemporary American Culture

Smith, Stanley and Shores deal with contemporary culture by making a topical examination and then by drawing from that what appear to be the crucial elements. A number of propositions have been drawn from their analysis and are included in this section. The authors of *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* state that science and technology have changed America from an agricultural to an industrial society and have disturbed traditional American life "by creating new areas of employment, revolutionizing urban centers and eliminating close human relationships."¹ Increased specialization of labor has led to an atomization of knowledge and relationships, yet this has created in-

¹Ibid., pp. 25-26.
creased independence, for all rely upon the fulfillment of tasks by specialists.¹ Nevertheless, technological innovations, coupled with specialization, have so fragmented the experience of the individual that he has an atomized picture of society.² Technological developments in industry highlight the tension between obsolescence and development, which results in the elimination of some established industries on one hand, and the creation of new ones on the other.³

The intimate relationships of rural life have been replaced by the impersonalization of large urban centers, resulting in the disintegration of primary relationships which are at the root of general social disorganization within the cities.⁴ In addition, the modern urban family is divergent in its development, with the result that the chief congealing force is related to pressures from economic need, rather than the sharing of common values, experiences, and points-of-view.⁵ The consequence has been a reduction of the capacity of the family to build a common societal outlook. While

¹Ibid., pp. 27-28.
²Ibid., pp. 31-34.
³Ibid., pp. 49-52.
⁴Ibid., pp. 30-31.
⁵Ibid., pp. 45-47.
the cohesiveness of the family has declined, other social factors have developed which are also contributing widespread changes. Social action, for example, is primarily attained by powerful occupational groups which have no structural representation in national, state or local government and, hence, are not directly responsible to the public-at-large.\(^1\) In addition, social class and caste systems exist in America which will continue to foster social disunity as their influence continues to grow.\(^2\)

Most important in this analysis of culture is that many of the conditions mentioned are seen as an assault upon the traditional American value system. The impersonalized life of the urban center makes it difficult for the average city dweller to relate to his neighbor and such fundamental concepts as honesty and fair-play are lost to him. The effect of specialization has been to weaken the individual's sense of social direction with resulting intellectual and social confusion. Each individual is insensitive to the "vast social drama" in which he unwittingly plays a part. Cultural mobility, which in part is attributed to the technological revolution, is seen as a factor which weans an individual from his value system. As individuals move from one social

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 34-38.  
\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 40-45
class to another, they are faced with a variety of different norms to which they are expected to conform. Much of this adjustment is often incomplete and leads to a mixture of standards which are confusing to individuals. The very rapidity with which changes are made causes confusion for Americans who have not concentrated upon methods that would make value-reasoning effective. Instead, choice-making is lift "...to the unconscious processes of automatic adjust-
ment."  

The American value system is seen to be in an anemic condition due to several other factors. First, the value system is seen to consist of a "...mosaic of pieces borrowed from all the phases, social classes, and occupational interests of Western history." 2 This has resulted in a number of contradictory values or rules which govern American life. Here the authors borrow heavily from Robert and Helen Lynd as they employ a number of apparent cultural contradictions that were formulated by the sociologists. For example, a man is not entitled to that for which he hasn't worked, for that is demoralizing; however, it is immoral to let a man starve. 3 It is possible for American society to exist while

1Ibid., p. 75.
2Ibid., p. 64.
3Ibid., p. 66.
faced with these contradictions because they are compartmentalized, and individuals are not aware of their inconsistency. In addition, many of the values, such as the equality of man, function at a general level, and the public finds them ambiguous when applied to specifics.

The confusion rampant in the American value system has several deleterious effects. An individual can use such a disorganized value system as a criterion to justify a wide range of contradictory behavior. Secondly, society is weakened without a commonly agreed upon set of rules which define truth, honesty, decency and in general, provide a common world view. Specifically, as interpretations of values increase, the cultural core decreases and this, consequently, makes agreement on social issues more difficult. In addition, the confusions within the value system adversely affect personality. The fact that the rules of almost every aspect of American culture are changing results in wide-spread anxiety and maladjustment.

A central core of working principles still exists in the United States "...although the American value system has been rapidly eroding under the swirling forces of social change..."¹ This is embodied in a set of ideals that has

¹Ibid., p. 76.
its origin in commonly accepted beliefs held by the people. Smith, Stanley and Shores feel that these are well articulated in another work from which they quote at length. The central propositions are included below:

1. We hold that all human beings are of supreme and equal moral worth, that human life and well-being are to be valued above all material things, and that the dignity and worth of each person should be equally respected at all times and in all ways...

2. We believe that human beings should be the architects of their own destiny, that they have the capacity to govern themselves wisely, and that the distribution of this capacity does not follow the contours of caste, class, family, ecclesiastical, or property lines...

3. We have faith in human intelligence. We believe that by taking thought man can build a better world. Consequently, we assert that human well-being can best be advanced only if there is an unrestricted play of free intelligence upon all problems and difficulties...

4. We believe in the rule of law, in a written Constitution which brings government and public officials as well as all other persons under the rule of law...

5. We believe in the principle of majority rule with minority protection, that the will of the majority should prevail at any given moment...but that except for the minimum violation necessary to induce a test case in the courts, all minorities are obligated to abide by the will of the majority even while they work to change it.

6. Within our own country, we are determined that there shall be freedom for peaceful social change, and insist upon the peaceful settlement under law of all internal disputes...
7. We assert the individual's right of freedom in all respects not injurious to the common good. ¹

The authors note that these principles may need to be changed or even abandoned as new conditions require, but they assert that these principles contain the highest moral ideals in terms of which social conditions, institutions, and public policies can be judged.

The authors make a number of observations in terms of present cultural trends which they feel are warranted. The central propositions are listed below.

1. Interdependence due to the changing structural foundations of society is increasing. It results from increasing specialization rather than a desire for co-operation.

2. Positions within the society's hierarchy are becoming more and more dependent upon formal education as a prerequisite.

3. There is a distinct trend to manipulate social processes rather than to depend upon the functioning of "natural law."

4. Distribution of wealth, at least to the degree of minimal satisfaction, is becoming of increasing concern. If some are materially deprived, all suffer.

5. Minority groups are increasingly impatient and seek to assert their ideological rights through legal, intellectual and military means.

6. There is evidence to show that the world will make increasingly successful attempts to maintain itself without resort to war.

7. The technological conditions dictate that value systems of the democratic world are in a stage of thorough reconstruction.

8. New social and psychological realities are requiring a transformation of patterns of behavior which have been transmitted from older cultural phases.

The authors conclude their analysis with a strong re-emphasis on the notion that the structural foundations of this industrial society are being transformed.

Relation of Social Analysis to Curriculum Content and Design

The school curriculum is referred to as "A sequence of potential experiences set upon in the school for the purpose of disciplining children and youth in group ways of thinking"
and acting."¹ The particular ways of thinking and acting in which children will be educated are reflected in the culture. The broad design pattern or schema of the curriculum will conform to the structure of culture as previously defined. Common education (general education, or those studies that are required of all) will be based upon the cultural universals and those elements of the specialties of general concern. Common education is concerned with the problem of maintaining the society as a closely knit and well-integrated unit.² Consequently, general education should concentrate on the fundamental universals relating to values, skills, and behavioral patterns that characterize a society and give it continuity. Special education (education which is particular to certain individuals or groups) will be based primarily upon the cultural specialties. A curriculum is to be judged as desirable in terms of whether "...it reflects a consistent cultural view or attempts to achieve a mutual adjustment of cultural elements in terms of a common orientation."³ The inadequate curriculum, on the other hand, stresses values, attitudes, and skills no longer called for by the "social realities."

¹Ibid., p. 5.
²Ibid., p. 9.
³Ibid., p. 21.
The increase in cultural alternatives in American society has so disturbed cultural patterns that a re-integration is necessary. It is education's task to facilitate such a condition. The task set for curriculum developers is to design a program which will help create the following:

1. Common social goals, which lend meaning to individual efforts and achievement.

2. A new frame of acceptance—an adequate social and moral orientation.

3. A new conception of human nature based upon modern psychological and sociological knowledge and embracing new insights into personal and social actions and accomplishments.

4. New patterns of thinking, wherein a number of social variables in politics, economics, and the like, are kept in the picture in the process of reaching conclusions about social policies and actions.

5. New methods and techniques of dealing with social conflicts that will release creative energy rather than give rise to repressive measures.¹

It is important to note that the interdependence of society has created a condition where the compartmentalization of social thought and action is no longer tolerable. Goals can no longer be considered isolated. Individuals must consider the ends they wish to attain, not only as individuals but as people. It has been a common assumption in education that social change could take place by changing

¹Ibid., p. 95.
individuals and sending them forth; their collective but independent efforts would make the alterations necessary. The prime weakness in this conception is that it fails to consider the effects of "lingering cultural patterns" upon the individual. It would be dangerous to the stability of a character to change it to accept new norms, and then send him forth into a society which would tend to reject them. It is evident, then, in a period of cultural transition that "...the educational program must be extended into the community so as to help create the social patterns necessary to sustain the new personalities."¹

Commitment of the school program to one of "social development" postulates a set of social goals. In the United States it is the democratic ideal which should constitute the social goals. Application of the social development approach would dictate the selection of content which would lead to understandings and skills which would best promise to make those ideals operable. The materials chosen to facilitate the social development approach are best selected through the "judgmental procedure."² In effect, this consists of selecting those particular democratic ideals to

¹Ibid., p. 104.
²Ibid., p. 154.
which the program ought to be committed. In view of a lucid understanding of social, political and economic conditions, a further judgment is made as to whether specific cultural information or content will contribute to the realization of those ideals or purposes. It is noted that the successful use of this information demands judicious workers. "In the hands of such persons it can be one of the most dependable methods of content selection. But the curriculum worker cannot neglect any of its phases without the risk of serious misjudgment."¹

Critical Analysis

The curricular conceptions of the authors are logically derived from a well-defined concept of culture. The preservation and development of the cultural core provides a central purpose of education. The role of general education in the public schools is to foster the re-integration of the core. That can be done by using the "American Creed" as a model to select common experiences by use of the "judgmental procedure." These conceptions are useful in the sense that they provide broad guidelines for curriculum design. The curriculum divides itself into a pattern of experience of general education and another area which can presumably be used to provide specialized experiences for students accord-

¹Ibid., p. 156.
ing to their needs. The suggestion that a procedure needs to be used in selecting experiences is also helpful. While the "judgmental procedure" is not well defined, it does suggest that content selection proceed on some basis other than the personal inclination of those making the choices. A weakness exists in terms of using the "American Creed" as a standard of content selection. The authors note that perhaps life is not the way the "creed" dictates, but it does set a desirable standard of behavior. Perhaps, but a difficult problem is posed with an a priori pronouncement of what ought to be and then an a posteriori analysis of culture. As noted, trends in the culture are seen as an assault upon the a priori description of American values. What appears to be a relatively dispassionate analysis of culture, then, is used to support the a priori assumptions of American values. An alternate use of the analysis would be to test the assumptions concerning the values of society. Once values that were deemed important but found not to be operational were determined, then the program could be designed to strengthen those values. That, however, is an educational decision of import that needs to be made explicit if the conjunction between social scientific analysis of society and the related purposes of education are to be made clear. The authors made the educational decision that education ought to integrate values, but were not able to follow that to the logical end; that is, to determine the values to be taught
and design a program to do it. Perhaps, they saw a problem in tensions between indoctrinational and educational programs. Nevertheless, education is prescriptive, and if a program is to have a generalized and recognizable purpose, its prescription will need to be explicit. There is an advantage in this—that unmasked proposals can be evaluated on their merits and added to the list of educational alternatives.

Another disadvantage can be found to the use of an a priori set of American values used as criteria for program development. If such a set of values implies a reality which is far from that which exists, then applied as criteria for curriculum planning, dissonance and dysfunctions will be built into the program. For example, if it is assumed that it is a common understanding that people are of equal worth, and that if this is not the case, then any program designed on that premise will find itself in difficulty. Conflict concerning curricular organization need not be considered a dysfunction in itself. However, if there is no provision for handling the conflict, then that condition might be considered dysfunctional.
Analysis of *Curriculum Planning for Modern Schools*

Conception of Culture

In the textbook, *Curriculum Planning for Modern Schools* by J. Galen Saylor and William M. Alexander, the term culture is referred to in a number of instances; however, it is not specifically defined by the authors. They are closest to a definition with the thought that society has certain "ends-in-view" for the educational development of the individual which include:

...the transmission of the culture and its values, ideals, traditions, aspirations, and modes of behavior so that not only will these unique characteristics of a social group as well as the integrity of the society itself be perpetuated, but the conditions of the life of the group improved.¹

This statement is rather ambiguous in relation to the word culture as such. Nevertheless, the school is assumed to be responsible for the perpetuation of the conditions "of the life of the social group" and also for their improvement. However, "...the whole structure and character of the educational program of the school will be determined by the dominant social forces at work in a society at any time."²

²Ibid.
In a section entitled "The Cultural Basis of the Curriculum" the authors forcefully advance the concept that the school is controlled by the nature of society to a great extent. They note that teachers who don't support the prevalent value system won't remain long in a position of responsibility. Hence, the school and its personnel will inculcate the values and traditions of the society-at-large. The school then needs to be cognizant of the fact that culture shapes the personality development of students and determines their educational needs. The relative importance of these skills and understandings which students are to possess are determined culturally. That which gives meaning to the student's learning experiences, therefore, is socially determined. The role of the teacher in transmitting knowledge is to "...know the relative importance of knowledge in today's society so that proper selection may be made from among all knowledge in existence." Specifically, the authors list eight functions of the schools. While four of these deal with the development of individual potentialities and talents, the remainder deal with the function of the school in relation to the culture. In this connection, the school is assigned the following tasks:

a. Transmission of the cultural heritage: to teach pupils the basic elements of the accumulated knowledge of the race.

1Ibid., p. 86.
b. Discovery and systemization of knowledge: to guide pupils in the process of discovering knowledge and to assist them in organizing knowledge into suitable structures, principles and generalizations.

c. Inculcation of values, beliefs and ideals of the social group: to provide educational experiences that give pupils an understanding of the values, mores, and traditions of the society, and that will ensure adherence to these values in behavior.

d. Preparation for adulthood: To provide learning experiences that will enable the individual when he assumes an adult role in society to be economically self-supportive, socially dependable, politically insightful, and morally self-directive.

Finally, the authors note that "...the basic, all pervasive aim of the school is the fullest possible development in socially approved directions of each individual."  

The schools follow the aim of society; when that aim changes, the schools change. According to this view there is little that the schools can do to instigate cultural change. Yet, while the schools follow the lead of society, they can fulfill a supportive role in regard to cultural change. Even though the culture dictates broad patterns of behavior there is a great deal of leeway for individual behavior within the patterns. There is much room for discretion within many social patterns. The curriculum planner

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1Ibid., p. 127.
2Ibid., p. 143
will need to determine those areas where discretionary behavior is acceptable and plan accordingly; that is, to guide the child in the choice of alternative patterns of behavior in which discretion is permitted. The school can facilitate changing patterns in society by clarifying the application of certain potentials. For example, the concept of the equality of man is changing and being extended in society. The school can assist in this cultural trend by clarifying the meaning of the concept and the implications of its extension.

The authors note that there are several tensions that arise as the school pursues its purpose. These seem to focus around the conjunction between the interpretation of "socially approved directions" and their translation into an educational program. One of the tensions exists over the question of who controls the schools. The authors note that the schools have considerable ground in interpreting and conceiving policy that is independent of society-at-large. True, the schools have to work within a legal framework, but the type of control that society has over the schools is a very gross one. It can react to school policy in positive manners only in general ways such as school board elections, bond levies, and issues subject to the direct vote of the people. Society can also react in terms of a general and pervasive criticism which is generally not
effective in determining specific school policy. Another tension centering around the relationship of school and the community concerns the effect of social class on program determination. The authors' indirection suggest that conflict arises in the community because schools react more strongly to sub-cultural concerns of one social class over another.

Condition of Contemporary American Culture

The authors present a limited discussion on a number of cultural topics in order to seek trends because of the central importance of the condition of society in relation to the development of the school program. The following summarize their discussion.

1. The population of the United States and the world will continue to expand at a geometric rate with implications for the provision of new facilities, improvement of international understanding, and the treatment of population problems in the school curriculum.¹

2. The knowledge explosion has resulted in a number of changes which will continue to have a revolutionary effect upon society. Education will need to develop

¹Ibid., pp. 104-106.
the rate of technological change. In addition, educators are presented with a problem of proper content selection which is related to the proliferation of knowledge.  

3. Specialization is pervading society and leading the rapid growth of bureaucracy and an accompanying "power elite." The school needs to help students to identify their potentialities and select a proper educational program that will lead them to become specialists. In addition, more effective programs in citizen education are required.  

4. The tremendous development of urban centers has resulted in marked differentiation in social, political, and economic life in metropolitan areas. The resultant problems are class conflict, center-city decay, and marked variation in the quality of education. Urban problems raise questions concerning the proper system for educational administration.  

5. Among the marked technological changes is the communi-

\[1\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 106-108.}\]
\[2\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 108-109.}\]
\[3\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 109-111.}\]
cation "explosion." A number of techniques have been invented which affect people of the world in many ways. Schools should make full use of communicative devices.¹

6. The great changes in international relations brought about by such tensions as the cold war, problems initiated by emerging nations, new economic relations, and the "thermonuclear club," make it necessary that American children be aware of the world problems and that they be educated for leadership roles which foster "...peace throughout the world."²

7. Automation and other technological developments have and will continue to affect patterns of employment by making some areas of work obsolescent, creating entirely new ones, and changing the character and requirements of areas otherwise unaffected. In the light of such conditions, if the school is to fulfill its responsibilities of preparing students for adult life, it should make the education relevant, provide adequate counseling services and programs of continuing education.³

¹Ibid., p. 111.
²Ibid., p. 112.
³Ibid., pp. 114-117.
8. Alienation as a cultural phenomenon is prevalent in our society manifesting itself in the estrangement of self from society. Alienation is demonstrated by the growth of such isolated societies as the "hippies," and the evolution of the "corporation man." In dealing with the negative effects of alienation, the schools can seek to cultivate in each student a deeper significance of life. The schools need to develop the students' values and purposes as well as to contribute to their self-actualization and self-realization. Schools also need to avoid the aggravation of estrangement through school practices and policies.¹

Induction of Cultural Elements
Into the School Curriculum

The authors state that there are two prime sources of school aims: one deals with a deductive approach based on a priori assumptions of the ultimate good, and the other is based upon a naturalistic consideration of man. The deductive approach is fraught with such problems as validating concepts stated as constituting the good life for twentieth century man and failure to specify those school experiences that would lead to the good life. The naturalistic approach deals with the conditions of man as the determining element

¹Ibid., p. 118.
for selection of school experiences. Several categories are specified in connection with this approach: empirical evidence regarding man's fulfillment, analysis of people's activities, characteristics of learners, and social demand. There is empirical evidence dealing with the kinds of activities man engages in and those activities which contribute to his self-realization. In addition, there is much knowledge in regard to needs and interests of students and their learning characteristics. These may be used as sources in the determination of aims as well as social demands. The authors state that:

The source of social demands as a basis for curriculum planning is obviously the categories of social behavior in which the great majority of the members of the society engage in public social interaction.¹

Studies of sociologists and cultural anthropologists are useful in determining the social demands; however, "...almost anyone who comments on the state of society today provides clues to educational aims derived from social demands."²

Saylor and Alexander note that there are a number of weaknesses in using social demands as a source of content

¹Ibid., p. 130.
²Ibid.
and design. They state that this approach is fundamentally conservative. Social trends which are identifiable are used to support the status quo rather than change. Further inadequacies are related to decision making. Which of the demands are to be met, and who makes the choice? Which behaviors should constitute the subject matter of the curriculum? No criteria are suggested by which these questions can be answered. Comparing it with other approaches such as the deductive method, sheds little light on the comparative effectiveness of the social demands procedure. In fact, the authors state that:

In practice, the curriculum planner utilizes a number, or even all, of these sources in the determination of the aims which should guide the selection and development of learning experiences in the school. And this is as it should be, for each of them has validity as one of the bases for defining the goals of the school. The great issue, however, is the way in which and the extent to which each of these sources is used in the definition of the outcomes to be sought.1

No mention is made as to how the "great issue" could be approached.

Critical Analysis

The authors state that society has certain "ends-in-view" in terms of the role of the school. It is assumed that the role of the school is to support these ends. It

1Ibid., p. 136.
is also inferred that change presents no problem, for when
the society changes, the school will change. Included in
these statements appear to be the assumption that the ends
of society are clear and that the school changes with
society in some kind of symbiotic relationship. However,
later in their discussion the authors note that it is quite
difficult to discover at specific levels just what society
does expect from the school and that some of the significant
tensions that develop are just over this very issue. This
seems to negate the general premise that the society has
ends which are truly in view to curriculum designers. The
authors seem to further confuse their position by saying
that one of the problems with the social demands approach is
that it is fundamentally conservative, yet it is a conserva-
tive approach that they suggest when they note that the
purpose of the school is to support the society’s ends-in-
view. The failure to clearly identify culture undoubtedly
contributed to the confused treatment.

Analysis of Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice

Conception of Culture

Hilda Taba, in Curriculum Development: Theory and Prac-
tice, defines culture as a complex of components which form
a design pattern in which are involved feelings, norms,
material development, manners, morals, and the like.\(^1\) Taba's concept of culture emphasizes the effect of the human environment on man. Man views his world, and acts upon it, through the symbolic processes provided him by his culture. The culture is a potent factor in the development of personality. A mature character is the result of the interaction of that particular constitution with the cultural milieu. Culture is transmitted socially and functions at several levels of generalities. In a complex society such as that of America there are few common traits, for it is composed of a number of sub-cultures that are formed on a religious, class, or ethnic basis. The majority of communities in the United States are similar only in the sense that they represent a number of sub-cultures which are inter-related or functionally integrated to one degree or another. When this confederation of cultural patterns begins to disintegrate, socialization is obstructed with results to individual behavior that range from various forms of neurosis to psychosis. On a collective basis, obstructed socialization results in behavior that ranges from local group conflicts to riots and insurrection.

Taba views culture as an organic whole. Changes in one

part of the system will induce changes in other areas. Complex industrial societies are inducing technological change elements into the culture at such a rapid rate, that the social institutions are unable to incorporate the impact into the general cultural pattern. The areas at which this cultural lag are most pronounced are the foci for tensions and disorganization. Rapid cultural change causes difficulties in the natural transmission of the cultural heritage for the processes of acculturation are in a continual state of flux. Yet, individuals must learn to adapt to the changing cultural conditions or become unproductive. This is made more difficult, for as the culture changes in general so does the specific role of the major cultural patterns such as those relating to family life, peer group influence, and mass media. This rapid apparently controlled cultural change will insure that the next generation will exist in a culture that is substantially different from the present one.

Taba singles out several areas of the culture which she feels are significant in terms of defining society and determining educational program. The fundamental points of view are represented in the following propositions.

1. The cultural impact of increasing technological change is becoming so unpredictable and uncontrollable that technological progress can no longer be equated with
social progress.¹ The resulting disorganization has created confusion and conflict in values and beliefs which has resulted in anxiety and alienation and "normlessness" being reflected in the American social character.²

2. Other-directedness (the process of responding to signals from others in such a way that they become externally imposed motivating forces) is fast becoming a national characteristic which can be destructive if the reading of the signals is inconsistent with the democratic view and fundamental human values.³

3. The strong pressures in American society toward over-adjustment stress the natural dichotomy between such individualistic traits as inventiveness and creativity, and the need for conformity in society.⁴

4. Cultures have no mechanism for developing cross-cultural sensitivity, hence, as technology makes nations more interdependent in terms of their sub-cultures and each other, the prospects for productive human

¹Ibid., pp. 34-36.  
²Ibid., pp. 57-58.  
³Ibid., pp. 62-64.  
⁴Ibid.
relations becomes less promising.¹

The Relationship of the Culture to the Curriculum

Since the school is a societal institution, it cannot help escaping a deep relation to the culture. It performs general functions regardless of the specific nature of the school program. In an advanced society the school is the prime social force in the emancipation of the child from its primary attachment to the family. In addition, the school is a prime mover in aiding the child to internalize a level of social values, and it also acts as an agent to select, train and allocate human material for the adult role system. In general, the expectation has been that the school will inculcate such core values as the worth of the individual, self-determination and the like. As profound social changes have taken place in this country, the school has assumed more and more of the functions of the primary socializing agents. Even though this has been a tacit re-assignment of functions, it anticipates that the school will be more than the transmitter of knowledge and skills.

Apparently, Taba's position, although she recognizes others, is that the school should become a countervailing force to the adverse aspects of the culture. In other

¹Ibid., p. 73.
words, what the schools have done implicitly, in the way of teaching positive values, they should do explicitly. This positive stance would relate to some of the older core values as well as the ones that are needed by the nature of our rapidly changing society. Referring to her analysis of culture, she makes a number of suggestions in regard to the proper aims of the school curriculum. Taba noted that one of the constants of the present society is cultural change. The developing individual will be confronted with a number of situations which are strange to our present way of life. Traditional aspects of culture will not enable him to cope with many of the new aspects of the changing society. Consequently, he must be able to deal positively with change, not only in act, but also in thought. The task of the educator is to help individuals recognize the novel elements in situations and to react toward them intelligently. One alteration that this stance would make in curriculum content would be a shift in the manner in which knowledge is treated in the traditional schools. Taba notes that there is a strong tendency to treat societal problems in terms of "historic reductivism," that is, treating phenomena "...by reducing them to the source from which they emerge." While this approach may be somewhat illuminating, it is not adequate to understand the role of institutions and social

1Ibid., p. 43.
forces in today's society, not to mention being unable to give sufficient insight to predict their future consequences. In addition, the American school regards the student as one who is to acquire knowledge passively. Serious doubts are raised concerning the adequacy of "receptive learning" for future decision making. The premise that Taba would use in challenging the passive stance concerns the demands of a changing culture for people who can actively interpret and act upon knowledge for the solution of pressing problems.

Taba derives from her analysis of culture several specific principles relating to content and design. Cultural lag is seen as a problem to which educators can respond. Education needs to look at the psychological consequence of contradictory demands and expectations and make provision for dealing with them in the classroom. In addition, the school can analyze unrealistic goals fostered by society and presumably arrange content to reduce anxiety. In addition to reacting to these problems presented by the culture, the schools need to counteract the "inevitable parochialism" of patterns of socialization that enclose individuals within their sub-cultural backgrounds. In order to do this the schools need to develop a "cosmopolitan sensitivity" in students: that is, an ability to understand and react to others with sub-cultural differences. The schools today involve only a portion of the students actively in its crit-
ical activities, and this generally, is the group that least needs such involvement. This demonstrates the school's predisposition to certain values, a stand which will need to be abandoned if involvement of all is to be achieved.

Taba points to the tensions between individualism and conformity. The strong pressures inducing conformity need to be countered with instructional factors promoting individualism and creativity. These would include methods and procedures which would facilitate the development of an adequate self-concept and independent thinking. There is much in the schools of today which operates against the realization of these goals. Taba notes that "School programs are predicated on uniformity of content and of the mental systems required to master that content, and, therefore, enforce conformity in thinking in a great many ways."¹ One is cautioned that the pressures of conformity are not emanating directly from the individual behavior of teachers who demand docility, response to authority and lack appreciation of creativity. These positions are inherent in the design orientation of the curriculum. If the school is to counter the cultural pressures toward conformity, they need to be minimized through a re-design of the school curriculum. Such a design would facilitate the development of the "conceptual mastery" of one's

¹Ibid., p. 70.
environment. The other task is dealing with the development of students' adequate self-concept. The class bias of the school cannot help to stimulate inferiority feelings on the part of members of minority groups. Nevertheless, Taba mentions that the implementation of her suggestions are not enough, for the whole problem needs reconceptualization. She notes that:

Clearly a new model of a creative and autonomous individual is needed, one more appropriate for our age, and one who stands, not alone, but as an autonomous and creative unit in a group enterprise. Clearly, also, models are needed for integration of groups which leave life space for and permit constructive use of individuality and deviation.  

In her analysis of culture Taba pointed to the confusion of values in American society today. This is an area which is largely ignored by educators when considering curriculum content and design. Taba notes that not much is known about the explicit teaching of values nor the procedure for translating educational aims into instructional objectives. Enough thought needs to be given to these to minimize the value contradiction that exists in the American public school. Nevertheless, values can be taught and:

...the shape of the future depends more on the selection of values we pursue than on the further development of technology. Consequently, if educators can control the value patterns of

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1 Ibid., p. 64.
individuals, they can control the future of society.¹

The task, today at least, is to help students develop criteria for the selection of values rather than fostering the abilities of individuals to adjust to their culture as they find it.

Induction of Cultural Elements into the Curriculum

Taba notes that there are a number of sources which can be analyzed for knowledge about culture. These generally fall into categories dealing with empirical studies of man in his human environment and re-interpretations of basic democratic tenets. Even so, Taba remarks that "...an educator looking for direction in the literature of behavioral sciences finds no easy road to discovering the bearing of this knowledge on education and the conduct of the school."² She also notes that there is no "science of man" or no adequate description of culture at specific or general levels. Nevertheless, that which becomes available to the school does so through a "...slow seepage of knowledge from one discipline into another."³ Taba concludes that a special curriculum position is needed that will provide for

¹Ibid., p. 69.
²Ibid., p. 33.
³Ibid., p. 74.
the translation of findings in the social sciences into curriculum content and design.

Elements of the culture which are to be induced into the curriculum would be considered in the initial phase of program development. The analysis of the culture, the learner, knowledge, and democratic ideas form the basis for the determination of curriculum aims or objectives. The selection of learning experiences or content would be done with the objectives in view, but would be determined by conceptions concerning the nature of knowledge, learning, and the development of the learner. The selection of learning experiences would be further affected by requirements related to sequence and integration of learning experiences, the specific design selected, school organization, staff utilization, and evaluation procedures.

Critical Analysis

Taba defines culture as the human environment, an environment which as a number of reciprocal relationships. Changes in one are the results of changes in others. The technological society induces change elements at such a rapid rate that they are not able to be absorbed by society. The effects of this are disturbing to man who reacts in terms of alienation and passive subjection to the forces in society. The school is in an ideal position to prevail against the
adverse aspects of society's reaction to "uncontrollable" technological change. Cultural analysis reveals these adverse aspects which can be dealt with in terms of school program as its design orientation attempts to produce the "autonomous man."

There are certain aspects of Taba's conceptions which are disturbing. First, there is the veiled suggestion that the schools ought to control society, and this seems contradictory in terms of Taba's emphasis on democratic ideals. Perhaps of equal concern is the concept of the school countervailing against the adverse aspects of the culture. Criteria need to be established in order to determine when cultural elements are adverse in the long run. Taba suggests that studies and works of cultural anthropologists might shed some light, but she also cautions that there is much to be known about culture. It would appear that further conceptualization of the inter-relationship of cultural trends and how they affect society is needed before the "countervailing force concept" is considered as an adequate posture for the school. Taba does suggest that knowledge is needed regarding the nature of culture, value learning, ways of translating material from the social sciences into educational program, the autonomous man concept and so on. However, one cannot help doubting the practicability of such a rational model of curriculum development as she suggests.
without having the kind of information that she says is lacking.

*Analysis of Curriculum Principles and Social Trends*¹

Conditions of Contemporary Culture

The authors do not deal with the topic of culture as such. Instead, they treat cultural content by conceiving of education as a total process in which the school cooperates with other institutions and "agencies." These social entities are identified as the family, the church, the play group, economic agencies, non-commercial and commercial agencies and the federal government. Each of these is treated in turn as to its changing nature and consequent implications for the curriculum. The matter of societal change is regarded indirectly. It is noted that life is changing in our expanding technocracy with the consequent implications that technical changes produce new effects on customs and mores.

The nature of American culture is treated according to the various agencies previously noted with which the school must work. One of the prime agencies dealt with is the fam-

ily. Significant changes and conditions are noted in this institution particularly in regard to family mobility, size and stability. These changes are the result of several factors, one of which is the growing complexity of modern life. Rapid urbanization is another factor with the consequent complex style of living, diminishing privacy, and disruption of rural standards.

The church is an agency of prime concern with which the school needs to co-operate. The authors note the extensive development and influence of organized religion in the United States. The church's role in the instruction of "basic" morality or "right conduct" is of extreme importance. Most children come in contact with the precepts of the church at an early age. The teaching of the church in regard to ideas of God, morality, and spiritual rewards and punishments are usually accepted until the child approaches adolescence which is the time the young challenge everything. Contact with the social realities - poverty, needless suffering, and injustice - cause adolescents to be "especially troubled with the problem of church authority, concepts of God and conflicts between their traditional faith and social living standards."¹

¹Ibid., p. 62.
During adolescence the child is most likely to transfer his allegiance from the family, church and school to the "group of peers" or gang. The peer group demands loyalty of the adolescent as a part of an "unwritten code." The peer group's sense of unity becomes the source of conduct for each member as well as the motivation for the group itself. The life of the peer group often conflicts with other groups and organized agencies of authority.

Two societal groups which influence the school program are "significant economic agencies," and non-commercial community and social agencies. Significant economic agencies are related to the ever increasing federal legislation dealing with child employment. The problem of juvenile delinquency, which is increasing in society, is viewed primarily as an economic problem. Child welfare agencies which deal with delinquents operate from legislation that is corrective in nature rather than preventative. The negative approach of agencies in dealing with delinquency is stressed. Another characteristic of society is a myriad of community agencies which seek to influence the development of the child. These range from service clubs such as Rotary, to religious organizations.

Leisure-time activities influence the child and therefore have importance to the curriculum worker. These are
of a commercial and non-commercial nature. The commercial type centers around television, motion pictures, radio, comic strips, magazines, newspapers, and books. The motion picture has particular effect on the child, for he often learns more from it than he does at school. It is noted that all children read newspapers and magazines of some type. However, these are influenced by commercial interests and may be slanted in many ways and adversely affect the development of the children. In addition, there are a number of leisure-time commercial agencies ranging from scouting groups to activities sponsored by service groups.

Relation of Culture to the Curriculum

The authors derive a number of implications for school programs from the nature of the cultural agencies with which educators have contact. In the light of the changing nature of the family, the school can serve a supportive role. The school can attempt to understand the family and thereby more fully understand the motivation for a particular child's behavior. In addition, as the family structure weakens, it will have less effect upon helping the child adjust to the changing world. The school can play a supportive role by organizing course work around such a problem. For example, classes in such areas as homemaking, marriage, and family relationships would often be appropriate to support the family role. In the same vein, the school can be supportive
of the church as the child undergoes the period of religious questioning. In order to do this, the school needs to support a program that will reflect an understanding of "...the influence of the church on the child, and be prepared to help the child in those adjustments that relate to the church and its moral and ethic standards."  

As stated, the authors are concerned with the influence of economic agencies. Their interest is centered on not cluttering the labor market with unskilled youth. It is indicated that the school needs to co-operate in the vocational training of young people. It is inferred that the school should construct vocational training programs which have been approved by both labor and industry. The Diversified Occupations and Distributive Education programs are cited as examples. In addition, improved guidance facilities can help by showing the student:

...his responsibilities that accompany his freedoms, the rewards that will come to him from right conduct and the punishment that society eventually meets out to those who disregard or flout its customs and laws.  

One of the prime applications of the curriculum is to aid the student to make satisfactory adjustments to the sociological and economic factors that influence him. It

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1Ibid., p. 82.
2Ibid., p. 86.
is impossible for the school to help students make these necessary adjustments unless it understands the conditions and role of the family, church, gang and so forth. Specifically, the teacher "...must possess a good understanding of the various aspects of home and family life before he can assist his pupils to make satisfactory adjustments."¹ In addition to this, the teacher and presumably the school program should reflect a broad knowledge of religious beliefs and the mores of society. Also, the school must thoroughly understand the sociological and economic conditions that its pupils face. The school should also use the child's informal experiences as "points of departure" in developing curricular experiences.

The exact process of how cultural information is induced into curriculum design and content is not fully explicated. It is indicated that cultural beliefs, opinions, and concepts are assembled as a beginning phase in the process of curriculum development. As this information is processed, they result in plans, then when implemented cause certain kinds of behavior that is evaluated. The evaluation is fed back to the beginning phase, making changes in relation to opinions and beliefs, and the process begins anew.² It is

¹Ibid., p. 98.
²Ibid., p. 556.
noted further that sociological elements determine the conception of a curricular structure. However, this is not fully explained.

Critical Analysis

The authors use the term "sociological determinants of the school program" in many instances. They seem to equate this phrase with the various agencies with which the school deals. The idea of change, while recognized, is dealt with in a rather cursory manner. Apparently societal change is equated with technological change. In many instances, the analysis of the agencies is made in almost a common sense manner although the treatment of the effect of media is supported by studies. Reflected in the analysis of the agencies is a relatively static if not deterministic view. There is mention of an "unwritten code" which guides behavior, the deterministic effect of government on economic interests, and the control of the press by economic centers.

It is obvious that the authors see the role of the school as supporting society's institutions as they now exist. Change is seen as resulting from technological innovations over which the school has no control. The negative effects of these changes are to be counteracted by the school for the most part. For instance, as the family "weakens," the school can assume the family's older in-
structional functions. The family should also attempt to understand the school so it can better relate to it. Nothing is suggested in terms of a school program that would change the relationship between the school and the family. Along the same lines, the school is to support religion by helping the child to reconcile his doubts with the church and its ethics. No suggestion is made to the effect that the school should deal with values and ethical questions. In the matter of vocational education, the school is to support programs which are sanctioned by business and labor. There is no hint that the school be imaginatively drawn into creating vocational programs or even have a decision making role in the choice of design of program. Suggestions for the direction of guidance services also seem to be supportive of present conditions. There appears to be the assumption that as long as children know in which direction their rewards lie, they will intelligently trod that path.

The authors do not fully explain how the "sociological determinants" or cultural elements will be isolated nor do they show with any exactitude how they will be induced into the school program. Their methods seem typical in that they arbitrarily establish categories and then gather information concerning them. Their method for gathering information is rather vague. The bibliography reflects entries published as late as May, 1968. Yet, recent social changes relating
to class conflict and the effect of complex organizations on society are not reflected in the text. Explanations relating to procedure for convering or inducing cultural elements into the design of the curriculum are equally vague. A process model is mentioned where beliefs are fed into the planning stage, but there is no mention as to the actual procedure for doing this. In summary, the authors note the existence of cultural elements which affect the program. They mention these, but their choice seems to be based on a common sense approach rather than a systematic one. Generally, the relation of the school to cultural elements is a supportive one.

Analysis of New Priorities in the Curriculum

Cultural and Cultural Change

Corman does not deal with culture in the way that the preceding experts treated the material; that is, the nature of and condition of culture are not postulated and then treated as such. Nevertheless, she makes a number of scattered statements throughout the book which reflect a view of culture. Apparently, the curriculum planner needs to make a decision in regard to the static or dynamic nature of culture. If culture is viewed as static, then the function of the

Louise Berman, New Priorities in the Curriculum (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1968)
school is to support that relatively unchanging body of concepts and values. If culture is seen as ever changing and developing, another view of the role of the school is needed.

Berman sees the culture as dynamic. Life is becoming exceedingly complex, and it at least confronts certain groups of people with many anxieties and paradoxes. The confusion that results makes it less easy for the young to learn what the culture values. The question of valuing is a crucial one in a democracy where people have the freedom to choose. The element of choice is part of our society. It is an area in which people have more latitude as they mature. If abilities to choose are heightened resulting in a more effective life, perceptive abilities are also increased. However, freedom of choice cannot be effectively exercised when value confusions prevail. In addition, it is noted that "...man is a social being whose transactions with others change both him and the groups of which he is a part."¹

This notion of reciprocal response is carried further, not only in terms of communication, but in those dealing with individuals emotionally relating to each other and

¹Ibid., p. 55.
their environment. The fundamental idea that man is the prime actor pervades the book. Man affects his culture by functioning through a number of processes such as perceiving, knowing, communicating, loving, creating and valuing. If these human processes are facilitated, the pressure of temporal problems will be reduced.

Condition of Contemporary Culture

Although Berman does not directly address herself to an analysis of contemporary culture, comments are presented which have a bearing upon the subject and its relation to the school program. In addition to commenting that modern life is in a state of flux, there are specific conditions which are important. Man's natural physical limitations need no longer be considered as those with which he must live. For example, the discovery of "mind expanding" drugs make it possible, perhaps, to heighten perceptual awareness constructively, or to impair man's decision making processes. Nevertheless, man's ability to intervene in psychical powers is a condition with which he must deal in the future. Changing patterns of sexual relations are also a significant condition of modern society. The "pill" has emancipated woman from one of the principal fears of sexual relations, "...and men are being released from fear of displaying such feminine characteristics as sensitivity, tenderness, and
sorrow. In addition, the criticism is implicit that man has neglected himself, and there has not been enough emphasis on human processes. The fact that modern man has low perceptual levels, lacks ability to relate to one another, does not challenge his ethical system, and puts low priority upon creativity is one of the problems of the culture.

Relation of Culture to Curriculum
Content and Design

Berman states that one can view the culture as a static entity or as an emergent one in a state of constant change. If the second view is taken, it makes sense to have a process oriented school program which "...can provide the student with the skills for examining institutions such as the home, church, or family, and for knowing when to maintain stability and when to seek innovation within these institutions." In a process oriented program the focus is on a particular kind of man acting upon his culture rather than being a passive object of it. A process-oriented person is one who "...has within his personality elements of dynamism, motion, and responsibility which enable him to live as an adequate and a contributing member of the world of which he is a part." Specifically, the process-oriented persons are

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1 Ibid., p. 18.
2 Ibid., p. 189.
3 Ibid., p. 9.
those who are not having!

Their energies...dissipated into a variety of areas, rather they are channeled to promoting causes which are identified as worthwhile or to bringing about constructive changes within fields of knowledge, institutions or persons. In the attempt to be change agents, such persons have acquired judgmental skills and the capacity to resolve conflict both within themselves and the situations of which they are a part.1

This type of person operates in his culture utilizing a number of processes which are refined and operate at a heightened level. The job of the school is to provide experiences which sharpen the operation of these processes. For example, the major emphasis of the school in terms of communication skills should be that which deals with those aspects of "...communication which enable the psychological freedom to deal with one's inner life - ideas, feelings, and constructs. It will be upon developing modes of expression which indicate integrity and concern."2 An emotional relatedness to others somewhat akin to communication is another necessity for people today. Berman likens such a relatedness to loving or the process of co-responding. Completely satisfying human relationships are probably impossible, but the school can help "...the child catch glimpses of what loving, as co-responding, is."3

1Ibid., p. 10.
2Ibid., p. 59.
3Ibid., p. 77.
Other processes, such as that of knowing, are essential for the development of man in today's world. The school ought to educate the child to become a continuing learner. This relates to choosing what to be, to making valuations and positive decisions. The schools need to help the child to prize the moment, for its use makes the difference between a full life or a dull existence. In addition, consideration needs to be given to the morality of choices. This will give a purpose to action, a coherency which in many cases is not evident. In dealing with ethics and values, the child needs to become aware that conflict is inevitable. The schools need to "...help children adapt to conflict and subsequent guilt so that no matter where an ethical decision might lead, children and youth will not lose their enchantment with the ethical."¹

Berman seeks to induce into the school program the development of human processes by a progressive emphasis upon them. She notes that all the processes are complex, and a full development of her plan would concentrate on the inter-relatedness of the processes. However, initial steps would be involved in stressing the processes in the traditional school programs. This could be done by developing certain concepts relative to the processes which would be empha-

¹Ibid., p. 174.
sized at certain periods during the span of the educational program.

**Critical Analysis**

Berman changes the focus of the problem of the relation of the school to society by putting the prime emphasis on the refinement of human processes. It is man that is to act upon the culture using his unique qualities to make modifications as he sees fit. In doing so he will contribute more to the culture and himself than if he were cast in a passive role. Berman makes this decision early in the book without plying through the nature of culture. The remainder of her work deals with the nature of the processes by which man deals with the culture and the way that the school can treat them. Nevertheless, a number of problems are not dealt with in detail. As the author treats the vital processes, she avows that there is not much known about their nature and functioning. The essential questions of what knowledge is most valuable, or how one comes to know and the extent of knowledge still persist. While many might agree that valuing and ethical questions are vital, not many can agree upon the processes of value reasoning. In short, Berman points to activities the school ought to be engaged in, but little is said about how this can be facilitated.
General Analysis

Over all, the authors sampled addressed themselves to several general topics or categories. They are: culture and culture change, significant aspects of contemporary society, the relation of the school to culture and induction of cultural elements into the curriculum. A summation of their positions is presented in Tables 1-5. From Table 1 it can be seen that Smith et. al. presented a definite concept of culture which, incidentally, was conceived a priori. This concept provided a design structure, i.e. the general-special education categories which gave latitude yet provided coherence to their design proposals. Saylor and Alexander were vague concerning a definition of culture and much of their thoughts concerning the subject had to be inferred. Generally, their thoughts seemed to be that culture was largely deterministic, but there were areas of discretionary behavior. Although these areas were not explicated, they were thought to be the source of change. In essence this is similar to the concept of culture as composed of a core and alternatives. Taba presented a developed view of culture, cast it in general terms, emphasizing its functions. Her treatment provided a latitude in which proposals could be framed, but it did not give her proposals the consistency of those advanced by Smith, Stanley, and Shores. Gwynn and Chase did not define culture, but noted that technical changes produced effects in customs and mores. Their han-
TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF SMITH, STANLEY, AND SHORES' POSITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture and Culture Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Culture consists of:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. universals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. specialties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. alternatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Culture changes occur by the introduction of change. Rate of change is assessed by the number of alternatives introduced during a given period of time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition of Contemporary American Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Science and Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. industrialization as the context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. obsolescence and development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. rapid communication and transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Specialization of labor contributes a fragmentation of experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Urban centers contribute to fragmentation of family experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Social action is executed by occupational groups without structural representation in government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Social class and caste system is a source of severe problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Confusion in value system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. self-contradictory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. social mobility as a contributing factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. &quot;American Creed&quot; exists as an acceptable standard.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation of the Culture to the Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The culture core is the basis of general education. The cultural core is disintegrating; hence, the role of general education is to facilitate the re-integration of the core.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 1 - Continued

**Induction of Cultural Elements into the Curriculum**

1. The "American Creed" ought to be the standard of the aims of the school. The method for deducing the program that would facilitate the American ideal is the "judgmental procedure," which involves a prudent examination of a number of different kinds of materials.

### TABLE 2

**SUMMARY OF SAYLOR AND ALEXANDER'S POSITION**

#### Culture and Culture Change

1. Culture consists of values, beliefs, ideals, traditions aspirations, and modes of behavior. (inferred)

2. Culture is largely deterministic in nature, but there are many areas of discretionary behavior. These areas are the source of change. (inferred)

#### Condition of Contemporary American Culture

1. Population explosion
   a. creates a need for improved international understandings.
   b. creates a need for the provision of new facilities and services.

2. Knowledge explosion
   a. creates problems in the utilization and integration of knowledge.

3. Specialization
   a. has led to the creation of bureaucracies
   b. is a contributory factor to the growth of a "power elite."

4. The growth of urban centers has led to new political, social, and economic relations.
TABLE 2 - Continued

Condition of Contemporary American Culture

5. The communication explosion has done much to alter attitudes and relationships.

6. Change in international relations have brought about:
   a. the cold war
   b. emerging nations
   c. increased threat from thermo-nuclear capability

7. Automation of industry has created new problems in regard to employment and unemployment.

8. Alienation is the tenor of our time.

Relation of the Culture to the Curriculum

1. Society has "ends-in-view" for the educational development of the individual. The school follows the aim of society; when that aim changes, the schools change.

2. The principal tasks assigned to the school are these:
   a. transmission of the cultural heritage
   b. discovery and systemization of knowledge
   c. inculcation of values, beliefs, and ideals of the social groups
   d. proper preparation for adulthood

3. The principal tensions between the school and culture are:
   a. reaching agreement on the directions that are socially approved
   b. gaining agreement on who controls the school

Induction of Cultural Elements into the Curriculum

1. The source of social demands or the directions that the school should follow are the categories of human behavior.
## TABLE 3

### SUMMARY OF TABA'S POSITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture and Culture Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Culture is man's human environment. Involved are norms, materials, manners, morals and so forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Culture is transmitted socially, and it functions at various levels. Discontinuities in the cultural pattern cause conflict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Culture is organic. Technological change elements are being introduced at such a rate that they are not able to be assimilated into the culture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition of Contemporary American Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Technological change is becoming uncontrollable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Alienation, normlessness, and other-directedness pervade the social structure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. There exists extremely strong pressures toward conformity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. There are a lack of mechanisms for adjusting to cross-cultural effects or pressures.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation of the Culture to the Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The school should prevail against the adverse aspects of the culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A changing culture demands those who can actively deal with such a process.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3 - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Induction of Cultural Elements into the Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Studies and interpretations dealing with the culture as a source of adverse elements should be considered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The investigation of cultural problem areas should be done early in the stages of curriculum planning. These studies should be used in connection with psychological and epistimological considerations in order to determine the aims and goals of the school.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4

**SUMMARY OF GWYNN AND CHASE'S POSITION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture and Culture Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Culture is considered in terms of influencing agencies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Technical changes produce new effects on customs and mores.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition of Contemporary American Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The family is losing influence as a prime socializing agent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rapid urbanization has profoundly disturbed older agrarian based values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The church (religion) is influential but produces conflicts in adolescents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Adolescent emotional allegiance is given to the &quot;play-group&quot; rather than society's institutions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4 - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition of Contemporary American Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Child welfare agencies operate from a corrective rather than a preventative position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mass media has an untold effect on the use of adolescent leisure time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation of the Culture to the Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The school should support the various societal &quot;agencies.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The school should guide a child to his place in society and have him realize the rewards and responsibilities inherent in it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Induction of Cultural Elements into the Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Schools should understand the societal agencies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teachers must have a wide range of knowledge relating to religion, sociology, and economics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Culture beliefs are assumed as a legitimate place in curriculum development.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 5**

**SUMMARY OF REIDMAN’S POSITION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture and Culture Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Culture is the nature of man's activities. Inferred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Culture is dynamic and ever-changing. It is not necessarily consistent or logical in its structure nor its changes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5 - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition of Contemporary American Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. There is untold confusion in values which is creating mass anxiety.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Changing sex roles and behaviors are changing radically.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Intervention in psychical processes by the use of drugs can be beneficial, or it can be detrimental.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Individuals are unable to relate to the human qualities inherent in each man, and the result is increased cultural strife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. People are becoming immobilized in relation to decisive and creative acts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. If modern man chooses to remain in a passive role in relation to his culture, it may well be his undoing. Man must choose to act upon his culture to further his own growth and contribution to society.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation of the Culture to the Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Man does have the choice to act upon his culture to further his own growth and contribution to society. The role of the school is to support this posture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The school needs to analyze those fundamental processes which man uses in dealing with his human and physical environment. Emphasis is placed upon developing facility or growth in terms of those processes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Induction of Cultural Elements into the Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The processes form a design element which is to be induced into the school program. Process themes will permeate all class activity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dling of culture provided a framework for design and commentary in the sense of isolating "agencies" with which the school deals. Berman did not give a definition of culture but implicitly noted that it was a difficult topic to treat. She reversed the casting of the problem from how culture bears upon man to how man might affect culture. This gave her a rather different design problem by raising the question of how the school might be organized to enhance human effect.

All of the experts analyzed dealt with the relation of the school program and cultural elements although the integration of the two concepts varied markedly. Nevertheless, each author, at least implicitly, defined the role of the school in terms of an active position in regard to the culture. Smith, Stanley and Shores see the school supporting a particular set of values and ideals that they invest in the "American Creed." Saylor and Alexander see supporting the culture in a more general sense as the school relates to society's ends-in-view. Gwynn and Chase perceive the school supporting the culture in terms of several agencies, the prime relationship consisting of direct communication between the school and these agencies as they progress in their tasks. Taba conceives of the school as countervailing the adverse aspects of the culture while, presumably, supporting those cultural elements that are compatible with
a rather fuzzy concept of the "autonomous man." Smith et. al., Saylor and Alexander, Gwynn and Chase, and Taba are similar in the sense that they are wanting to change certain specified elements and leave others as they are. The areas to be changed depends on their conception of the negative elements within the culture. This seems to be a matter of choice, some, perhaps, more considered than others. Nevertheless, there appears to be a strong clinical element in their thought. That is, it is assumed some elements are dysfunctional; they can be isolated, and certain kinds of treatment can then be prescribed and applied.

Berman's work differs in focus from the other authors as her process-oriented man prevails against the culture. In a sense, Berman is acting upon Taba's suggestion for a clarified picture of the "autonomous man." Berman's process-oriented person is autonomous in the sense that he is acting upon his own resources, relating to others, but making his own contribution. He is prevailing against the forces in society that are adversely acting upon him. The relative position that the authors took in regard to the role of the school in the culture are summarized in Table 6.
TABLE 6

POSITIONS REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Role of the School</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The schools as a re-integrating force—selectively supporting cultural elements.</td>
<td>Smith, Stanley and Shores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting culture on a broad front.</td>
<td>Saylor and Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting culture on a narrow front.</td>
<td>Gwynn and Chase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countervailing against adverse elements.</td>
<td>Taba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevailing in terms of the culture.</td>
<td>Berman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one examines the various positions of the authors, it is possible to put them on a continuum with the narrow supporting positions on one end and the views which saw the school taking a more "expanding" relation to the society on the other. The organization of the positions on a continuum basis would appear as the following: (1) supporting the culture on a narrow front, (2) supporting the culture on a broad front, (3) the schools acting as a re-integrating force, (4) the schools as a countervailing element, and (5) the school as prevailing in the face of cultural problems. Such a continuum suggests that it could be expanded on both ends with the school as actively enforcing all ap-
parent existing standards as one position, and the school actively seeking specific changes in all societal institutions as another position.

There was not much agreement on the cultural topics selected for analysis by the various curriculum experts. Table 7 on the following page shows the topics selected for emphasis by each author surveyed. The table indicates that there is little agreement in terms of the importance of each topic or category. For example, four of the experts agreed that the new media of communication formed a cultural area of importance; three agreed that the same was true of alienation, confusion of values, and the knowledge explosion. Two agreed that specialization, urbanization, social class, and political factors were important enough to emphasize. This is not to say, however, that their treatment of the areas was the same. Also the table shows that there are ten topical areas on which there was no agreement at all. The fact that there is little agreement may be due to the lack of a consistently applied method, or it may be because of the operation of other factors. One might raise questions as to why some obviously important areas of cultural activity were not included. Table 7 shows that there was no reference to broad concerns related to economic structure or social organization. While political factors are listed as a category that two experts selected, their discussion was
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Topics</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smith et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Population explosion</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Knowledge explosion</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Specialization</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Urbanization</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Communication media</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. International relations</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Industrial automation</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Alienation</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Technological changes</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Conformity</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Cultural parochialism</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Changing family roles</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Influence of religion</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Adolescence, problems of</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Welfare Agencies</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Political factors</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Social class</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Confusion in values</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Changing sex roles</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Drugs</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
relatively narrow in relation to the scope of the area. In addition, it is strange that education as a prime area was not singled out for pointed examination in the areas of the books that dealt with the analysis of culture. While it is true that most of the authors included a great deal of implicit educational criticism, it appeared that much of this was derived from their professional positions on issues, rather than from a cultural position. In other words, education wasn't examined in its cultural context. Perhaps, this is a problem of literary organization, or it might be an unconscious oversight.

All of the experts had difficulty in explicating methods by which cultural elements would be isolated and induced into the curriculum. Smith, Stanley, and Shores seemed most coherent in detailing the relationship of the school program to cultural elements. The concept of culture formed a general design model for curriculum content selection to be based on the "judgmental procedure." This is the weakest link in their conception -- perhaps, for the reason only that their judgmental procedure is not specific enough. The other experts had difficulty in explaining how cultural elements would be isolated and induced.

In all of the works surveyed there is an insistence that the condition of culture is of profound importance as
it relates to curriculum development. However, some fundamental questions are raised by the fact that there is little agreement among five leading figures in curriculum development as to the nature of culture and the relative importance of various elements within the culture. Implicit in the work of all of the authors reviewed, with the exception of Smith, Stanley, and Shores, is the notion that there are factors in the culture by their nature that determine the nature of the curriculum. However, none made explicit how these factors were to be isolated, recognized as determinants, and induced into the school program. Smith, Stanley, and Shores made it clear that certain cultural elements became important when the "American Creed" was applied as a criteria for the development of the school program. If one uses such a set of criteria, then those elements in the culture that don't conform are those to be singled out for "corrective measures." The other experts did not make such relationships clear. The question remains then of whether there are factors that determine the nature of the curriculum and by themselves. If so, have these factors been recognized by the experts, and can they serve as a basis for curriculum building? Phrased in another way, the question becomes one of whether there is empirical evidence available that can determine the nature of the educational program without a value judgment being imposed. If there is not such evidence, then what is the order of decision making?
Does one gather evidence and then make the value judgment, or does one make the judgment and try to test its value with evidence available?
CHAPTER THREE

A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to answer some of the questions raised in the previous portion of this study. Specifically, answers are sought to the following questions:

1. Does the application of a method of content selection of literature sampled from the bibliographies of the five experts surveyed in Chapter Two yield significantly different conclusions in terms of cultural content and categories from those reached by the experts?

2. Are there factors in a methodically constructed cultural analysis which inherently determine the nature of the curriculum?

3. What can an analysis of culture tell about a school curriculum?

The method utilized in this analysis was explicated in Chapter I as well as the procedures of coding the material contained in the appendix.
General Characteristics of the American

The American's characteristics are woven about his goals, the most important of which is the pursuit of things. The object is pursued with the reverence that other societies have reserved for the discovery of wisdom. Things are to be used, and the aim in life is to become a skilled consumer. The advertising industry has been created to provide the stimulus and materials for the consumer's selection. The American penchant for the exploitation of things has been given the term, "know-how," and it is particularly American. In fact, dealing with the process, organization, and the machines is the genius of America. In all other relationships people are things to be exploited. Yet, to exploit is to succeed, and it follows then that the product in most demand is "the personality," the one who can "put himself across"—that is, the one who can dominate in the manipulation of things.

2David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 70. (2)
3Gorer, The American People, p. 157. (3)
4Ibid. (4)
6Ibid. p. 170-171 (6)
7Riesman, The Lonely Crowd. p. 46. (7)
In this context the heroes are no longer the captains of industry, but those who are leaders in the field of consumption and play. The source of criteria is not the content or the technical aspect of a performance or act, but whether the personality of the performer is aesthetically pleasing; hence, the actor is judged on his attitude. This star system depreciates craftsmanship, for one either "makes it" or he doesn't. He is a star or a quack. Also, the activities of the star or the individual exploiter are made easier by the principle learned by the public that each desire must be immediately satisfied. In addition, the public has more time to be exploited for commercial purposes, and as the machine did away with meaningful work, now the amusement industry is doing away with the meaning of time. Yet, this has been a development in the making and there is little qualitative difference in the fact that Americans spend great amounts of time in front of the television today.

1Ibid., p. 209. (8)
5Mills, Power, 349. (12)
compared to such past activities as the aimless Sunday drive, an afternoon at the "ball park," or endless evenings spent playing canasta.¹

Americans place a great positive emphasis on youth. This emphasis pervades their films, novels, advertising.² Americans have the greatest life expectation among the peoples of the earth, but one would not learn this from looking at magazines or television.³ The aged are deprecated, and many of the elderly find it easier to live in segregated colonies. The past has its place in American thought but only to assess the amount of know-how or experience one has had; this aids one to predict how well he will do in the future.⁴ This ability to perform in the future is linked to one's self esteem. Americans are ever developing; they will be better tomorrow than today. There are no irremediable errors.⁵

¹Risman, Lonely Crowd, p. xiii. (13)
²Gorer, American People, p. 122. (14)
³Ibid., (14)
In America as work has lost its emotional appeal through standardization, income or the dollar has become the factor by which success in one area of work can be compared with that in another. Incomes or success are viewed in a relative way and never on an absolute scale.¹ This mode of valuing can be noted in the way children are assessed in school. To achieve all "A's" in the second grade is just as meritorious as getting them in college, but, of course, this doesn't mean that the value of the work performed is equal. The notion that one has never succeeded -- that he can always accomplish more -- joins with the conception of the Ideal American as being one who must always match his potentialities.² This is the picture of the "self-starter," or of the one who feels that "ya gotta hit the ground running." While the structure of success involves relativity and self-assertion, it also involves the element of choice. It is essential to the process of identity formation that Americans must feel that they have an element of autonomous choice.³


While there is the picture of the American "driven" toward success, there is also the picture of the generous and friendly American.\(^1\) The American is ensatiable for signs of friendship, and it is a requirement that all situations bear some resemblance to those of friendship and love.\(^2\) This impulse is at the base of the affinity for group-work, "team-work," and the ability to "get along with other people."\(^3\) Americans obscure this social penchant with ideas about competition, individualism, and "the rugged American." In this connection, the emphasis upon athletics has a myth-fulfilling function which maintains beliefs that have become difficult to hold in such areas as economic life.\(^4\) Nevertheless, the emphasis today is on "belonging" to the extent that if one doesn't, the feeling is that he must be unhappy. The problems of conflict allegiances is ignored as the dominant idea prevails that society must be unified and purged of strife.\(^5\) The friendliness and openness required for "team-work" is represented in the glass-walled architecture of modern buildings. The new glass houses are an expression of that idea that everything that is going on is open and American, and since the buildings are hermetically sealed, no "outside

\(^1\) Gorer, *American People*, p. 178. (20)
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 133. (21)
\(^3\) Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 102. (22)
\(^4\) Ibid. (23)
\(^5\) Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 50. (24)
influence" can enter. The buildings "...are shining symbols of the soaring, aspiring, transparent integrity which Americans like to think -- and not without justification -- is their most praiseworthy characteristic."\(^1\)

Another characteristic of Americans is their atomization of experience. This phenomenon is noticeable in the manner in which knowledge is regarded -- that is, as unrelated facts. Facts are equal in worth, just as dollars, and a learned man has been likened as a "fact millionaire."\(^2\) This attitude toward knowledge is inherent in the educational system where intelligence tests and examinations stress the awareness of isolated facts and verbal ability.\(^3\) Atomization of experience is also observable in communication.\(^4\) The television is a marked example as the programs are broken into content and commercial sections, often composed of messages by a number of different sponsors with no related theme. American humor also reflects this tendency toward atomization. Each joke is separate and stands by itself.\(^5\)

\(^1\)Gorer, *American People*, p. 266. (25)

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 145. (26)


\(^4\)Gorer, *American People*, p. 140. (28)

\(^5\)Hall, *Silent Language*, p. 47. (29)
The routine of comedians is composed of a number of these isolated jokes. Indeed, one of the most popular shows on television, "Laugh-In," seems to atomize humor best. American conversation also is divisive as it is filled with interruptions, "wisecracks," and irrelevancies. In addition, Americans have compartmentalized their religious beliefs and have reduced them to social functions more effectively than any other people.¹

A number of pervasive fears inhibit Americans from readily achieving some of their apparent goals. One of the more outstanding of these is the phobic fear of communism. Americans have been so indoctrinated in terms of anti-communistic feelings, that politicians feel that their political futures would be risked if a rapprochement with the Russians were attempted.² This intense fear of communism has its roots in the belief that peoples can easily change their political allegiances and their personalities.³ Such a view is inherent in American naturalization laws, and the feeling exists that children of Europeans can become thorough-going Americans with the proper training. It would follow, then, that if one can be changed one way, he can be changed in

¹Hall, Silent Language, p. 57. (30)
²Henry, Culture, p. 32. (31)
³Gorer, American People, p. 253. (32)
another, perhaps, without even knowing it. Hence, the term, brain-washing. This fear is expressed in terms of phobic reaction to contamination by narcotics, impurities in the air, atomic particles, and the fluoridation of water.¹ In addition, there is the fear of homosexuality. "In America ...the homosexual is a threat, not only to the young and immature, but above all to the mature male; nobody is sure that he might succumb."² The fear of homosexuality is related to that of being labeled a "sissy." This is a term of approbation which is bestowed on American males who in some way do not "measure up."

**The "American Creed"**

Fundamental to a picture of American culture is a system of beliefs referred to as the "American Creed." It includes a faith in rationality, a need to moralize, a belief in a romanticized picture of individualism, an urge to rationalize on moral grounds, and a belief in the "cult of the common man."³ More specifically, this creed includes ideas related to the fundamental equality of all men, equality of

²Kluckhohn, *Mirror*, p. 303. (34)
³Ibid., p. 32. (35)
opportunity, and freedom and justice. In America, particularly in time of war, this creed has formed the basis of national morale. It represents what Americans would like to think is true about themselves. The Creed has been reserved throughout our history with a determined conservatism which has had one result in a fanatic worship of the Constitution. However, operationally, the Creed is often not put into effect, but justified on the basis of a set of moral premises which ought to serve as a guide for behavior. This has resulted in the "American Dilemma" which has been defined as the conflict between what Americans say and what they do. A hypothetical belief is postulated that unrealistic expectancies generated by an unrealistic cultural ideology will result in mass frustration and neurosis.

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2Ibid. (37)


4Rose, Negro In America, p. 4. (39)

5Ibid., p. 2. (37)

6Ibid. p. 10. (40)

7Kluckhohn, Mirror, p. 252. (41)
The Economic System

The principal characteristic and problem of our economic system is that the production motive is not one of social utility but merely that of profit. "Free enterprise" means the relatively unrestricted "right" of producers to make a profit. Any political-economic arrangement which permits such complete and utter economic freedom of action to the bulk of men — if the general solution is reached primarily on independent or group economic solving, which is not the present case. Nevertheless, the essence is profit which can be increased with the elimination of costs; however, in this liberation there is an internal balance between the twin evils of "competition." There is in economic necessity a "social" cost. It is a cost of the practical and moral loss, over which we have no control, a cost of the output which is a general competition.
with production has also led to characteristical changes in American society. Americans do relate to things as commodities with exchange value; however, this leaves no system of thought that can be adapted to human values. Nevertheless, the standard of living (level of consumption) in this country dominates the style of life. The function of media is to "...train the young for the frontiers of consumption." Such concepts as "dynamic obsolescence" condition people to accept standards of utility which are not embodied in the product. As advertisers compete and producers work together in battles for markets, the anxious worker passively awaits the turn of events. Yet, even he has become entangled in the pathological economy in which people feel they must demonstrate their financial ability to consume. The "self" of the American has been replaced with an internalized drive toward a higher standard of living, and without this new type of "conscience" on the part of the citizenry, the economy would collapse. The Puritan Ethic was not so

1Fromm, Sane Society, p. 110. (47)
2Mills, Power, p. 190. (48)
3Riesman, Lonely Crowd, p. 98. (49)
4Henry, Culture, p. 22. (50)
5Ibid., p. 96. (51)
6Kluckhohn, Mirror, p. 242. (52)
7Henry, Culture, p. 25. (53)
much abandoned as it was overwhelmed by the effective methods of modern merchandising and financing. However, it is only those at the apex of the economic hierarchy that have a chance to attempt to express some type of self-realization.

In addition to purposeless consumption, the American economic system has other aspects which can be the source of difficulties. The matter of income distribution is one which is characterized by "...a lack of balanced proportion between an individual's effort and work, and the social recognition accorded them -- financial compensation." The concept of "dynamic obsolescence" applies not only to the utility of goods but of people also. Applied to the human dimension, "dynamic obsolescence" means that human capacities are also in danger of becoming obsolete. While wants are institutionalized for goods that are produced, latent wants and needs are not synthesized by the business world for goods that are not produced. Yet it is argued that we must produce what we can at capacity as a hedge against economic disaster (depression). The general depreciation

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1Mills, Power, pp. 158-159. (54)
2Henry, Culture, p. 37. (55)
3Fromm, Sane Society, p. 90. (56)
4Henry, Culture, p. 23. (57)
5Galbraith, Affluent Society, p. 113. (58)
6Ibid., p. 157. (59)
of human values in relation to the economic system and the need to produce at capacity, combined with other factors, have resulted in a great part of the industrial machine being relegated to the production of armaments. The threat of war is minimized by the heightened standard of living it produces, and for this reason it is accepted more readily than if the existence of the economic system itself were threatened by war. The general need to protect the economic system at the expense of other values is accepted, and we enter into economic and political "deals" with other nations, appearing at times to the world as "...bullies, supplicants, or weasels."

The Nature of Work

It has been an implicit assumption in this country that hard work will be rewarded. Accordingly, the source of this reward is important psychologically. A traditional part of the "American Dream" has been to be one's own "boss" -- that is, to be in control of one's work and its rewards, rather than being consumed in someone else's plan for self-realization.

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1 Henry, Culture, p. 110. (60)
2 Ibid., p. 102. (61)
3 Ibid., p. 104. (62)
4 Hall, Silent Language, p. 65. (63)
5 Henry, Culture, p. 38. (64)
Yet this is implicit in the rise of complex organizations, and while the young men are fearful of big business, they are eager to join in dependency upon it, demonstrating an example of self-renunciation. The work incentives which we strive for now are inherited from a time when most people controlled their work, or it at least appeared that they were able to control it. This no longer holds, and the old incentives to work are losing their attractiveness, and no new ones have taken their place.\(^1\) That part of the "Dream" that dictated that the individual would will out appears empty to the worker as individualism stagnates in the bureaucracy where the emphasis is placed on "team effort" and the quantification of standards.\(^2\) Yet, technological change has made even managerial and professional areas of responsibility similar to factory production with the result that white collar workers are alienated from their work which has been routinized.\(^3\) Another change in work is taking place. In the past, work that looked least like play was taken most seriously. This had a number of ramifications for work related to entertainment, the distributive occupations and household duties were held in low regard.\(^4\) With

\(^{1}\) Mills, Power, p. 141. (65)

\(^{2}\) Presthus, Organizational Society, p. 195. (66)

\(^{3}\) Mills, Power, p. 219. (67)

\(^{4}\) Whyte, Organization Man, p. 135. (68)
the present emphasis on impulse release and the pursuit of "fun," work that is more like play is becoming more highly regarded.

Complex Organizations

Complex organizations are miniature social systems that expect loyalty and conformity from their members and they, in return, are furnished with most of their basic needs.¹ The prime function of complex organizations is to rationalize human energy, and in so doing they become very effective in establishing certain behavior patterns and attitude formations by employing sanctions and giving rewards.² In addition, to have normative consequences in the locus of the organizational activity, "...the accepted values of the organization shape the individual's personality and influence his behavior in extra-vocational affairs."³ The large organizations have an existence of their own which determines the activities of all within the organization from manager to worker.⁴ The life of the organization is maintained by co-optation, that is, the process by which the

¹Presthus, Organizational Society, p. 95. (69)
²Ibid., p. 11. (70)
³Ibid.
⁴Fromm, Sane Society, p. 126. (71)
elite designate their successors. However, the larger the bureaucracy becomes, the more restricted are the elite in manipulating the lower levels, for "The means built up restricts the ends for which they can be used." Nevertheless, the nature of our society is determined by the structure, productive means, and technology of complex organizations.

Complex organizations have definite psychological effects upon their membership. The miniature society of the organization is a "field" in which systems of status teach the individual to defer to authority. The function of the status system is to reinforce authority by influencing the interpersonal structure of the organization. The objective definitions of authority reduce conflict, but the commonality of bureaucratic work induces status anxiety. In addition, the fact that centralization of decision making powers has eliminated the employee from participation in those decisions that will affect him, will also induce anx-

1Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 49. (72)
2Mills, *Power*, p. 67. (73)
3Fromm, *Sane Society*, p. 128. (74)
4Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 163. (75)
5Ibid., p. 153. (76)
6Ibid., p. 272. (77)
The organizations not only affect individuals psychologically, but they have a large-scale social affect in that an organizational ethic is advanced which is generally accepted. This ethic includes three major elements: (1) the "group" as the font of creativity, (2) the ultimate need of the individual to "belong," and (3) the methods of science (human relations) can aid all to achieve belongingness (consensus), and there is or should be no conflict between the individual and society, for such difficulties are the result of dysfunctions in communications. This collectivism that modern America subscribes to is in conflict with the protestant ethic and accepted propaganda about the evils of the welfare state. When the protestant ethic and the "American Dream" are defended by the organization man, it is not an example of hypocrisy, but of compulsion. However, compulsive reaction does not solve problems, and when organization man turns to the dilemma of authority versus the individual or other organizational problems, it is not the evils of the bureaucracy that bother him; it is that the organization is beneficent, and he finds himself "...imprisoned in brotherhood."
Complex organizations use talent and resources in particular kinds of ways. The role of the professional is tenuous in organizations where status, power, loyalty and physical appearance, rather than skill, are the sources of influence.\(^1\) The outstanding scientist, whose loyalty is to his work rather than the organization which he views as a vehicle, is an opposite of the prized company man.\(^2\) However, organizations are not truly interested in the creative scientist; values are placed on technological innovation, group work, and organizational loyalty.\(^3\) This has produced several conditions. The professional becomes a narrow specialist, and generates a conflict with the administrators whose role is to moderate between company units.\(^4\) The conflicts between the organization-wide view of the administrator and the "trained incapacity" of the specialists saps much creative and productive energy. This, along with other factors, combines for a lack of innovative research and development in such essential industries as the clothing industry, small coal mining, home construction, natural-fiber textile industry and service industries.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 251. (82)
\(^2\) Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 22. (83)
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 225. (84)
\(^4\) Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 30. (85)
\(^5\) Galbraith, *Affluent Society*, p. 105. (86)
The dominating position that complex organizations have obtained has minimized the effectiveness of smaller intermediary or voluntary organizations. Yet, the centralization of authority within complex organizations and their relative remoteness from effective control by individuals and minor organizations has led to an organized irresponsibility. The effect of this organized irresponsibility has been to render ineffective traditional values and to supplant them with those related to the necessity for conformity, consumption and group approval.

Social Class

Status in American society does not represent a fixed goal, but it is a vehicle on which one can rise to newer heights of success. The mobility scale is too complicated for the average American to describe although he manipulates it for his own ends. In the past status was awarded according to the amount of property that one held. Today, however, such a criterion for success is being replaced as

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1Galbraith, *Affluent Society*, p. 105. (87)
2Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 295. (88)
3Riesman, *Lonely Crowd*, p. 224. (89)
4Erikson, *Childhood*, p. 287. (90)
5Hall, *Silent Language*, p. 116. (91)
a prime status referent by education, levels of consumption and technical skills, and since large organizations are the source of status dividends, the status of one's profession can be enhanced by the status of the organization in which he works. Among these status referents, however, education is the prime agent of social mobility. Yet, the opportunities for higher education are disproportionately assigned, for while "...the sons of an unskilled laborer have six chances out of one hundred of ever getting into a college, the son of a professional man has better than a fifty-fifty chance." In addition, the symbols of status have become the substitute for values that can no longer be acquired. For example, owning one's business does not give the independence it was believed that it once did, and many professionals have not the meaning of work revalued while employed in large organizations. Indeed, the upwardly mobile have gained control of large organizations and in effect have gained control of the efforts of scientists and other professionals. The result has been an alienation of the profes-

1Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 43. (92)
2Parsons, *Statuses Society*, p. 207. (93)
3Ibid.
4Premus, *Organizational Society*, p. 37. (94)
5Ibid., p. 9. (95)
sional from his work, the aggrandizement of the managerial class, and the growth of oligarchy. The growth of oligarchy can be found in government.\(^1\) Oligarchy and aggrandizement can also be found in labor unions.\(^2\) Yet, while there are signs of ossification of the American status system, it is still fluid, and it is this fluidity which is the source of anxiety-producing tensions which has caused the country to become a nation of joiners and conformists.\(^3\)

Conformity in American Society

In the United States it is most necessary that a citizen demonstrate his Americanism. This is done by satisfying the following criteria in order of importance: general appearance, clothing, food, housing, ideology, and language.\(^4\) In establishing one's Americanism, therefore, it is more important to conform to accepted standards of appearance than to speak in a certain fashion; or the clothes one wears or the food that he eats is more important than the thoughts he thinks. The degree that one is Americanized is based upon the similarity of the person being judged with the stereo-

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 50. (96)
\(^2\)Mills, Power, p. 108-109. (97)
\(^3\)Kluckhohn, Mirror, p. 327. (98)
\(^4\)Gorer, American People, p. 196. (99)
type of his peers.\textsuperscript{1} That person who can be identified as being different is to that degree unAmerican. Those who can be identified as different by means of physical characteristics (skin color, physical deformity) can never become fully American. Other than those who cannot meet the physical appearance criteria, being American, fulfilling the criteria, is an act of will as much as chance. The Americans, those who meet the criteria, reflect (adjust) their society with ease.\textsuperscript{2} The pressure for young Americans to meet the criteria are strong.\textsuperscript{3} They feel the societal demands to make "good" in appearance and work, early marriage, living in the best neighborhood one can afford, church attendance, and "being neighborly." These pressures are real and groups effort "...is to cut everyone down to size who stands up or stands out in any direction."\textsuperscript{4} Overt jealousy, temper displays, and exhibitions of vanity are all offenses to the peer-group jury and must be eliminated or suppressed along with all other qualities of an idiosyncratic nature. The peer-group jury not only passes judgment on the individual, but it stands between the mass media and the individual.

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 195 (100)
\textsuperscript{2}Riesman, \textit{Lonely Crowd}, p. 242. (101)
\textsuperscript{3}Gorer, \textit{American People}, p. 256. (102)
\textsuperscript{4}Riesman, \textit{Lonely Crowd}, p. 72. (103)
To a great extent the peer group decides which words, music, and so forth have been given approval. The adult places no less emphasis on the peer group than does the adolescent, and it functions for him in the same way that it does for younger Americans. The privacy of the past has been traded for the "socialized exchange of consumer taste," and there is no privileged sanctum from the judgment of the group. However, there is no real cohesiveness within the group, and when it is threatened, it disintegrates leaving the "good guy" alone. The threat of abandonment leads to a general similarity in people. It enables them to attach themselves to other groups more easily. The modern American man is a "good guy," and he cannot even assume other roles as temporarily demanded by a change in the social situation. Today obedience to the group is not so much conformity as it is response to what is considered a moral imperative.

Alienation in American Society

Alienation is defined as a social-psychological condition in which man finds himself when he "...does not

1Ibid., p. 84. (104)
2Whyte, Organization Man, p. 423. (105)
3Riesman, Lonely Crowd, p. 76. (106)
4Whyte, Organization Man, p. 392. (107)
5Riesman, Lonely Crowd, p. 157. (108)
experience himself as the active bearer of his own powers and richness, but as an impoverished thing, dependent on powers outside of himself, unto whom he has projected his substance."¹ Americans are not related to the work they do or the objects they consume; nor are they aware of or related to the social forces which determine the direction of the society in which they live.² Social catastrophes such as war, depressions, and the like are regarded as if they were "natural" phenomena rather than occurrences which are made by man and for which he has responsibility. Americans are governed by laws that they do not control, nor do they wish to control, and they are as equally alienated from their economic system and responsibility for it. Hope for a bright future is the counter for alienated responsibility.³

The sources of alienation are many and varied. The modern parents have intense anxiety which they transmit to their children thereby providing fertile ground for the growth of alienated personalities.⁴ The decline of the Protestant Ethic with its strong emphasis on leisure and

¹Fromm, Sane Society, p. 120. (109)  
²Ibid., p. 137. (110)  
³Ibid.  
⁴Riesman, Lonely Crowd, p. 48. (111)
the accumulation of goods have given rise to an emphasis on leisure and recreation with an accompanying re-evaluation of the purpose of work resulting in feelings that one's economic chances have been exaggerated.\(^1\) The fact that the modern American has more leisure time does not, however, result in increased self-realization. He reacts to moving pictures, ball games, and so forth in the same abstracted and alienated manner in which he consumes products of a more concrete nature.\(^2\) While Americans are to a degree disheartened with their present life, they are unable to see alternatives, and consequently, are unable to view what is dissatisfying with the way things are at present.\(^3\)

The Role of Conflict

In a rapidly changing society the possibilities of increased and intensified difference of interest make conflict inevitable. However, conflict and expressions of hostility are considered out of place. Peer groups feel that temper displays are the worst trait that can be exhibited.\(^4\) Children complain about displays of anger exhibited by their parents, and this is due to the fact that children are un-

\(^1\)Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 207. (112)
\(^2\)Fromm, *Sane Society*, p. 136. (113)
\(^3\)Riesman, *Lonely Crowd*, p. xxxix. (114)
\(^4\)Ibid., p. 232. (115)
prepared to deal with anger and hostility in a society which stresses permissiveness.\(^1\) Conflict is further discouraged by the pervasive need to be accepted or liked, and the depreciation of unconventional views is so inculcated by socializing processes that an individual feels guilty when he expresses views that are not currently accepted by the group or society-at-large.\(^2\) Schools also discourage conflict. The school seeks to mediate when conflict arises rather than to clarify. It assesses the power of conflicting interests and attempts to compromise among them.\(^3\) However, the depreciation of conflict and criticism suppresses the well-springs of creativity.\(^4\) Nevertheless, conflict is inherent in a dynamic society created by tensions between what the individual wishes to be and that which the institutional setting requires him to be, and attempts to eliminate conflict will but intensify it.\(^5\) There has always been generational conflict, but in America, as long as it remains relatively accepting toward change, this conflict will intensify, and in its intensification, it serves the purpose

\(^1\) Henry, *Culture*, p. 138. (116)  
\(^2\) Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 294. (117)  
\(^3\) Freidenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent*, p. 80. (118)  
\(^4\) Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 290. (119)  
\(^5\) Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 126. (120)
of creating more change.¹ The stability of a culture is dependent upon the effectiveness of outlets for conflict, and to the degree that the democratic process operates, differences will be tolerated and presumably adequate conflict outlets provided.

**Law and Order**

The legal system of any culture is important in determining the sanction relationships between men and their property. The way that a people react to law in terms of an institution tells something of their relation to the concept of organized society. Americans write their ideals into law, but this immediately makes part of the legal body not able to be enforced.² This institutes a conflict in terms of obedience and authority. However, Americans feel that there is a "higher law" behind the specific regulation contained in the laws and statutes.³ This reference to "natural law" can be traced to the Revolution when the concept was to refute the King's law. This attitude is not only visible in the Supreme Court's role to devine the higher principles

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¹Kluckhohn, *Mirror*, p. 283. (121)
²Rose, *Negro In America*, p. 5. (122)
³Hall, *Silent Language*, p. 79. (123)
"behind the Constitution," but has imposed itself upon the whole structure of the American state.\(^1\) Laws then become debatable on moral grounds, with the individual making the decision.\(^2\) Changes in laws are not enough because the individual sets his concept of the higher law above the existing law and decides whether to obey or not.\(^3\) Historically, this attitude has its roots in America not as a political entity but as a conglomeration of individuals seeking advantage.\(^4\) Nevertheless, such anarchistic tendencies pose a serious source of conflict when combined with the American wont to regulate behavior with moralistic law - a residue of the Puritan heritage.\(^5\)

The generalized attitude toward authority has its bearing on regard for the law. Authority is considered to be inherently dangerous just as it was by the authors of the Constitution. Individuals must be invested with authority if a state is to exist, but such grants of power are to be limited as much as possible.\(^6\) In addition, Americans find respond-

\(^1\)Ibid.
\(^2\)Rose, *Negro In America*, p. 56. (124)
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 7. (125)
\(^4\)Gorer, *American People*, p. 246. (126)
\(^5\)Rose, *Negro In America*, p. 6. (127)
\(^6\)Gorer, *American People*, p. 32. (128)
ing to personalized authority with respect and awe, one of the most difficult reactions. It would follow that a political career is not respected, and a person who enters for reasons other than personal gain is deeply suspect.¹ Americans have always had a tendency to struggle against overt authority, and the violence of individuals within the country is marked.² However, the nature of authority has changed in the middle of the twentieth century. It has become generalized and anonymous.³ The idea of political authority and community are divorced, and man's social feelings are projected into the state. The state becomes a power standing above man. Man submits to the state as an embodiment of social attitudes and subscribes powers to it which he feels are alienated from himself.⁴ Americans are reacting to authority on at least two levels. On the personal and community level, authority is held suspect although at least manageable. However, the individual feels helpless and alienated when confronted with the authority of the state.

There are other specific attitudes and behaviors which

¹Ibid., p. 34-35. (129)
²Ibid., p. 37. (130)
³Fromm, Sane Society, p. 153. (131)
⁴Ibid., p. 141. (132)
further illuminate the American's posture toward the legal system. Courts and law enforcement officers in particular are not to be more strict than other elements of the culture. Again, when Americans feel a law to be contrary to common sense, they are more likely to violate it than not. Generally, this attitude makes the concept of law compatible with apparently contradictory cultural patterns. For example, adolescent play groups engage in any kind of activity consistent with the interests and ability of the members. However, a common feature of boy's gangs is that they engage in illegal and extra-legal activities. Although only a small minority of American youth engage in criminal activity, there is a pervasive fear on the part of the adult population that the youth will persist in their defiance of authority beyond a point necessary to establish a posture of independent masculinity. The flaunting of legal authority is not limited to youth. A notable example of its existence in the adult population can be found in the phenomenon of "white collar crime." The obedience in regard to liquor

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1 Grant, Silent Language, p. 61. (133)
2 Ibid.
3 Sore, American People, p. 101. (134)
4 Ibid., p. 193. (135)
5 Mills, Power, p. 325. (136)
laws, gambling, income taxes and war-time regulations exists out of fear rather than moral conviction. There are some areas of activity that are forbidden, but these taboos relate to norms which are not consistently reflected in the legal codes. The use of narcotics is a case in point. According to the public, "indiscriminate" use of narcotics unpredictably changes the personality and therefore, is dangerous.¹ Such a point of view is not logically consistent with the actions of a population who regularly drink before dinner to relax, consult specialists of varying qualifications to interpret the meaning of their lives, and otherwise drench themselves with stimulants, tranquilizers and other sedatives. In addition to the factors discussed in this section which contribute to the general disrepute of law and order, there are two other elements: the inefficient standard of legal administration prevalent in this country, and the practice of passing laws without detailed investigation.²

Discrimination toward Minorities

Citizens of the United States view themselves and others on a continuum in relation to being American (demo-

¹Gorer, *American People*, p. 249. (137)
²Rose, *Negro in America*, p. 6. (138)
ocratic), and being American is a matter of will.\(^1\) In other words, the feeling is that one can be American if he wants. Various groups or nations are accepted to the degree that they are perceived to be like Americans. This belief that there ought to be an aspiration toward Americanism is deeply ingrained, and it is discarded with the greatest difficulty.\(^2\)

When it is thought that a particular group or nation has abandoned this aspiration toward Americanism, cooperation with the peoples in question is likely to be halted also.\(^3\)

Those who are so difficult that they wish to be "foreign" need no help. However, expressions of tolerance are not a problem when there is a perceived social and economic chasm between the Americans and those to be tolerated.\(^4\) When that gap closes, however, American society is called upon to offer far more appropriate responses than it is able to do.

When dealing with the colored peoples of the world, Americans are involved in an agonizing paradox. Because the colored people look different, they are different.\(^5\)

\(^1\)Gorer, *American People*, p. 220. (139)
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 223. (140)
\(^3\)Kluckhohn, *Mirror*, p. 225. (141)
\(^4\)Riesman, *Lonely Crowd*, p. 259. (142)
\(^5\)Gorer, *American People*, p. 197. (143)
They, particularly the Negro, are considered unassimilable, and they are separated from the white American who will not accept them. Asians are more acceptable than Negroes, for they are physically smaller, and less of a caricature of the white man. In addition, they can be considered underdogs as they have been oppressed politically. Negroes and other colored peoples living in America can rebel both covertly and openly against discriminations, but the white American has placed himself in the position of believing in his righteousness. However, the practice of racial discrimination "cannot be made intelligible and defensible except by false assumption which the whites force themselves to believe." Upper caste America has enslaved itself in prejudicial concepts because of short-range interests.

The psychological effect upon segregated minorities living in the United States is severe. The personality of Negroes is distorted by hostile and capricious authority, and Negro parents have to act this way toward their children in order that they will be able to live in such a world.

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1Rose, *Negro In America*, p. 21. (144)
3Rose, *Negro In America*, p. 222. (146)
4Ibid. (147)
In school children of the lower status learn to accept the common judgment of their worth.\textsuperscript{1} Class typing has become in America the method of giving or denying recognition to the citizen.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{Education and the Schools}

The function of American education is to provide institutions for orienting children to the cultural expectations.\textsuperscript{3} Education, then, is to fasten the spirit of the mind rather than free it.\textsuperscript{4} The maintenance of culture (shared patterns of behavior) demands acquiescence, and where everyone is original and unique, there can be no society.\textsuperscript{5} The prime learnings that take place in American schools, however, are vestiges of past cultural phases and have been cast in doubt by discoveries in the disciplines and by the social realities.\textsuperscript{6} However, the use of education to attack social rigidity is regarded as subversive.\textsuperscript{7}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Hall, \textit{Silent Language}, p. 7. (149)
\item Kluckhohn, \textit{Mirror}, p. 255. (150)
\item Henry, \textit{Culture}, p. 288. (151)
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 286. (152)
\item \textit{Ibid.} (153)
\item Friedenberg, \textit{Vanishing Adolescent}, p. 93. (154)
\item Garner Murphy, \textit{Human Potentialities} (155)
\end{enumerate}
attempting to respond to criticism and a variety of ideas concerning the function of education, the schools have become irresolute, vacillating between teaching co-operative behavior as would befit a democracy and instruction dealing with the competitive realities of the day.\textsuperscript{1} Nevertheless, this posture of dealing with practical problems has been criticized with the admonition to return to the strong liberal academic traditions which, incidentally, never were a reality in this country.\textsuperscript{2} In fact, educators not only appear to be unaware of their traditions, but they also appear to be unaware of the long-range effects of their activities.\textsuperscript{3} For example, detailed and often erroneous explanations constitute typical patterns of instruction in American schools.\textsuperscript{4} As noted, these patterns are not deduced nor are they necessarily correct, and in any case, they do not fit the reality outside the classroom.\textsuperscript{5} One result of this incessant manipulation of details might be found in the fact that Americans do value disconnected bits of information, and they believe that generalizations are difficult to apply.\textsuperscript{6} Another learning that students are to obtain

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1}Kluckhohn, \textit{Mirror}, p. 240. (156)
\textsuperscript{2}Whyte, \textit{Organization Man}, p. 302. (157)
\textsuperscript{3}Murphy, \textit{Human Potentialities}, p. 101. (158)
\textsuperscript{4}Hall, \textit{Silent Language}, p. 53. (159)
\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., p. 119. (160)
\textsuperscript{6}Kluckhohn, \textit{Mirror}, p. 240. (161)
\end{flushleft}
relates to the fact that even though lessons are not what they seem or what they are purported to be, they must act as if they were — a step toward "school mental health." In addition, there are many deleterious effects of the national system of academic competition, and while educators are aware of these, the system has not been replaced because no other energizing device has been discovered or employed.

Education in America exhibits specific connections and functions other than those which are obviously connected with academic pursuits. Education, which is ostensibly available to all (mass education), has become one of the principle means of social mobility and, hence, has replaced the frontier which formerly served that function. The influence of large corporations in terms of financial support is substantial and will increase. This, then, draws education close to the economic sphere which in turn is deeply allied with the military (military-industrial) complex.

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1 Henry, *Culture*, p. 291. (162)
2 James Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (163)
3 Kluckhohn, *Mirror*, p. 246. (164)
4 Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 166. (165)
5 Presthus, *Organizational Society*, p. 229. (166)
The school is society's institution for dealing with adolescents and is, therefore, representative of social forces and demands.1 The prime function of the school is to provide a common "philosophical apparatus" for orienting the young to their experiences.2 Hence, it is only second­ly a device for inducing and transplanting knowledge in the academic sense.3 American educators, in viewing their prime function, see the school as a societal agent which can, when operated properly, act to influence its own ends or the ends of society.4 It is, however, an institution in which a number of roles interact resulting in a social system in which educators themselves have little insight.5 In fact, the school is extremely vulnerable to public opinion, and the staff within are bound with a need to be supported by their colleagues - which all gives a picture of a repressed and submissive institution in which those responsible are unable to examine themselves.6 Actually, there is no reason to do

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1Friedenberg, Vanishing Adolescent, pp. 68069. (167)
2Ibid., p. 75. (168)
3Gorer, American People, p. 175. (169)
4Friedenberg, Vanishing Adolescent, p. 71. (170)
5Ibid.
6Ibid., p. 83. (171)
so, for the school lacks any built-in mechanism for change
and improvement.1 The schools do change, however, but the
change is in response to felt pressures by particular groups
outside of school; that is, changes take place to conform to
those desires of particular groups (group-institution feed-
back).2 The preceding connotes the picture of an institu-
tion which is controlled by people who feel that they have
control of its direction, but in reality they do not.

There are a number of specific characteristics of
American schools and students. Students do not like school-
work, and there have been several reasons advanced to account
for this trait. One has been noted in the fact that the
manipulation of knowledge is a secondary function in Ameri-
can schools. This devaluation of learning permeates the
culture more specifically in the feeling that any learning
which doesn't contribute to income tends to lack value except
if it is related to some distant economic goal.3 In addition,
the culture conditions children in "impulse release" - that
is, the desire to demand immediate satisfaction. The varied
structure of American education, from its system of grades
to the system of general evaluation, puts a "floor and a

1Coleman, Adolescent Society, p. 325. (172)
2Henry, Culture, p. 2. (173)
3Ibid., p. 172. (174)
ceiling" upon children's effort and discourages scholarship from becoming important to the adolescent.\(^1\) The system of evaluation employed in the schools has the function of requiring children to accept externally imposed standards of achievement rather than enabling them to accept their own.\(^2\) The grading system and other rigid procedures dissuade divergence not only in public schools but in colleges as well.\(^3\) This focus on convergence reveals itself in the narrow curriculum where many of the problems of "life," such as interpersonal problems, relations with large institutions and the like are avoided.\(^4\) This focus on externally imposed standards of excellence, irrelevant instruction, and the denial of authority to students, casts them in a passive-reactive role which encourages irresponsibility. Yet, this emphasis on convergence and de-emphasis on creativity and diversity is what the culture requires.

In the American public school one significant problem relates to discipline or control of students. However, the problem of student control and the role of the teacher are

\(^1\)Friedenberg, Vanishing Adolescent, p. 40.\(^1\)
\(^2\)Henry, Culture, p. 196.\(^1\)
\(^3\)Murphy, Human Potentialities, p. 16.\(^1\)
\(^4\)Whyte, Organization Man, p. 145.\(^1\)
\(^5\)Coleman, Adolescent Society, p. 161.\(^1\)
inseparable.\textsuperscript{1} The position of the teacher is the most readily available one of a professional status and at a substantially lower cost than others.\textsuperscript{2} Moreover, it is extremely visible to the public, and the professional standards by which the teacher is judged are subjective and ambiguous.\textsuperscript{3} Yet, one of the standards by which teachers are judged relates to the fact that poor student behavior reflects poor classroom management.\textsuperscript{4} Feeling guilty about using older methods of discipline which are of dubious effectiveness, the teacher attempts to influence the group in order that it recognizes and sanctions correct behavior.\textsuperscript{5} Incorrect behavior, then, is met with group disapproval, and it is in this way that the school believes that the child learns self-discipline.\textsuperscript{6}

\textbf{The American Family}

There have been a number of fundamental changes in American family life in recent years. The family processes and relationships which resulted in children being taught

\begin{itemize}
\item[3] Coleman, \textit{Adolescent Society}, p. 327. (183)
\item[6] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
fundamental moral and economic orientations are gone. The child has now been separated into institutions of his own, and, consequently, is divorced from the economic perspectives of adults. Yet, the child gains a social sophistication at increasingly earlier intervals as he remains in his institutions for longer periods of time.¹ However, the nature of social relationships within the institutions are not what they might be. The intense mobility of the American family today has prevented children from maintaining enduring relationships with others. Although the need remains, through fear the child is unable to commit his resources to the development of friendships. The need for relating to others and the stress upon popularity or success in interpersonal relationships produces an ever present anxiety in the child which is the source of continued tensions in the school and family.² The inability of parents to relieve anxiety in the child has contributed to the decline of their authority which has resulted in a loss of parental confidence.³ Consequently, parents can no longer establish themselves in good faith as examples or inflict physical punishment of any severity, and the result is the resort of the parents to manipulation in the guise of rationalization.⁴

¹Coleman, Adolescent Society, p. 311. (186)
²Henry, Culture, p. 148. (187)
³Coleman, Adolescent Society, p. 51. (188)
⁴Ibid.
The specific roles of the mother and father have changed in American society. In most cultures the father plays a significant part in raising the children. However, in the United States the role of the father in terms of training the children is reduced to but a trace.\(^1\) This is particularly true in the relation of the father to his sons. The father is no longer a model after which the son is expected to pattern himself.\(^2\) The father's major interaction with his son is in the activities of the child - boy scouts, little league baseball, and the like. Therefore, the father is brought into the child's world, but the child has no opportunity to operate in some role in the world of the father.\(^3\)

In America the mother works from the premise that the child is born without fault, and that any psychological defect that develops is due to circumstances beyond one's control or it is due to parental ignorance.\(^4\) Consequently, the American mother has a penchant for following psychological theories of child-raising. However, she can never have the easy assurance of the maternal role in more patterned societies and she is, consequently, ridden with anxiety concern-

\(^{1}\) Gorer, *American People*, p. 54. (189)
\(^{2}\) *Ibid.*, p. 56. (190)
\(^{3}\) Coleman, *Adolescent Society*, p. 312. (191)
ing whether or not she has done the proper thing.¹

Because of the need for close relationships, the parents compete for the affection of their children. Since permisiveness is the major criteria on the part of the children as to who is the "better" parent, parental roles decrease in differentiation, and the parents become more equal to the children.² The growing equality is most obvious in the area of impulse release. In the past children have been expected to control their impulses while the adults were free to indulge. This discontinuity is disappearing not only because it is difficult to maintain, but also because no rewards are given the children for self-restraint.³

Nature of American Adolescents

Adolescence is primarily a social process with the end of self-identification as its purpose.⁴ The adolescent learns to differentiate himself from the culture but in terms of the culture.⁵ Today this process is formulated in terms

¹Ibid., p. 74. (193)
²Henry, Culture, p. 445. (194)
³Ibid., p. 237. (195)
⁴Friedenberg, Vanishing Adolescent, p. 7. (196)
⁵Ibid., p. 9. (197)
of what the adolescent perceives himself to be in the eyes of those who are important to him rather than in terms of what he feels himself to be.\(^1\) This "other-directedness" is fostered by the persistent institutional demands on our youth to be adaptable to the requirements of others.\(^2\) The acceptance of the demands of others as dictating a lifestyle is in effect the standardization of adolescence, and it is bewildering to youth to the extent that it is the cause of escapism of one type or another.\(^3\) The constant self-examination caused by the cultural demand of generalized responses relatively reduces the importance of other problems.\(^4\) The concern about the nature or condition of his interpersonal relations is the well-spring of anxiety for the adolescent.\(^5\) This generated anxiety has created a lack of self-confidence and intensified a wish to be independent, for a submissive personality finds it difficult to concede to others.\(^6\) However, continued dependence on parents with concomitant fears of self-doubt contribute to the syndrome

\(^1\) Erikson, *Childhood*, p. 307. (198)  
\(^2\) Riesman, *Lonely Crowd*, p. (199)  
\(^3\) Erikson, *Childhood*, p. 307. (200)  
\(^4\) Murphy, *Human Potentialities*, p. (201)  
\(^5\) Henry, *Culture*, p. 161. (202)  
\(^6\) Ibid., p. 261. (203)
of inadequacy. Adult hostility toward adolescents is a factor contributing to youth's feeling of inadequacy and separation from society.\(^1\) This irrational hostility is characterized by a desire to isolate youth from the adult world.\(^2\) This adult hostility toward youth is an indication of a lack of values and sterility in American society.\(^3\)

The American adolescent has a number of salient characteristics. One that distinguishes the adolescent from the juveniles is his tremendous emphasis on competence.\(^4\) This is reflected in a number of areas of adolescent life, but is most clearly shown in the regard for sports which generate "self-substance" for everyone regardless of his role.\(^5\) However, as areas of competence (music, sports, automobiles modification, etc.) are being exploited commercially, the importance of individual competence declines, and it is "...replaced by discrimination in choice among mass produced articles."\(^6\) Another characteristic of the American adoles-

\(^1\)Friedenberg, *Vanishing Adolescent*, p. 177. (204)
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 78. (205)
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 200. (206)
\(^4\)Ibid., p. 60. (207)
\(^5\)Henry, *Culture*, p. 191. (208)
\(^6\)Friedenberg, *Vanishing Adolescent*, p. 63. (209)
cent is his lack of political sense. Such concepts as human dignity and tolerance are not operable. A sense of indignation arises only in regard to the violation of the principle of fair play which is related primarily to sports. Righteousness is related to perceptions of strength and weakness. In regard to discrimination, the adolescent accepts others on the basis of personal choice, not on the basis of citizenship. In essence, he chooses to ignore those of other races, and this is primarily due to the fact that he is being "unfair." Another characteristic of the adolescent is that he is anti-intellectual; those who think too much are odd, and it is only circumstances that force him to think. The adolescent's propensity to cheat in school may be related to his anti-intellectual attitude, but it is more related to "...the system of rationalizations by which one makes his frauds acceptable to his Self." Socialization in the adolescent culture provides its members with a system of defenses that protects the Self from attack by the voices of conscience.

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1Erikson, Childhood, p. 315. (210)
2Ibid., (211)
3Ibid., (212)
4Ibid., (213)
5Henry, Culture, p. 205. (214)
6Ibid.
Political Conditions

Politics shapes the nature of people and their character as it affects their experiences and their interpretations of them.\(^1\) In a democracy the accessibility of the political apparatus to the people is a requirement if they are to have a degree of voice in the political decisions that affect them. However, politics is on a mass scale, and the more effective particular political associations become, the less accessible they are to individual influence.\(^2\) The moral influence of interest (veto) groups on politics has declined as these groups have become large in number and diverse in interests.\(^3\) In addition, the centralization of organizations with the concomitant concentration of power has weakened the influence of publics (voluntary influence groups) to the extent that they have lost their political will (influence).\(^4\) The political influence of large organizations is great; yet, within them it is difficult to determine who the leaders are and who makes the decisions.\(^5\) Nevertheless, the power to make decisions is

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\(^1\)Riesman, *Lonely Crowd*, p. 180. (215)
\(^2\)Mills, *Power*, p. 33. (216)
\(^3\)Riesman, *Lonely Crowd*, p. 211. (217)
\(^4\)Mills, *Power*, p. 37. (218)
\(^5\)Riesman, *Lonely Crowd*, p. 220. (219)
so imbedded in the military-political-economic sphere, that the desires and needs of other areas of society have been subordinated to them.¹ In a complex society the political leaders require feedback from all levels, particularly from the exploratory behavior of middle and lower levels.²

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER THREE

The following is a list of propositions summarizing the information reported in the analysis. The propositions are organized according to the general topics in which they appeared in the text.

General Characteristics of the American

1. The prime characteristic of Americans is their desire to acquire, manipulate and exploit things, and Americans feel that their desires must be immediately fulfilled.

2. The "star system" operates in the United States and this is based on the relation of the "star" (individual exploiter) to the audience rather than to the development of his craftsmanship.

3. Americans place a great emphasis on the physical characteristics of youth, and this supports their optimism

¹Mills, Power, p. 27. (220)
²Packard, Affluent Society, p. 213. (221)
concerning an ever-developing promising future.

4. The ideal American is one who is a reservoir of energy and motivation; however, the optimism that supports such a view is decreasing as alienation as a societal condition develops.

5. Americans are insatiable in regard to their requirements for friendship, and evidences of the desire to accept others and be accepted by them must be shown in every social situation.

6. The atomization of experience is a salient characteristic of American life.

7. Americans exhibit many phobias which inhibit their rational powers.

8. The American Creed is a set of values of historic origin which represent a moralistic interpretation of what America ought to be.

9. The Creed is rarely operational in terms of application in the society, and this has led to a conflict in what Americans do and what they believe.

10. Unrealistic expectancies generated by an unrealistic cultural ideology have resulted in mass frustration and neurosis.
The Economic System

11. The economic system is based on the production of goods for profit rather than for social utility, and consequently, the production of things and the stimulation of their consumption has become an end in itself.

12. The standard of living dominates the style of life in this country.

13. The Puritan Ethic is no longer a set of operational values.

14. The distribution of material rewards and social recognition is not based on human values but on the income that one receives.

15. A preoccupation with production has led to the acceptance of a concern to protect the economic system at the sacrifice of values; hence, much of the productive capacity is devoted to armaments, and the result has been the creation of a "military industrial complex."

The Nature of Work

16. The change in the nature and incentives of work has resulted in the increased alienation of professionals as well as blue and white collar workers.
17. Work which now seems most like "play" is now highly regarded.

**Complex Organizations**

18. The basis of the bureaucratic "ethic" involves recognizing the organization as the source of "good."

19. Complex organizations and the "social ethic" which operates within them permeates modern American society.

20. Complex organizations are essentially autocratic and beyond political control of the public although the services that they perform affect the public well-being.

21. As a result of their design, complex organizations suppress creativity and create alienated employees.

**Social Class**

22. The American status system is based on relativity - that is, one is judged in terms of his peers.

23. The source of status is changing from property accumulated to the amount of formal education possessed, technical skills, and the reputation of the corporation for which one works.

24. The growth of oligarchy is a trait of this society in which the upwardly mobile control the large organiza-
tions and their political and economic affiliations.

25. The fluidity of the American status system produces anxiety and tensions which has caused the country to become a nation of joiners and conformists.

Conformity

26. Americans are constantly judged by their peers as to the social class to which they belong, "success in life," patriotism, consumer tastes and so forth.

27. Today, obedience to the groups is not so much conformity as it is response to what is considered a moral imperative.

Alienation

28. Americans feel they are no longer able to control social forces, and the counter to this sense of alienated responsibility is faith in a rewarding future.

29. Two sources of alienation in American society are a pervasive anxiety and the decline of the effect of the protestant ethic.

30. Americans respond to leisure-time activities in an alienated fashion.

31. Americans in general are dissatisfied with their
society; however, they are unable to conceptualize or act upon alternatives for change.

Role of Conflict

32. Conflict is inevitable in a rapidly changing society; however, in America it is depreciated and minimized in the various institutions.

33. As long as America is relatively accepting of change, a generational conflict will intensify, while serving the purpose of creating more change.

34. The stability of a culture depends on the effectiveness of its conflict outlets, and to the degree that the democratic process operates, differences will be tolerated and conflict outlets provided.

Law and Order

35. American law is composed to a large extent of ideals which create an unreconcilable gap between reality and that which is desirable.

36. The conception that there is a higher law behind the written law creates confusion as to who is the judge. More and more the citizen tends to decide whether it is right for him to obey or disobey.

37. Americans have become alienated from the authority of
the central government while still being able to respond to the authority of local governments.

38. Laws are passed without due consideration and the standard of legal administration in this country is low. Both factors contribute to a general depreciation of the law.

39. A general deprecatory attitude to law is existent in this society, and it is supportive of the strong anarchistic tendencies which exist in America.

**Discrimination**

40. Being an American is an act of will and those who do not choose to assert themselves toward Americanism are not worthy of full recognition as humans.

41. The prime criteria for being American is adjudged on the basis of appearance, and colored skin is a factor which merits disqualification.

42. The practice of discrimination in the United States cannot be made possible without the upper caste being involved in self-deceit.

43. People are typed according to class categories rather than according to individual ability.
Education

44. The prime purpose of education is to indoctrinate children in cultural beliefs. The school is primarily an agent for enforcing social demands and secondly, one for insuring academic standards.

45. Many of the practices of the school reflect erroneous applications: (1) many of the classroom explanations are false, (2) schools teach that generalizations are difficult to apply, (3) "school mental health" is a distortion of reality, (4) the system of academic competition is damaging psychologically, (5) there is much criticism among educators to return to an academic tradition which never existed in this country.

46. Formal education is now the prime means of social mobility.

47. The schools lack internal mechanisms for change and improvement.

The American Family

48. The American family has relinquished many of its traditional functions over the past five or six decades.

49. The mobility of the American family contributes to the inability of children to make enduring relationships with others.
50. With the decline of their authority, parents are not able to establish themselves as models.

51. Control of children takes the form of manipulation.

**American Adolescents**

52. The process of adolescent identification is made in terms of what one perceives others to think him to be rather than in terms of what one feels himself to be.

53. The generalized feeling of inadequacy and anxiety in today's youth greatly contributes to an intensified wish to be independent.

54. Adolescents place a great deal of emphasis upon personal competence, but areas which the adolescent develops are exploited commercially, and with this, importance of the individual competence declines.

55. The adolescent lacks a political sense and such concepts as human dignity and tolerance are not operable as such.

**Political Conditions**

56. The democratic aspect of the government is decreasing as the political decision-making is becoming less accessible to the people.

57. Decision-making power is so centered in the military-
political-economic sphere that the needs of other areas of society have been subordinated to them.
CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURE AS A SOURCE OF CURRICULUM CONTENT AND DESIGN ELEMENTS

Contemporary Culture

Introduction

Although the preceding analysis presented cultural conditions in a topical form which was dictated by the method used, there are more significant characteristics which can be employed. One concerns the American as such, his life style or the typical ways of behaving that are brought to cultural situations. Another refers to generalised trends in American society that affect that style and the institutional contexts in which Americans live. This section of the research will attempt to describe these characteristics using information that was drawn from that presented in Chapter Three. Relationships will be drawn between them and content and design elements in curriculum development.

The American Life-Style

One salient characteristic of Americans is that which will be referred to as the role of the autonomous evaluator.
This role, which in the main is apparently unassailable, refers to the American's predilection to evaluate his experience in terms of personal criteria. For example, Americans feel that they can judge the righteousness of a law, and then feel free to disobey. There is a higher law than that of the courts and the source appears to reside in the judgment of the individual. One can contrast this attitude with the Spanish regard for law which is one of literal acceptance. judgment of Americanism is made primarily on that of appearance; however, the important element is that the criteria is in terms of what the person ought to look like in the mind of the person making the evaluation. There is an element of relativism involved in this type of valuation which could be mistaken as egalitarianism. The judgment is made in terms of how the person ought to appear when compared with his peers. For example, a barber is compared to other barbers when his financial success is being evaluated. He is not compared to the Rockerfellers or DuPonds. This relativism prevails in relation to judging a person in terms of social class, academic and athletic successes, professional advancement, and other facets of his experience.

Beginning with the premise that a prime characteristic

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1Hall, Silent Language, p. 14.
of Americans is the ability to relate to, act on, and evaluate momentary and disconnected elements in their experience, it is possible to speculate about the interplay of some of the cultural conditions that were identified earlier in this study. This ability of Americans to fragment their experience and react to it in an individualistic and positive manner may well have historical roots. The development of this country in the early days would seem to call for people who could respond to the exigencies of the day regardless of their context. Likewise, the early industrial period seemed to benefit from people who could readily respond to the fragmentation of the early standardization and specialization of work. The ability of Americans to adapt to daily situations and even adjust their life attitudes accordingly has been recognized by Gorer when he mentioned that during World War II the Americans could see themselves as accountants or service station attendants on one day, and, for example, military pilots on the next. Englishmen, on the other hand, bound much more by tradition and more oriented toward internalizing their roles in society, had a great deal of difficulty in changing roles, and many could not do it successfully.¹ At any rate, there appear to be a number of conditions which fostered the development of this characteristic

¹Gorer, American People, p. 162.
among Americans. As noted there has been the notion of a higher law subject to individual interpretation which was inserted in the Declaration of Independence. In the early development of the country the existence of poor communication systems provided a condition where recently established authority had great difficulty in exerting itself beyond its particular locus. In addition, the opportunity for Americans to exercise or assert their independence of action and judgment was nurtured by a comparatively small population, a condition which provided many opportunities in terms of the developing agriculture and industry.

During the industrial period, there was the rapid formation of groups that Mills calls publics.¹ These were entirely open groups, voluntary and independent, which represented particular kinds of interests. In effect, they protected the interests or willfulness of the individual. Many of these publics pressured for economic legislation to control the power of industrial concerns which were developing and extending bureaucratic organization. The power of the publics made those in control of the political machinery more visible as witnessed by the popular election of senators and the enfranchisement of women. The period was marked by confrontation, conflict and violence. The general

effect was to preserve and project the feeling that the individual was able to judge the righteousness of issues and was able to be effective in doing so. Generally, the individual had the confidence that he had a significant degree of autonomous choice in matters affecting him. In the interim, social organization was changing with the introduction of technology, the growth of the corporation and the rapidly expanding population.

While much has changed in American life in over a hundred years, the basic tendency for the American to play the role of the "autonomous evaluator" remains fundamentally intact. One of the important issues of the day is civil disobedience which is currently focused on the issues of military service and civil rights. This characteristic of challenging the order also reflects itself in a self-serving tendency in regard to the evasion of income tax and traffic regulations, and disregard for academic honesty. In fact, the tendency to obey or disobey out of obscurely based moral reasons or those of admitted self-interest is supported by the middle class who through their actions have given birth to the term, "white collar crime." This has a relation to what Jules Henry labeled "impulse release," which he describes as a widespread need to have desires instantly satis-
What may be fundamental to the term is a culturally derived need on the part of the individual to constantly make choices and act upon them. In an age where many areas of endeavor are being closed to individuals, the area of product consumption is ever developing, giving an outlet to individuals who must feel that they are able to assert themselves in an autonomous fashion. The advertising industry is aware of the fact that Americans have little need for evidence of the quality of consumer goods. The individual's attention has focused itself on acquisition and competition among others who indulge in indiscriminate consumption.

Fundamental to the role of the "autonomous evaluator" is the American rejection of authority. It is a logical assumption that to the degree that one accepts authority, he rejects his own autonomy. A salient feature of the American Dream was "to be one's own boss." The hope to control one's economic fortunes is at the heart of self-centered independence, and it is respected in other persons. Politicians are accepted if they appear to be pursuing their work for economic gain, but if it is felt that they are pursuing power in order to control others, they are held suspect. The deep distrust of political authority is evidenced in the Constitution which is held in holy es-

1Henry, Culture, p. 228.
teem by many. The desire to reverse the trend toward political centralization and return to "local control" has been a focal point of recent elections.

The American tendency toward anti-intellectualism and irrationality may well have some of its roots in the characteristic rejection of authority. Rationality is authority, and the intellectual is one who asserts that authority. Authority in any form is a threat to the "autonomous evaluator." Until recently, educators had little status in this country. Teachers in particular have been long regarded as second-class citizens, and the notion that teachers teach because they can't do anything else has been widely held. Americans generally consider themselves expert in judging and prescribing curriculum, and they feel free to tell teachers how to go about their business properly when they feel educators have erred. Formal education was once regarded as a rather wasteful enterprise. However, times have changed, and education is now a prime factor in social mobility. One might speculate that the present "student revolt" has a source in the rejection of the assumption of authority of education over the student's social and political future. The "revolt is solid in form but amorphous in substance."¹

The purpose of preserving and asserting the role of the "autonomous evaluator" is to demonstrate the supremacy of the individual over traditional authority or generalized goals that would thwart him. The American Dream has served, in part, as a legitimizing doctrine which has had the function of preserving the willfulness of the individual and certain general conditions which enable him to operate in his chosen fashion. It stresses material success, and on a specific level it means an adequate standard of living. The Creed has also functioned to keep certain humanistic and social values in the forefront. But the American is not tradition-oriented and much of the Creed has lost effect in terms of operational values, and what appears to remain is the materialistic emphasis. Americans need immediate goals and these are not primarily drawn from any moralistic doctrine; the Puritan Tradition is gone along with the Creed. Goals are drawn primarily from the technical orientation of society. Even so, it is difficult for Americans to relate to generalized and idealized goals, and because there is an unconscious necessity to do so generated by the old doctrines, behavior tends to become purposeless for many. The feeling related to lack of purpose, connected to the inability to relate to long-range goals, has been identified as a cause of at least one type of alienation.¹

It has been suggested that the American has a cultural life-style that he brings to societal situations. The American is willful, and he rejects those elements in society that tend to subject that characteristic. His ability to relate to long-range goals is restricted and this is due, in part, to his rejection of such elements as tradition and authority which can give continuity to society's goals. He is short-sighted and reacts strongly to the momentary situations in his experience when he is able to clarify the elements. However, when he is unable to identify the elements in his experience and react to them in terms of short-term goals, he becomes undirected. The willfulness remains and it can erupt in unpredictably violent and alienated forms.

At the foundation of the American character is a socialized form of rational self-interest.¹ The degree of obedience to a societal code depends on whether it will result in material reward. The American promises variations in two directions which appear diametrically opposed at first glance. First, there is the expectation of constructive and often cooperative work, and there is also a potentiality for anarchy and nihilism.

The Conceptualization and Reality of Norms

There is much in the American belief system that relates to what society conceives itself to be rather than evidencing concern for what it is. Much of the ideation embodied in the American Creed relates to the respect of the majority and minority, rule by law, and equalization of opportunity. A great deal that has occurred in American life in the nineteen sixties demonstrates that the realities of the normative systems are much different from what has been the conceptualization of those norms. The rule of law appears to be a shaky structure at best. Organized crime is rife, and the individual crime rate is at an all-time high. Court dockets are swamped and the efficiency and integrity of law enforcement is under attack, and numerous riots have resulted in alienated populations. A recent commission on disorder in the country state that the greatest threat is an internal one. In addition, the question of equal opportunity has led to parent strikes over the bussing issue, protests by unions, and street riots. Even the question of majorities and minorities has become confused. Are the authorities of a university a vested minority or the representatives of a larger constituency? The same question has been asked regarding the police and other agencies. The terms "establishment," "tyranny of the minority," and the

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"silent center" (silent majority), are applied indiscriminately in such a way as to confuse the issue completely. However beautifully conceived the American Creed may be, the normative acceptance of the means to realize such ends do not exist. The fundamentally Christian norms which would support the Creed have given way to those that relate to competition regarding social class superiority, economic gain and political exploitation. The great difference that exists between the traditional affirmation of personal and national goals and the existing ones that operate within the characterological structure of the society has produced neurosis, violence, and accentuated generational alienation.

The existence of the difference between the operational norms and the idealized belief system has specific, as well as generalist, application. For example, the assumption that those of the world ought to aspire to Americanism with the concomitant proposition that certain peoples are forever barred has led to a paradox with frightening consequences. During the last thirty years the country has been involved

in a series of Asian conflicts for the purpose of asserting American ascendancy. The alleged purpose of the wars has been to assure the freedom of the Asiatic peoples that the United States can't accept. Consequently, there are large segments of the American population that have become alienated. Some, in chauvinistic spirit, are unhappy because American technology has been denied "total victory." Others are disenchanted because they must fight, and still others are upset on the basis of "ethical principles." Threatening everyone, however, is the specter of economic disaster brought about by the need for national assertion through war and the stronger desire to pursue the world of material manipulation. Immobilized in national neurosis, and beset by phobia, the country is unable to relate positive purposes which are acceptable to a large number of people.

Another example of problems created by the difference in the reality and conception of norms can be found in the conflict surrounding opposing views of the Negro's place in society. The Negro initially had referred to the ideas of Christian brotherhood as the rationale for his acceptance. As he has pleaded his case and felt increased rejection, his disillusionment with the American Creed has increased. A manifestation of this is the concept of "black power" which has resulted through the rejection of humanistic elements
of the Creed by white America. Herein is an example of the erosion of the idealized belief system. In the case of the Negro, the rejection of Christian humanism is replaced by the search for "black identity." This is a re-formation of the idea of doctrine rather than a rejection of it. In other aspects of society, however, the rejection of the Creed has not resulted in the substitution of an easily identified doctrine, but in the fragmentation of behavior which is justified as an end in itself.¹ Much of this behavior has resulted in escapism of one type or another. Many have put increased emphasis on the American trait of narcotization. The use of drugs by many shows a change in the form of narcotization as identified by Gorer, but not in the general emphasis.

The disintegration in the idealized belief system, the American Creed, has resulted in a more open exposure of American society. Many patterns of behavior which were supported by tradition are now being challenged by basic American tendencies. The idea that one ought to be as rational as possible in the pursuit and derivation of his goals is challenged by a combination of mysticism, alienation, and the use of drugs.² The weakening of that aspect of the

¹Barnes, Existential Ethics, p. 255.
²Ibid., p. 199.
"Creed" that stressed respect for law and order, has opened a void into which the traditional American distrust for authority has asserted itself. Riots, campus demonstrations, and public school rebellion are but a few examples of the results. The American penchant for exploitation has taken advantage of the changing mores, and the legitimate theatre, motion picture and publishing industries have demonstrated format that wouldn't have been tolerated a generation ago. The increase of leisure time that most Americans now have has been exploited in the "fun" industry as more opportunities are made available for people to "consume" their leisure time. It was noted earlier that one of the outstanding characteristics of the American was his ability to live with fragmented experience. In a sense, the continued disintegration of the idealized belief system is as much prompted by this American tendency as it is supported by it. One of the sources of the disintegration of the belief system lies in the widespread development of technology.

The Dominance of Technique

The Pervasiveness of Technology

Technology as defined in this research is the standardization of patterns of adaptation. Standardization refers to the analysis of the component parts in a task. Also involved is the allocation of resources. That is, there is a
decision made related to the areas which will be developed technically. Technical systems can be as simple as sharpening a stake with a piece of bone, or as complicated as an electronic computer. In addition, techniques need not have as their prime focus many operations or devices. They may involve comparatively sophisticated communications procedures such as those involved in "human relations" programs or psycho-therapy. Techniques can be found in various stages of development.

Every culture has its technical aspects. It is the emphasis placed on the value of technique that separates the technical civilization from the non-technical. The technically oriented society looks for manipulative procedures that can be standardized. The basis for selection is the degree of "efficiency" to which the process can accomplish the task, however, standards of efficiency are often loosely defined, and sometimes are modified to justify the employment of technique.¹ As a technique is formulated that is more efficient than another, the predecessor is classified as obsolete. It is the collectivity of these procedures and the decisions they involve which characterize the technical society. There is a turbulent nature of the culture which is due to the identification and "testing" of technique. This

¹Ellul, Technological Society, p. 110.
is "dynamic change" and as it develops, larger areas of the lives of people become open to technical domination. The production worker to the comptroller spend their work day dominated by the technique of the factory, and, likely most of their "leisure time" is dominated by other standardized procedures such as operation of the automobile, the use of the television, household appliances, and participation in games such as bowling. The means or technique dominate his purpose. That is, being technically oriented, he is apt to use the readily available techniques. To the degree that he does, he is dominated by the procedures. To the degree that society is involved in technical operations, it becomes totalitarian. The ability to influence becomes increasingly based on the ability to produce, control, and manipulate technical procedures.

Many of the conditions that caused concern amongst the authors sampled in Chapter Three of this research fall into the technical category. Some of these concerns, along with others, will be noted in the following detailing of the pervasiveness of technical procedures. There are some general categories which can be useful in this brief analysis. First, there exists the application of technical procedures to serve what can be recognized as life-centered needs. In this category are some obvious entries such as the whole
complex of activities centered around "medical science," at one time known as the medical arts. There are technical procedures surrounding the production and packing of food, and the construction industry. Topically, these would include the military, police, consumer services, legal complex, politics and education. Involved in all of these areas are technical operations and many of them are manipulative in nature. Human relations procedures and the accepted distortions of the advertising industry are included. These techniques are becoming increasingly important in politics. In education the influence of technique is clear. It ranges from systems of analysis of "teacher behavior" to programmed learning, the use of media, and "sensitivity training."

The Influence of Technique

One procedure in attempting to estimate the influence of technique is to isolate some of the human processes or activities with which it is in opposition. Technique runs counter to intuition and insight. To develop an idea or generally accepted process without "proof" of its applicability or grounding in the "conventional wisdom" is increasingly difficult. It is only speculation, but one can well wonder with what kind of acceptance a Marks, Lague, or Simmel would be greeted today. A recent scholar of similar ilk, C. W. Mills, has not been met with general acceptance
by today's dominant technical school of sociologists. Yet, a student of intellectual history claims that it is just this kind of global thinking that is necessary to give purpose and productivity to the politically disenchanted of America. Yet, he is not at all optimistic that such thought will be developed in the technical atmosphere of this country.¹ Technique opposes conflict which can be at the source of innovation and it was noted that conflict is not viewed as a human condition, but as a breakdown of communication—conflict is a technical problem. Technique is also opposed to the irrational choice. Technique is grounded on rational self-interest based in the aura of efficiency. To choose irrationally cannot be accepted, but such a move may create a host of alternatives of potential benefit.

Technique limits certain other kinds of human processes. Whyte speaks of the creative limitation of the scientist and notes that in recent years that America has contributed little to the major discoveries of "pure" science. The contribution of American scientists lies in technical or engineering refinement. Technical operations may at least limit choice-making, and its optimal assertion may seek to influence choices for the ulterior motives of those in control. Henry speaks of the "socialization of

¹Bottomore, Radical Thought, p. 114.
taste" - that we want that which is made available. Galbraith expands the theme saying that which is made available is dominated by the techniques of conventional economics which is tied to the profit motive. This development of the institutionalization of wants also institutionalizes dysfunctions.\(^1\) For example, there exists a large number of poor primarily because relatively few control the means of production and distribution and will disperse goods according to their own terms which are primarily based on profit-making. In order to placate the poor, and thereby reduce pressures on those in control of goods and services, the government has been charged with the administration of various technical assistance programs. Another example, perhaps less striking, of the institutionalization of problems can be identified in the operation of the school systems. Although problems within the schools have been identified for a considerable time, the technical organization (bureaucracy) makes it very difficult to change processes which are apparently dysfunctional. Institutionalized dysfunctions are blamed in part for causing alienation, anomie, and dejection.

\(^1\)Paul Goodman, *Like a Conquered Province*, p. 86.
Techniques influence society in other ways. They may well contribute to the radical change in various institutions. That of the family comes to mind. Several critics point out the loss of traditional functions of the family. Gorer points to the American mother's penchant for seeking the correct method by which to raise her child noting that she is deprived of the security of cultural child-raising traditions. Gorer also speaks of the vestigial role of the father which has resulted from the continuous "democratization" of the family. Techniques have been applied to the ailing family in an attempt to strengthen it in terms of older values. The techniques include psycho-therapy, group therapy, "family services," compensatory education, "re-grouping," planned-parenting, and sex education. A logical development in envisioned is a new plan of thought the child raising function is enforced by the family technicians who supervise the growth of the child by using procedures developed through the "science of man." 

The American character is ideally suited for a technological culture. Technological application means fragmentation of experience for individuals. Americans have a high tolerance. Techniques, although they may be limited in their ends, can be alternately included in generalised patterns.

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of behavior without disturbing the orientation of the people involved. Organizational processes are a case in point. The original development of the T-group had limited ends. However, it is now being widely applied outside of the concept of organizational development. While there is little evidence to support the wide claims made for it, sensitivity training is being used extensively in the motivation of people. Americans take to this kind of operation. If there is a technique at hand, a place for its use will generally be found. The result of this may have extreme ramifications in terms of the direction of society in the future.

The general acceptance of technical patterns has a feudal atmosphere about it. The totalitarian aspect of technology need not become politically oppressive. Indeed, there is a benevolence about the technical culture represented in the "high" standards of living. This may well account for the acceptance of technical restraints. When technology was used to exploit the masses as in the early days of the industrial revolution in this country, a revolutionary element with definite goals and purposes was in evidence. There are those who are poor today, to be sure, but the jargon goes that they are so because they do not have the technical skills to participate in society. The government, consequently, is sponsoring technical training programs for a
number of them so they can enjoy the fruits of society. By and large this is the embodiment of the feudal quality of the technical culture. The economic, political and protective functions become emerged in an oligarchical elite (military-political-industrial complex) which "takes care" of the needs of the population in terms of their own definitions. In turn the people accept manipulation of such technical systems relating to social security, monetary policies, compulsory military service, taxation, atomic energy, communications media, and education. The political edge softens as those who govern best become those who best manipulate the technical systems. Leaders are judged by how the majority benefits, and the majority who receives will increase in size as techniques develop. Ideas of local control and rugged individualism are dysfunctional and probably mouthed by most out of emotionalism rather than conviction. When these ideas are really expressed by such groups as the "hippies" they are greatly scorned by the majority who recognize the potent challenge of intuition, improvisation, and creativity to the technical culture.

**Technical Anarchy: Means as Ends**

Ostensibly the technical aspects of man's behavior is to improve his condition. However, improvement implies judgments which are not involved in the neutrality of technique. If technical means are to improve the human condition,
they must be directed to do so. For example, in television today, the programs which have the highest ratings are those that survive. The ratings rather than the caliber or nature of the entertainment determine the status of the program. Hence, a technique - the rating, becomes an end. A school system was recently lauded for exposing the scores that students had achieved on standardized tests. They system was compared with other systems to see which of those compared was the better. Limited technical evidence was used to make a judgment in regard to the total effectiveness of the systems. The aim becomes one of doing well as "measured" by certain kinds of techniques. Again, techniques become ends. The essential point seems to be that despite what many may profess, despite the criticisms of technology and common awareness of such problems as pollution, technique, independent of these factors, generates its own means and ends beyond any interpretation of morality or human need. In fact, technique generates ends despite human need or common sense. The aircraft is invented and a bomb is fused to the vehicle and a missile is born. Then, anti-missile missiles are developed, and because they promise to be effective, a missile carrying other missiles is to be built - thus the energies of man are used, and somehow it makes common sense that it be so. Such terms as Henry's "technical drivenness," Whyte's "organization man," Riesman's "other-directed,"
Packard's "the status seekers," and Latil's "la pensee artificielle," all suggest what appears to be almost an irrecoverable and undirected departure from Western values which were comparatively manageable. To the list of terms might be added another - technical anarchy, which refers to the determination of the direction of society through technical orientations which are independent of the culture's ability to manage them.

Georg Simmel refers to freedom as a dynamic assertion in relation to a defined purpose.¹ When man no longer asserts his dependence or independence in regard to social factors, he is open to all of the claims of the social matrix and he will move toward those with the greatest power of exploitation. In the present case this would include those who control and promote technology. The point of concern, however, is that those who control the technical matrix have little power over the direction that technique takes them and society. The possible results vary in predictability. Man's capability of destroying the planet makes total disaster possible. On the other hand, man's technical discoveries conjure utopian visions. However, it can probably be stated with certainty that those visions will remain

little more than that unless man is able to halt the hap-
hazard determination of events by technical anarchy and com-
bine social purpose, techniques, and knowledge of social
structure into obviously positive action. In light of what
has been said about the nature of technical determinism,
steps toward positive social action need to be taken if
societal survival is to be a result rather than a coincidence.

A Dynamic View of Culture

The preceding hints at several dimensions of culture.
Recognition that there is an American characteristical type
suggests the idea of structure in a cultural situation.
There is a degree of rigidity of form imposed by the charac-
teristics of people. These characteristics, combined with
social organization and the arrangement of inanimate objects
in each situation, completes the notion of structure. The
discussion of techniques connotes a procedural dimension.
The discussion of goals or direction in society and in per-
sonal behavior brings to mind a purpose dimension. The
three categories of structure, procedure, and purpose com-
pose the perimeters of a cultural situation. The interaction
of these factors consist of the cultural process from which
a product results. Figure 1 illustrates the basic model.
FIGURE 1
BASIC CULTURAL INTERACTION MODEL

The basic model defines culture in a dynamic sense. It is proposed that the three dimensions interact in such a way as to produce conditions or products which may or may not be thought beneficial. The basic purpose of the use of the model is to attempt to view the operation of cultural factors to the limit of our knowledge of them with the end of exercising some control over human situations.

It has been proposed that the basic model presented can be used at various levels of cultural interaction. The following is to demonstrate the use of the model on a general cultural level. Lowie lists a number of prime activities
related to culture. Although this list does not specify functions of culture as such, some basic purposes of culture can be derived from it. One can assume that the purpose of culture is to provide an environment where the life of society, and hence that of the individuals within it, can survive. If the purpose of culture is to deal with the promotion of life, several functions can be defined. One is a life-giving function. This would include activities related to food production and basic family activities which contribute to life-giving. Included also would be fundamental economic exchanges, and the stimulation and communication of ideas which motivate and stimulate people in terms of promoting life-giving activities.

The purpose dimension of culture has a life-sustaining and a life-enriching function in addition to the life-giving one. The sustaining function has to do with protective activities such as those relating to medicine (religion and magic), larger family functions involving rituals, dress (basic ornament, indications of rank), local (clan) government, and law. In addition, this function would the complex of economic activities which in more complex cultures would maintain life in larger quantity than that of the "simpler"

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cultures. The life-enrichment function is that which provides for inter-actions of people and groups in activities related to goals other than those related to the other basic functions. Included in this would be such activities as the processing and creation of knowledge, artistic endeavors, and formalized education.

The structure of the culture is formed of at least three factors: the social norms, physical arrangement of cultural objects, and the characteristic type of the individuals within the culture. The norms refer to the generalized rules and expectations of society. They would also include the accepted units of social organization. Object arrangement refers to the accepted placement and arrangement of animate and inanimate cultural objects. It would include the arrangement of settlements, placement of people within the settlements, and the design and arrangement of objects. The characteristic type refers to those attitudes which are common to the people within the culture. The structural dimension of the culture encompasses a certain rigidity which limits the possibilities of operations.

The procedural dimensions of culture deals with specific processes or techniques which ostensibly fulfill an identifiable purpose. Most often procedures purportedly result in actions in which there is an observable result.
Procedures range the whole gamut from techniques relating to the making of fire, cooking formulas, therapeutic techniques, and engineering procedures, to special kinds of social organization designed for particular purposes. Admittedly, at times there is a fine line between norms and procedures. Norms may dictate the use of certain techniques for particular purposes. For example, now, lack of general agreement as to the proper use of drugs is obvious. The condition of technical application assuming normative functions as a part of the cultural process has been mentioned.  

The procedural dimension includes three prime factors. One deals with productive techniques. Generally, this would include the formation of products or devices in industrial and agricultural production and the development of ideas for the creation and processing of chemicals. The second factor deals with motive techniques. This would include the transport or motion of objects. It includes traditional categories of transportation and communication. It would also include technically derived procedures for the manipulation of people from one goal to another. The third factor deals with the allocation of resources. This would include processes related to decision-making, assessment, and the establishment of priorities. The development of these three

\[\text{Supra, p. 145}\]
dimensions of culture, purpose, structure, and procedure provides a model of cultural interaction at a general level. (Figure 2, page 173).

The model viewed on a general level has several advantages. It asserts that culture has positive functions, and that these functions are supported by structures and procedures. When the structures and procedures do not support the prime purposes of culture, the life-oriented goals, then dysfunctions appear which accumulated in quantity will radically alter or destroy the society. It is clear that the cultural process does not include a natural balance between purpose, structure, and procedures. The structural and procedural elements of culture can and do combine to produce conditions which are contrary to the life-oriented functions of culture. Apparently, recognizing dysfunctional conditions is not enough to create a modification of them.

Heilbrunner notes there are three priorities which are opposed to life-oriented functions. They are: the priority of military over civilian needs, private claims over public needs, and the power of the rich over the poor.¹ He is not optimistic that purposes can be established to reverse these conditions. Attempts have been made to identify social pur-

FIGURE 2

MODEL OF CULTURAL INTERACTION AT A GENERAL LEVEL
poses, but efforts to stimulate action have been far from encouraging.¹ It seems logical that if the techniques for defining purpose and instituting action are controlled by a relative few, the result of such attempts at a national purpose cannot be applicable to the wide range of interests in the country.

While the establishment of purposes or priorities at a national level has not been successful at this point, it seems that essential planning and marshalling of resources at the centralized level, fraught with all the problems that such control entails, is going to be a necessity.² Waste of resources on military equipment needs to be brought under control to preserve the economy and provide funds for human needs; the cities need to be made inhabitable, and the destruction of the environment must be reversed.³ If these things are to be done, long-standing national purposes will have to be established with concomitant plans for fulfill-

¹Hoover's Panel on Recent Social Trends was swept away by the Depression that it was unable to foresee, and procedures were not utilized in order to implement the societal and institutional action called for by Eisenhower's National Goals Commission. The preliminary report of Nixon's National Goals Research Staff is not due until 1976, six years from this writing. One might assume with the rapidity of events that, specifically at least, this report might have difficulty catching up with itself.

²Ellul, Technological Society, p. 324.

The degree of coercion involved, the amount of revolutionary behavior required, and the degree with which the democratic process can accommodate change will depend to a large extent on the manner in which institutions, particularly public institutions, can relate purpose to their structures and procedures of operation. Certainly a general openness of social institutions is needed if the larger spectrum of societal attitudes and needs is to emerge rather than explode. It is suggested that institutions can experiment with attempts to become more receptive and then move to establish guiding purposes to direct technique to life-oriented functions. In doing so, however, it will be necessary for them to consider objectively their purpose, structure, and technical operations.

**The Role of the School**

**The Current Position**

It has been stated that this society is in a condition in which the techniques it employs are determining its direction rather independently of goals that society has or will establish for itself. It has also been stated that some degree of reversal of this trend can be sought by institutions attempting to establish life-oriented purposes that will direct the structure and technique of the organization for their realization. Social institutions, particularly educa-
tional ones, have been criticized for lacking direction. Before speculating on the ability of the school to assume certain types of directions, a brief review of what has been said in this study concerning the present role of the school will be made.

It has been stated that the purpose of education is to indoctrinate children into the culture. If this is true, one would expect the schools to reflect much of the current nature of society. Schools, then, serve the role of perpetuating society rather than acting in the role of a countervailing force or that of a "change agent." The society appears to be dominated by techniques and lacking central purpose. This also appears to be true of the schools. They are quite involved in talk and action concerning innovations, most of which have to do with technical arrangement such as computerizing schedules, programmed instruction, the use of "instructional media," human relations techniques, flexible scheduling and non-graded instruction. Societal institutions have been accused of lacking a guiding purpose and this is reflected in the schools. Although secondary schools are required by accrediting agencies to have a "philosophy" or statement of purpose, there appears little evidence that there are attempts to relate these formal goals to operations. Much of the discussion of purposes in the schools
and in teacher training institutions appears to be just talk.¹ In addition, the schools reflect the fragmentation of experience which is typical of society. The educators penchant for adding courses to the curriculum without evaluation of the program or accompanying programmatic changes was noted a number of years ago.² The fragmentation continues. A recent social studies publication notes that out of some forty new curriculum projects only two deal with social studies programming as such. The remainder deal with rather highly detailed projects relating to economics, anthropology, political science and geography.

The schools of today reflect the culture in a number of other ways. It was noted that one of the prominent conditions of American society was that it reflected beliefs about itself that were not congruent with reality. A similar lack of congruence with reality is reflected in educational thought. Much of the talk by educators and curriculum experts assumes that the schools can take action as change agents. A great deal of educational talk which has concerned the ills of society, and the ability of the schools to act positively upon them, has had a pious and unrealistic

tinge. The charge has been made that a substantial amount of this discourse is not based on scholarly thought. In addition, much of the assertion by educators of their ability to take effective action in terms of social change has a dreamlike quality as it avoids the reality of actual conditions. Schools support that which they perceive to be compatible with societal acceptance, and they are quite callous about culling out those who do not view life as they do. In fact, schools appear to be quite determined to conceal deficits, particularly in regard to the manner in which minorities are treated. This theme of dishonesty and contempt for some values related to the idealized belief system reflects much of that which is in society; however, it is a far cry from the social concern that many educators verbalize.

This culture has been described as an organizational society. That is, the bureaucratic form of social organization dominates the country. The problem is that complex organizations resemble feudal societies with their own

1Srauner, Educational Theory, p. 190.
2Ibid., pp. 222-223.
3Henry, Culture, p. 158.
4Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Coming of Age in America
5Peter Shrag, "Why Our Schools Have Failed," Commentary (March, 1968), p. 36.
ethics and stratification dominated by a small group of elites who are not visible to the population at large. Educational institutions primarily employ the bureaucratic form of organization. Surprisingly, little research has been done as to the effect of bureaucracy on educational goals. However, one extensive research project conducted in the Midwest produced startling results. It indicated that informal institutional goals dominated the accomplishments of the schools studied, and that these were antithetical to what have been considered as professional goals for educators. Even in the face of mounting criticism concerning the ineffectiveness of the schools, and substantial sociological literature dealing with the negative effects of bureaucratic organization, public school educators have shown little evidence of willingness to experiment with departures from this type of structure. Indeed, there has been little evidence that they wish to study bureaucratic or structural effects in their own institutions. In addition, public school administrators, by taking the labor-management posi-

1C. Wright Mills develops this theme on a general level in *The Power Elite*. Robert Presthus in *The Organizational Society* attempts to show specifically how bureaucracies affect people who work within them and society in particular. His work is a more precise development of the theme woven by Whyte in an earlier work, *The Organization Man*.

tion in dealing with teacher organizations, have created the illusion that what is needed is more bureaucratic control rather than less of it. There is evidence to indicate that bureaucracy is rigid and very resistant to change. It appears that if an institution wishes to institute change, the use of a bureaucratic model couldn't be more inappropriate. In standing behind the authority of bureaucracy, educators are protecting a bulwark of society as it exists today.

In this research it was stated that only certain types of people could be awarded full status as Americans. The first criteria to admittance to such status is appearance. Colored peoples, particularly Negroes, are barred. In general the school appears to support this tenet - people have to look like the common conception of Americans to be so. The fact that such a school posture contributes to the alienation of some children and parents does not seem to bother public school officials seriously. Alienation is rife in the country and tolerated, perhaps, even encouraged in other aspects of the culture. The lower class youngsters, some of whom number among the alienated, are caught up in the manipulative grip of the school. Many of these youngsters who can deal with overt conflict "...are helpless in the meshes of middle-class administrative procedure and are rapidly
neutralized and eliminated by it..."¹ This calls to mind the school's attempts to minimize conflict. Minimizing conflict and de-emphasizing problems are societal characteristics which are reflected in the schools.

The preceding indicates that the schools strongly reflect the culture. Some of this has been coincidental. The fragmentation of the curriculum, representative of the American penchant to specialize, has continued for such a long time as to be a tradition. Other actions such as discrimination, manipulation, and the development and maintenance of bureaucratic power has been primarily overt. In the past there has been a general societal acceptance or tolerance of the schools because they have supported the culture at least partially. However, there has been a significant change developing in the last thirty-five years or so that is making an uneasy relationship between the public and the schools. That relates to the condition that education is becoming the prime means of social mobility. The schools are faced with increasing parental uneasiness and hostility as many feel that their children are inadequately prepared for college or anything else for that matter.² The gradually mounting pressure from parents, social action groups, and student action

¹Friedenberg, Vanishing Adolescent, p. 87.
²Stinchcomb, Rebellion, p. 182.
organizations is as strong an impetus for generalized change as has been present on the educational scene for some time. The manner in which schools react to the pressures will depend on several factors. One has to do with how the schools perceive the nature of the culture, and the other deals with the means at hand to implement programs designed to meet the perceived requirements. It has been indicated in this study that school people take a very narrow view of society, and their perceptions are apparently limited. The second factor dealing with the ability of the schools to react to current pressures relates to the means they have at hand. Apparently, the schools have drawn primarily from the culture at large for curriculum design and implementation. It is suggested that one of the most important reasons for this is that much of the curriculum literature that relates to the school and society has been based on an erroneous assumption that the schools' problems can be rationalized by generalists who take a clinical stance.

The Clinical Element in Curriculum Thought

The clinical element in curriculum thought refers to a generalized procedure that many generalists employ when approaching the problem of curriculum design. This consists of viewing society, diagnosing its ills, and either prescribing programs or alluding to prescription. There are a number of assumptions involved in this concept as currently
practiced which need to be examined. The whole idea of the
diagnosis of societal "ills," buttressed with the thought
of eventual prescription, infers the ability to define a
"healthy" culture. If this were done on a generalized level,
the result would be utopian thought. In some important cur-
riculum literature one does find utopian elements often
disconnected from any unifying thought and generalized in
rather romantic terms. For example, Taba notes that there
is "too much" conformity in American society, and what is
needed is a new model of the autonomous man.\(^1\) The diagnosis
is naive without a complete examination of the problem, and
she suggests a prescription of that which doesn't exist.
Berman indicates that there are severe "ills" in society,
and that the way to "cure" them is for the schools to pro-
duce individuals who have developed a wide range of proces-
ses such as those of perceiving, knowing, valuing, and co-
responding. This is the prescription but the means of
producing such an idealized human being are primarily left
to the imagination of the reader.

Generally acceptable criteria for determining the
"healthy" culture do not exist for educators, but many cur-
riculum experts make diagnoses without it. A reference to
Table 2 indicates the wide variance in agreement about what

\(^1\)Taba, *Curriculum Development*, pp. 70-73.
conditions are significant for curriculum developers. It appears that many people formulate the nature or condition of the culture on the basis of whatever evidence they make available to themselves. Without the intervening operation of a method of cultural analysis, the selection of important societal conditions depends on "common sense" or on the person's cultural or personal orientation. Apparently, the amount of scholarship involved in the interpretation becomes a personal option. Much of the "diagnosis" becomes personal and a great deal of its general acceptance depends upon whether educators are prone to agree with the opinion, and not upon the force of logical argument or empirical evidence. Perhaps, the most significant factor common to this mode of thinking is that it focuses on what the schools ought to do rather than considering what they are able to do. Purpose is considered without considering the effect of structure or the availability of means to realize the goals.

Much of the general curriculum thought in regard to cultural dysfunctions operates at a very general level. Gwynn and Chase note that teachers "ought to have" a complete grounding in sociology in order that they will be able to support the family in its changing role without mentioning exactly what knowledge is indicated by a "complete grounding" or how it could be applied. As noted, Berman's
call for the school to concentrate on human processes is at a very general level. When it comes to ways of teaching toward a heightened process level, the text is very vague. It is possible for educators to feel a number of ways about their culture. However, it is difficult for an educator to separate himself from the various ways that the culture expects an educator to act. Murphy noted that the public viewed those educators as subversive who attempted to attack social rigidity. If this is so, it would follow that educators would be timid in addressing themselves specifically to problem areas with the deep commitment to change certain factors. In the analysis of culture as presented in this research, there was severe criticism related to the economic system, political conditions, the American character, social stratification, and education itself. None of these were treated in any detail by the educators surveyed. This is to suggest that the range of problems is culture-bound - bound to those problems that are already generally recognized and are acceptable for discussion by society-at-large.

The clinical position in curriculum thought is also based on the supposition that the schools are able to take positive and effective action concerning the dysfunctions they wish to correct. There appears to be evidence to indicate that the schools have little effect even in cultural
areas in which they have traditionally been engaged. There are indications that traditional education in relation to political socialization has little if any effect. In addition, Gorer stated that the American adolescent has practically no political sense. The schools have emphasized rationality for a significant period of time, and while there has certainly been development in areas of rational thought, Gorer and Henry made considerable reference to the widespread existence of phobia and folklore. In addition, widespread disorder in the high schools and in institutions of higher learning indicates that educators have great difficulty in analyzing and acting positively in regard to problems directly under their jurisdiction. This would indicate that they would be likely to have serious difficulty in "correcting" conditions imbedded in the culture.

The clinical element in educational thought has had several functions. As accepted in professional education, it has enabled various people to clothe personal value positions in the mantle of scholarship. Some of these positions are scholarly; nevertheless, some become quite dogmatic as evidenced from this statement: "...democracy is the only proper government for family, school, community, nation or

1Stinchcomb, Rebellion, p. 183.
world.\textsuperscript{1} Such moralistic pronouncements serve as the basis for endless discussions in colleges of education about the nature of democracy and its possible relationship to other institutions. Of late this conversation has not instigated studies about the nature of democracy and its applications, however. This is not the role of the educational clinician. Once he has assumed that an element is undesirable or once he has fixed upon a prescription, he becomes occupied with its explications. If he is not able to prescribe "therapy," he exhorts others to discover more about the problem and its solution through continued research. Although the diagnostic discussions do little to make changes in educational programs, they do provide a rather endless source of articles and professional talk.

The clinical element in curriculum literature has an essentially conservative function, for generally, it does not suggest the means to realize the changes advocated. The conversations continue, but the "ills of society" remain essentially untouched through educational programs. The clinical element maintains the illusion that many educators wish change, but it does not produce it, which of course is congruent with cultural expectations. The fact that many cur-

riculum experts have tended to take emotionally derived positions which support certain cultural conditions, such as the present economic and educational systems, will be an albatross when these conditions are seriously challenged, for educators have not adequately explored them. A serious problem raised by the clinical mode of educational thought is that questions are continually raised to which no response has been made. Consequently, while there are undoubtedly a number of teachers who deplore segregation in the schools, growth of alienation, and the treatment of the adolescent as a colonial, effective means to change these conditions have not been provided. It is suggested that this is essentially due to the fact that the focus has fallen primarily upon the observation of general conditions which need to be dealt with in specific instances.

The preceding has not been to suggest that observation cannot be a valuable tool in curriculum development. However, its effectiveness as a tool in curriculum development is minimized when it operates at a generalized level without providing means of relating the problems to the classroom. Consequently, much of the curriculum talk about cultural conditions doesn't mean much to the school principal or the classroom teacher. Talk about alienation in general is not related to specific conditions of student withdrawal, "laziness," and irresponsibility. Hence, specific examples of
general cultural problems exist in the school and are treated by school personnel with the "conventional wisdom," which ascribes causes and practices which are not at all related to the work of the curriculum generalist.

Cultural Functions as the Prime Determinant of the Role of the School

It was stated that the culture consisted of three dimensions: purpose, structure, and procedures. The purpose of culture consists of three functions: the life-giving, life-sustaining, and life-enriching. It was also observed that there was no mechanism in culture which made corrections or adjustments when dysfunctions appeared. Cultural dysfunctions, those conditions which are not conducive to the defined purpose of the culture, can obviously compound, and a society can find itself in a direction which is anything other than life-oriented. Such was the case with Nazi Germany. There are certainly indications that this society is beginning to trod such a path. Our military operations are far in excess of defense needs as gauged by anyone but a paranoid. Tremendous military budgets buy many groups life-oriented services that are needed. The population becomes more fearful and self-oriented, thereby restricting desire, abilities, and resources to serve the positive functions of culture. Educational institutions reflect the general cultural dysfunctions which are begin-
ning to pervade the American life-style. The heavy emphasis on cognitive objectives, the whole educational thrust which benefits certain classes and rejects others, and the stress on the "star" system which exalts a few and leaves others with a sense of limited fulfillment, are contrary to life-oriented functions. If the purpose of culture, positively conceived, is to insure life, then it is from this notion that some criteria can be developed for guiding the purposes of the school.

In the general level, it is possible to develop the life-oriented functions of culture as criteria for the development and evaluation of curriculum plans. The life-sustaining function centers around the protection of the individual and activities which nurture his feeling of belongingness to a primary group related to the school. Protection includes the dispersion of food, medical, and other vital services when needed. Protection also relates to the individual's understanding of his social environment including the basic skills he needs to operate within it. These might range from very fundamental social and cognitive skills in the lower grades to rather specialized vocational skills in latter years. The understandings entailed would enable the student to relate his skills, feelings, and utilities to the social groups with which he had contact.
and thereby survive in the social matrix. The life-giving function, in terms of the school, also concerns insurance of balanced involvement in physical and intellectual activities, and it connotes freedom from exploitation. In other words, resources would not be used for a few at the sacrifice of larger numbers as often occurs in athletic programs. In addition, people would not be exploited psychologically for the emotional economic advantage of others as in the case of discriminatory practices.

The life-sustaining function concerns facilitating and supporting the self-assertive tendencies of the individual. It provides for participation in activities involving groups-at-large. Included would be freedom to participate in the school organization according to the desire and ability of the students. Vital in promoting this function is the freedom to choose from a full environment. The life-sustaining function fundamentally nourishes self-esteem. When operable, provision is made for the individual to interact freely with the environment. The life-sustaining element in culture connotes not only the provision of a full environment, but also the right for individuals to respond to it. In terms of the schools, this would dictate not only a storehouse, but a kind of social organization which would encourage and demand its use. It would also call forth a social environment which would give positive feedback to
students in terms of the consequences of their environmental interaction.

The life-enrichment function concentrates on the stimulation of the individual in pursuance of his interests and the development of his abilities. To the school, this is more than "letting the student do what he wants to;" it is making provision for the incorporation of the student's productive abilities into the organization and activities of the school. In essence this is facilitation and recognition of self-fulfillment. The goals of activities and means to facilitate them would be chosen from the full range of possibilities and would not be limited or mediated by the values of the school personnel. This would be putting a student's goal on par with another student's and would tend to eliminate the mediating influence of the school which would unnecessarily limit student production. Enrichment functions would not necessarily be limited to the development of skills and abilities related to "life goals." It would include the exploration of interests and activities for their own sake. The development of the individual's creative and imaginative abilities would be essential in the development of the life-enrichment function.

It might be argued that schools are engaged in many of
the activities identified as indicative of life-oriented functions. That is true, and to be expected, if the notion is correct that life-oriented functions must exist in a contemporary culture. According to the description of the school as presented in this research, the presence of these functions appears to be coincidental and many times limited to certain areas and to certain groups of people. In addition, it has been posited that the life-oriented functions are becoming more and more limited in their assertion both in society-at-large and in the school. For example, in many secondary schools, opportunity is provided for the study of institutionalized "academic" subjects. Those who engage in such programs are the "stars" with the residual resources being allocated to others. There is evidence to indicate that teachers within schools are accorded informal status on the basis of the subjects they teach. Those who teach the academic subjects are accorded more status than those instructing in the vocational areas. The indication is that the value is on what the teachers teach as such, rather than how the functions of those subjects are translated with meaning to the pupils. The subject of discriminatory practices in the schools has already been mentioned. In effect, this means that many are excluded from the "academic" areas and are thereby removed from the prime means of social mobility. Again, the schools have provided life-oriented functions as
part of the on-going nature of culture. However, this is an implicit provision of functions. It is posited that what the schools have been doing implicitly will have to be done explicitly if the schools are not to continue to replicate the dysfunctions of society-at-large.

If the schools are to make a conscious effort in implementing life-oriented functions in terms of the content of school activities, a framework for examining the program in these terms needs to be used. Such a structure is suggested in Figure 3, "Evaluating Life-oriented Functions" on page 195. The vertical dimension of the chart lists the subdivision of the life-oriented functions. For simplification they may be outlined in the following manner.

I. Life-giving functions (emphasizing belongingness)
   
   A. **Services** of a vital nature.
   
   B. **Acceptance** into the environment: freedom and encouragement to participate.
   
   C. **Life-orientation** includes awakening of such functions as creativity, sensing, and judging; defining oneself in terms of his environment.
   
   D. **Basic skills** include the recognition of one's emotional and intellectual predilections, fundamental cognitive skills as required by the school in specific terms, recognition of the function of values and the development of a personal value system, and the ability to operate within various forms of social organization.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life Oriented Functions</th>
<th>Functional Indicators</th>
<th>Nature of Activities</th>
<th>Manifestation</th>
<th>Extent</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life-giving</td>
<td>Services</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acceptance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life orientation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic Skills</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life-sustaining</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Involvement</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Environment</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life-enriching</td>
<td>Stimulation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goal orientation</td>
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<td>Human orientation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Institutional Life</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 3

EVALUATING LIFE-ORIENTED FUNCTIONS
II. Life-sustaining functions (emphasizing self-assertion and self esteem)

A. Freedom of personal choice: rich school environment from which to choose.

B. Involvement in activities: emphasizes the use of the individual's developing skills.

C. Environment of the institution: gives support to the individual as he asserts himself; provides increasing number of alternatives for the individuals within the school.

D. Evaluation of the individual by the school: gives the individual an indication of his effectiveness, provides feedback to the school.

III. Life-enriching functions (emphasizing institutional stimulation of individual sense of self-fulfillment)

A. Stimulation by the institution of the individual to pursue in depth his interests and abilities.

B. Goal orientation is evidenced by students. This includes a firming of life purpose, developing of abilities related to those goals.

C. Human orientation evidenced by the institution by the placement of full emphasis on such human functions as valuing and decision making.

D. Institutional life incorporates the student's productive abilities in the operations of the institution.

The horizontal dimension of Figure 3 is labeled "functional indicators." The purpose of these categories is evaluative. They indicate the pervasiveness of the life-oriented functions and the institution's awareness of their importance. The first category, "Nature of Activities," includes a description of activities that are congruent to the particular purpose. The category could be applied to
classroom activities or in general to the whole school. For instance, vital services which relate to health and safety could apply to the classroom in terms of its size and the number of pupils assigned to it, or it could apply to the school in general with items relating to health services, lunchroom provisions, and transportation. Activities relating to life-orientation might range from the assessment of classroom climate to guidance programs. The category of "manifestation" refers to the way the activity manifests itself. For example, guidance services may be provided in a school, but they may be administratively oriented and tend to define the environment for the student as seen from the "front office," rather than leading the student to define and relate to the environment himself. In addition, a school may provide field trips, but these could be so highly organized that they become lessons in how groups of people are moved from place to place, and only a demonstration of the environment secondarily. The category of "extent" refers to the frequency and penetration of the activities. For example, one field trip to the state capitol for senior students during a three year social studies program would reflect little concern for the student to relate directly with the community. On the other hand, athletic events, even though frequent, might only penetrate to the players and a relatively stable core of observers. The category of "result" would
reflect an attempt to assess the consequences of the various activities. The category of "means of assessment" would indicate the techniques used to make the valuation. These could range from a tally of student perceptions to the use of statistical techniques.

This framework (Figure 3) suggests a focus for the school in terms of specific elements of program content. A survey using this framework would probably yield gross results at best. Nevertheless, it is suggested that it would show areas of emphasis or those of neglect. It is also suggested that the specific cultural functions elaborated in this study should be contained within the school program if the positive functions of culture are to be realized. A survey based on the framework presented ought to indicate whether these elements of programmatic content were present to a recognizable degree. In summary, the role of the school as a prime agent of the culture is to support it, but that does not mean necessarily that it is to support the conditions of society. The culture has certain identifiable functions. It is the role of the school to support these functions. If, in doing so, the school then finds itself challenging certain conditions in society, then that is within its role.
Establishment of School Purposes

It has been indicated in this research that the school has been reflecting many conditions in society which are not congruent with life-oriented functions. It has also been stated that the role of the school is to support those positive elements of culture which have been identified. In addition, it has been noted in this study that one of the most serious cultural dysfunctions is a distention of the prime cultural elements: purpose, structure, and procedures. The task of the school becomes one of establishing purposes, and then relating social structure and technical procedures to these ends. It has been suggested that there are general areas of focus for the schools in terms of establishing purposes, and that the school can evaluate itself in terms of these general cultural purposes. In order to establish these purposes which are congruent with the life functions, there are other sources to which the schools can turn for clarification of school problems and the consequent establishment of specific purposes.

Linguists' experts have tended to deal with cultural and societal problems on a general level. This might have some value if the treatment is done in an unbiased fashion. Much of the literature sampled in Chapter Two of this research is ten years old or older. Yet, much of the criti-
cism contained therein is surprisingly contemporary. Gorer's comments regarding predictions for increased drug use, the development of increasingly anarchical conditions, ethnocentric excesses, and a developing generational gap are tremendously insightful. Mills' comments regarding the shrinking of democratic functions are seconded with the contemporary attacks on the establishment. Whyte's criticism of bureaucratic organization appears commonplace today. Apparently, the generalizations of social critics bear some predictive value. However, in the literature of the curriculum experts sampled in this study, the full range and force of these critics was not heard. This is to suggest that in the main educators lack either the background, skills or emotional predilection to handle this type of material. School officials who are interested in utilizing the conditions of society as a source for educational objectives would be better to consult anthropologists and sociologists if a more complete treatment is desired. As noted the school itself and the literature relating to the culture in general can be used as a source of goals and purposes. A third source concerns studies done relating to the school and its effect on the operation of students and teachers. Studies such as the Coleman report suggest themselves. Others such as Stinchcomb's study in school rebellion and Corwin's work in the effect of bureaucratic structures in education have been mentioned in this research and can
serve as points of departure for schools wishing to examine themselves and establish purposes accordingly.

The cultural problems suggested in this research and those that can be formulated in the study of schools have much to say in terms of curriculum design elements as they do in terms of content areas. This is particularly true in regard to goal development and the utilization of means. Educators can attempt to ameliorate cultural dysfunctions pertaining to incongruent purposes and the use of technique unrelated to institutional purposes by developing a goal-oriented organizational direction. Turner and Killian hypothesize that if goal orientations are to be successful, the purposes have to be formally stated. In addition, purposes need to be formulated in such a way that the resources of the groups are adequate or thought to be adequate, to realize the ends. In other words, it is dysfunctional for an organization to state a goal for which its means are inadequate or non-existent. Again, this indicates that a realistic examination has to be made of purposes, available techniques, and the structural factors influencing school situations.

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Statements of purpose serve as criteria by which action can be evaluated and, consequently, enable goal-oriented adjustments possible. If such goal-oriented evaluations of actions are not made, informal purposes take precedence, and these usually have ends and results which are generally vested in nature and are not controllable by the group-at-large.\(^1\) This points more directly to a tension between the life-oriented directions of culture and dysfunctional elements at an institutional level. For example, it would be reasonable to assume that many school "philosophies" have stated purposes relevant to the teaching of democracy, critical thinking, and the "appreciation of knowledge." On the other hand, criticisms reviewed in this research point to the fact that schools utilize essentially an autocratic type of organization both in regard to staff and students. The prime teaching methods focus on memorization, and the result appears to be that students in general have little appreciation for formal knowledge. The formal statements imply an orientation to cultural values. However, since the results as observed by critics are not congruent with the stated values, there is the implication that there is another orientation operational.

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 334.
tion and the recitation method of teaching both imply control.¹ Many administrative problems center around the control and assignment of both students and teachers. The effect appears to be that the school exists in terms of those who control the policies and people with the institution. The purposes of such organizations appear to be informally structured. That is, they are based in tradition, on unrelated administrative memos, and the perceptions of correct behavior held by those in the institutions. When goals or purposes are formally stated, they are often in vague terms and many times members of the organization are unaware of them. The intent of the organization is control and, consequently, the programmatic content of the school curriculum is obscure. The execution of the program is left much to teachers with no one really having more than a very general idea concerning what is taught in the totality of the school. Often, school authorities are unaware of the potentiality of the resources they have both in terms of personnel and equipment. Evaluation of such programs are often limited to a standardized testing program, the results of which are seldom fed back to the system. Again, such schools as this, those that have informal goals which are unconsciously implemented, are defined as informally structured schools.

Schools that are defined as formally structured would have purposes and goals clearly stated. Resources would be identified and developed to implement the purposes and goals. Evaluation would be conducted on a basis of assessing accomplishment of purposes, and of suggesting changes in the purpose-means relationship. The difference in school purpose orientations are framed in Table 8.

**TABLE 8**

**PURPOSE ORIENTATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal Structure</th>
<th>Stated clearly, derived from a number of sources</th>
<th>Implementation of stated purposes. Program clearly stated</th>
<th>Resources identified -congruent with goals</th>
<th>Evaluation in terms of purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informal Structure</td>
<td>Often stated in general terms, Members often unfamiliar with stated goals</td>
<td>Organization-al control, program content is often obscure</td>
<td>Lacks inventory or resources emphasis on popular techniques</td>
<td>Spasmodic evaluation - results obscure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is suggested that if the thrust of the school is toward a congruency of purposes, intent, and means as represented by the formal structure, a generalized climate of assertion and purposefulness will tend to pervade the school. In order for such an organizational emphasis to take place, several other cultural conditions will have to be challenged.
An organization formally structured will derive its purposes from a number of different sources such as scholarly materials, teachers, students, the community, and community pressure groups. In opening the doors of educational policy, conflict is bound to occur. It was noted that conflict was the *bête noire* of the modern organization, and that it has been regarded as a breakdown in communications - that is, conflict is a technical problem. However, conflict in an educational setting can result in "productive transformations and inventions."\(^1\)

Conflict is inhibited for several reasons. It can arise from criticism or generate criticism. In any case, criticism, when specific as in the case of conflict, calls for an accounting from those who are in a position to allocate and distribute resources. When the orientation of those in position of authority is to control, such criticism is a challenge whether it is a direct personal threat or not. Secondly, the decline of publics and increased difficulty of access to local pressure groups deprives individuals of a supportive base from which to challenge organizations. In addition, the pervasive American need to

be liked inhibits the desire for confrontation. It might be expected that in a society where security is valued, the general disposition to court displeasure from one's superiors is a rarity.

Conflict apparently has several useful purposes. It tests decisions, and when its presence is expected, conflict can lead to more care when decisions are made. When conflict is open and sustained, it can generate reaction, yet it can concurrently stimulate re-evaluation which can lead to change. In addition, such re-evaluation which has taken place as the result of action of a conflict-oriented group can shake the complacency of organization. Since conflict has been depreciated in this society, little consideration has been given for its use in organizations. However, the English devices of the Loyal Opposition, which is charged with constructing alternative policies, and the Parliamentary Question, which is a regularly scheduled period wherein Cabinet members can be openly questioned by members of Parliament, indicate that conflict situations can be productively included in organizations.

Public secondary schools have not paid attention to means and techniques for dealing with conflict. In a sense,  

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to do so would be to admit the weakness of the authority system. Control-oriented organizations do not like to be questioned, let alone provide means for the occurrence. Yet, any educational proposals which run counter to cultural orientations will meet with resistance. The goal-oriented notion of consciously relating purpose, structure, and procedures would not be generally acceptable, nor would the idea of being accountable to the goals if the appraisal of the American character as presented in this study is accurate. However, serious curriculum proposals and sophisticated concepts of instruction are predicated on goal-oriented activities. It would seem then that if the notion of goal-orientation is to enter into the system, conflict and confrontation will necessarily be part of the process.

An Element of Curriculum Design

The general cultural problem of the distention of purpose, structure, and procedures suggests a curriculum design element. That is, that curriculum proposals include rather specific purposes, an explication of the required structure, a specification in regard to appropriate methods to be used in executing the curriculum plan. Indeed, this is a large

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order. However, there is evidence of at least one such work.\textsuperscript{1} Admittedly, any single design proposal would not be able to develop fully all of the prime factors. Yet, the use of the design element would insure that the problem of relating purposes, structure, and procedures was addressed.

An adaptation of the model of cultural interaction at a general level can be utilized to explicate the proposed design element. The purpose dimension would include the goals of the program. This study has suggested that the life-oriented functions have a basis in the dynamics of culture and could well serve as guidelines for the establishment of educational goals. At any rate, the purposes need to be delineated as carefully as the frame-of-reference from which they were derived would allow. The structural dimension would include reference to the cultural nature (characteristic type) of the individuals involved. This would concern a general consideration of all involved, not only the cultural and psychological nature of the student, but also that of the teacher and administrator. Some characteristics of the American in general have been suggested in this study. However, a more detailed look at the way cultural factors are reflected by both students and professional personnel is necessary if the category of cultural

\textsuperscript{1}Harold Albery, \textit{Reorganizing the High School Curriculum} (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953).
One of several other factors relating to the structural dimension concerns that which was referred to as normative functions in the model of cultural interaction at a general level. In relation to the school this would include several subordinate factors such as a detailing of the subject content, the school schedule, and school rules and regulations. The specified subject content, rules and schedules not only detail the expectations, but by eliminating certain options, structure the school situation. A third consideration in the structural dimension concerns the physical arrangement of the school. Such factors may limit or facilitate curriculum purposes, and they need to be specified in curriculum proposals.

The third dimension of the model concerns procedures. A relatively large number of teaching methods have been identified. Among these are pupil-teacher planning, discussion, inquiry, guided discovery, role playing, socio-drama and case study. In addition, there appears to be

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a category of generalized techniques that can apply to several methods. Among these would be procedures related to group process and patterns of verbal behavior suggested by the work of Flanders.\textsuperscript{1} In addition to these is another category dealing with the wide range of educational media which is available. Included are television programming, overhead projectors, video-tape recorders, and various types of "hardware" suitable for use in programmed learning procedures. This vast array of technique suggests the potential accomplishment of many tasks. Identifying the kinds of learnings which are produced by various combinations of these techniques may be outside of the realm of the curriculum worker. However, assemblage of information relating to what is now known about them lies within the problem of relating purposes, structures, and techniques.

It is suggested that if the curriculum worker uses culture as a source of educational program, it is difficult for him to avoid the condition relating to the distention of purpose, structure, and procedures. If this problem is recognized, then attempting to relate these three cultural factors in terms of educational program emerges as a design problem in the frame of the prescription of educational

\textsuperscript{1}Edmund J. Amindon and Ned A. Flanders, \textit{The Role of the Teacher in the Classroom} (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Association for Productive Teaching, 1968), pp. 1-97.
policy. At the level of execution, the relation of the three cultural factors becomes an instructional problem, and relating and evaluating the instructional work is related to a coordinative and evaluative function. The suggestion of the purpose-structure-procedure problems as a design element places a severe burden on the curriculum theorist. Apparently, little is known about the wide possibilities of various types of learnings that can arise from different combinations of educational techniques. Even less is known about the effect of social organization on behavior and how that might conflict with or supplement educational techniques. Although some attention has been paid to cultural characteristics of minority groups, less has been paid to the educational implications of a set of attitudes that could be referred to as the American Type. The lack of research done in these areas will no doubt hamper the curriculum theorists. Nevertheless, focus on the importance of the relationship of these elements in terms of educational programming is called for by the condition of the culture.

Summary

The examination of positions extracted from the works of social critics yield three categories relating to the condition of culture. They concerned the American as a cultural type, the condition of norms, and the technological
nature of society. These three categories suggested the factors of a dynamic concept of culture: purpose, structure, and procedures. It was postulated that the purpose inherent in the interaction of the cultural factors was one of assuring life. This positive purpose of culture was conceived in terms of life-oriented functions. These are defined as life-giving, life-sustaining, and life-enriching functions. The prime problem of society is that the prime factors of culture are so distended that little control over the cultural process can be exercised and that the life-oriented functions are operable on a coincidental basis. The role of the school as a prime agency of culture is to support the life-oriented functions of culture, and these, when divided into subsidiary functions, become the categories of content for the school program. In addition, the general cultural problem related to the distention of the factors of culture form the basis for a curriculum design element. It is suggested that in a design proposal specific attention be paid to the relationship of educational purposes, organization (structure), and technique.
This study began with thoughts directed toward the way that curriculum experts dealt with the nature of culture as a content and design source element. It was found that there was little agreement among the educators as to the important conditions in the culture that affect the school. The closest agreement came when four of the five experts surveyed thought that the impact of communication media was of a general concern. Only one work addressed itself to religion and that was in a very supportive sense. Again, only one author addressed herself to the condition of adolescence as an important cultural condition which affects the school. One was concerned with changing sex roles. One was concerned with the "interference of government," another was concerned with democracy operating in terms of the American dream. None of the others concentrated on the important political aspects of American life. None identified a cultural or characteristic type with which the schools must deal. While there was concern about the effect of technical

\textsuperscript{1}Supra., p. 78.
change, there was no reference to a technological attitude. With the exception of Smith, Stanley, and Shores, the treatment of culture was quite parochial. In fact, the treatment performed by Gwynn and Chase might well be labeled by some as reactionary.

Only the work by Smith, Stanley, and Shores saw a design element in the idea of culture. They saw the "cultural core" as forming the basis for general education. In addition, their work did exhibit a scholarly approach and their treatment of cultural conditions was related to their idea of preserving the integrity of the "cultural core." The other works suffered from the lack of a framework or a method for examining or utilizing cultural conditions in curriculum development. This and the wide variance in what the educators perceived as important in the culture cast "rave doubt in the vision of encouraging educators in general to make personal surveys of the culture as a basis of educational decisions.

The concentration of the experts on what the school ought to be doing in relation to its role in society obscured the effects of the current supportive role of the school. This, according to the critics analyzed, is devastating even to socially mobile college-bound to whom its
long-range effect is materially most beneficial. The heavy emphasis on what the schools ought to be doing obscures or ignores what they can do. The ignorance of what the schools are able to do is related to the ignorance of how they actually do operate. Taba refers to the adverse effect of the "organization man," but no mention is made of the effect of bureaucratic structure or the "institutional press" on those who live and work in the schools. There is talk of "the socialization process" but little mention of the informal structures which operate with potence within the schools. There is talk or reference to commitment but little recognition of the effect of base and self-serving elements within us all. In general, the experts refer to curriculum development as a rational process. However, in effect, it appears to be more of a social process with political, economic, and personal power playing a significant role in the decision making. Yet, there is little reference to how a curriculum developer deals with these forces.

With the exception of Smith, Stanley, and Shores, the curriculum experts look at culture narrowly. That is, they see the schools acting in regard to certain cultural problems per se. Again, implicit in this assumption is the notion that the schools can move narrowly on this issue or that issue and make an effect. In areas of controversy this does
not appear to be so, particularly if the recent reaction against sex education programs is considered. If the conditions of culture or "social problems" identified in this study are considered for intensified study in the public schools as they are today, public outcry and consequent submission could be expected. That is not to say that areas of study dealing critically with the economic system, social class, or role conflict are not possible. However, the possibility for success of intensive programs organized around these areas is limited considering the present condition of the schools. This is not to indicate that programmatic attacks on problem areas are possible if certain conditions would change. For example, if there were an outpouring of professionally committed teachers, if teachers were politically potent, or if principals were educational leaders instead of petty bureaucrats, things could well be different. Yet, these problems have been recognized for some time and little progress toward their solution has been made.

It is posited that if the schools are to try to cast themselves in the role of an agent of social change, it must be in terms of the resources that they possess today. Several observations have been made in this study that would facilitate such a process. First, the schools are not aware of their condition. They have not been able to look at them-
selves honestly and attempt to determine their present effect. Such needs to be done with an assay of resources and limitations. Secondly, their function needs to be more broadly conceived. It has been suggested that the idea of culture, dynamically phrased, would be helpful. The culture is man made, with the assumption that it is to be positive. The idea of life-oriented functions has been suggested as a means of viewing culture in a positive sense. It has been suggested that these functions can be identified in gross terms at least, and that they can serve as categories for content selection as well as ones for shifting the focus of the school.1 In a sense these categories involve many of the conditions at the root of the cultural problems identified in this study. Such a set of categories can be approached in terms of the school's present resources and the school can act upon them according to its ability. Such action, however, will involve a consideration of the school's purposes, social structure, and technical abilities. It was noted in this study that a distention of these cultural factors in the culture at large is a prime dysfunctional condition, and the integration of these factors will be a task. Nevertheless, the need for integrating these factors at a general level, indicates a need for such action at a specific level in regard to curriculum development. Con-

1 Supra., pp. 193-194.
sequently, it is suggested that the integration of educational factors in regard to purposes, structure, and procedures be considered a curriculum design element. This is to say that a curriculum plan needs to consider, to a reasonable degree, the identification and integration of these factors. A number of important implications follow from the findings and generalizations which are warranted in terms of the analysis presented in this investigation. One of these relates to the use of literary materials for constructing an analysis of society, and its subsequent use as a determinant of curriculum design and content selection. The use of literary materials for social analysis appears to be the principal means employed by general curriculum analysts. Even so, no manageable method for conducting the analysis and applying it to curriculum development has been suggested. The analysis made by most of the experts surveyed was quite restricted in terms of cultural topics analyzed and a number of societal trends were ignored. It appears that if the intervention of the values of the analysts are to be minimized or limited to some degree, methods of content analysis ought to be developed and employed. Without the employment of some type of method, important cultural trends are apt to be recognized on a co-incidental basis.

The role that the school assigns itself will define its
need for cultural information and interpretation. If the school defines its role in the society as something different from a reactionary one, knowledge and accommodation of cultural changes are essential. The problem appears to be that the part of the societal structure which produces changes at such a rapid pace is not accompanied by another which enables the changes to be assimilated at a proximate rate within the fabric of society. A "counter-culture" has risen as a means of incorporation and resistance to an increasing number of cultural products. A number of trends connected to this movement which are running counter to established cultural values relate to style in dress and grooming, changing patterns in sexual behavior, methods of narcotization, the role of women, and content and form in the fine arts. This counter culture needs to be considered by educators if the term, educational relevance, is to have any influence on the educational program. If a number of students are thinking in cultural terms which are different from those in which the school program is framed, then continued serious disjunctions in the school programs will continue to increase.

The notion of the counter culture has potential impact on the nature of the graduate programs which prepare educational leaders. Much of this education which deals with
the relation of school and society is generally taught by faculty members of colleges of education whose views of society are limited. This suggests the possible development of inter-disciplinary graduate course work which involves cultural anthropologists and sociologists as well as professional educators. This section of the graduate programs would involve field work resulting in affective experiences as well as the traditional course work dealing with empirical data and abstractions.

The hypothesis that the prime cultural factors are disjointed and thereby leave the purpose of culture open to technical direction, poses the problem of the integration of educational purposes, techniques, and structures. Curriculum design elements to be further conceptualized and related to the structure of society. In addition, much more needs to be known concerning the effect of organizational structures on the behavior of staff and students in the educational setting. The results of research could well lead to proposals for different organizational schemes which would form a departure from the traditional bureaucratic organization now employed.
APPENDIX A

1. To improve the design and increase the supply of things adapted to man's use and enjoyment is the most important object of life. This object is pursued with a fervor and a sense of dedication which in other societies and at other times have been devoted to the search for holiness and wisdom, or to warfare.

2. Today there is no fast line that separates these consumption patterns of the adult world from those of the child, except the objects of consumption themselves.

3. This ingenuity in the exploitation of things has, fairly recently, been given a special term - "know-how;" it is rightly considered peculiarly American.

4. It should be noted that know-how is not identical with inventiveness. The number of basic inventions made by native-born Americans is suprisingly small, but once the basic invention is made, from railroads and automobiles to radar and penicillin, Americans are unsurpassed in their improvement, industrial adaptation, and, above all, diffusion.

5. Our genius has been the process, the machine, the organization rather than creativity and speculation.

6. In the world of things, the world of American male supremacy, the only important human relationships are between employer and employee, and those between competitors and rivals. (To the American businessman) ...the public falls more into the category of things, of raw material, than into that of human beings. Continuing the mineral analogy, the purchasing power has to be extracted from the consuming public, as though it were silver being extracted from the baser ore.

7. But the product now in demand is neither a staple nor a machine; it is personality.

8. In the focus of public attention the old captains of
industry have been replaced by an entirely new type; the Captains of Non-industry, of consumption and leisure.

9. But the popular emphasis on sincerity means more than this. It means that the source of criteria for judgment has shifted from the content of the performance and its goodness or badness, aesthetically speaking, to the personality of the performer. He is judged for his attitude toward the audience, an attitude which is either sincere or insincere, rather than his relation to his craft, that is, honesty and skill.

10. The star system of American culture - along with the commercial hacks, tend to kill off the chance of the cultural workman to be a worthy craftsman. One is a smash hit or one is among the failures who are not produced; one is a best seller or one is among the hacks and failures; one is absolutely tops, or one is just nothing at all.

11. I am referring to the principle that every desire must be satisfied immediately, no wish must be frustrated.

12. As the machinery of production has destroyed work as independent, meaningful action, it has given many people more free time. But now the machinery of amusement is destroying the freedom of this time.

13. The vast amount of time most Americans spend with television is appalling, but the pre-TV alternatives, such as driving aimlessly about, sitting vacantly, attending sports events or playing canasta, are hardly more or less appalling.

14. This emphasis on Youth is overwhelming in American popular entertainment, in films, in magazine stories, and novels, in advertisements and so on. In point of fact, Americans have nearly the greatest expectation of life of any peoples in the world and like other urban societies, an ever-increasing number of old people in the population... Americans wish to think of themselves as if they were at the peak of their life! they identify with their children rather than their parents.

15. The American's view of the future is linked to a view of the past, for tradition plays an equally limited part in American culture. As a whole, we push it aside or leave it to a few souls who are interested
in the past for very special reasons... But in the realm of business which is the dominant model of United States life, tradition is equated with experience, and experience is thought of as being very close to if not synonymous with know-how. Know-how is one of our prized possessions, so when we look backward it is to take pleasure in the past itself, but usually to calculate the know-how, to assess the prognosis for success in the future.

1. The most common reason, I believe, is that we so completely link self-esteem to success. In consequence, we must pretend to ourselves as long as we can that our future lies ahead; that we still have all the time we need and have not made irremediable errors.

2. With the increasing lack of emotional involvement in most work, there is only one lowest common denominator by which jobs can be compared, by which success in one pursuit can be compared with success in quite a different one, and that is the social value accorded to each; and in a relatively unstructured commercial society this can be only measured in one way: in dollars.

3. In view of all this it is not surprising that the ideal American is an inexhaustible reservoir of drive and personality resources; one who, while not using up what he has, yet exploits his personality to the best advantage. To function inefficiently, to permit one's accomplishment to fall short of one's potentialities is the same as using one's industrial capital inefficiently and is considered a symptom of neurosis.

4. The process of American identity formation seems to support an individual's ego identity as long as he can preserve a certain element of deliberate tentativeness of autonomous choice. The individual must be able to convince himself that the next step is up to him, and that no matter where he is staying or going, he always has the choice of leaving or turning in the opposite direction if he chooses to do so.

5. American generosity and hospitality are rightly famous. In no other country does the majority of the citizens give so easily and freely, almost without counting the cost.
21. The signs of friendship, of love, are a necessity for the American. He is insatiable in his demands for them, for any occasion on which they are withheld raises the gnawing doubt that maybe one is not lovable, not a success. There is no occasion, however trivial or however important, which brings two or more people together, in which signs are not desired...There are no alternatives to these signs; unsmiling subservience produces discomfort, unsmiling arrogance, fear and hostility. The emotional egalitarianism of America demands that all relationships shall bear some resemblance to those of love and friendship.

22. More important, they (Americans) are bound up with a pervasive need to be liked. This single impulse, it seems, explains much about our affinity for group action. We are trained to get along with others and to honor this value highly. Exceptionally sensitive to majority norms, we are good at cooperation, although this fact is somewhat obscured by the rhetoric of competition, and by the notion that we are unusually "individualistic."

23. Here our emphasis upon competitive athletics has a myth-fulfilling function, sustaining a faith that has become tenuous in more important areas. In major industries such as steel, automobiles, and electrical equipment, a competitive shadow boxing goes on; but concentration and difficulty of entry have culminated in a watered-down advertising competition among firms that produce commodities similar both in quality and price.

24. (In American society today)...there is always the common need that a man must belong and that he must be unhappy if he does not belong rather completely. The idea that conflicting allegiances safeguard him as well as abrade him is sloughed over, and for the people who must endure the tensions of independence there is no condolence; only the message that the tensions are sickness - either in themselves or in society. It does not make any difference whether the good society is to be represented by a union or by a corporation or by a church: it is to be a society unified and purged of conflict.

25. It is a demonstration to all the world that nothing wrong, nothing subversive is going on inside this glass case (modern buildings), everything is quite literally open and above board; and since the buildings are her-
metrically sealed, no unsuspected contamination can enter them. They are shining symbols of the soaring, aspiring, transparent integrity which Americans like to think - and not without justification - is their most praiseworthy characteristic.

26. Just as moves, movements and machines have been split up into their smallest component parts, so has knowledge tended to be reduced to a series of disconnected and isolated facts, all comparable to one another as all dollar bills are comparable to one another, the more one has of either the better, and the learned man tends to be considered a sort of fact milliner.

27. This attitude toward knowledge is ingrained in the American educational system. From the intelligence tests given to pre-school children, to the examination given before admission to postgraduate studies, candidates are rated to a very large extent by their retention of factual information.

28. Although the atomic aspect of communication is most marked in the mass media, it is also a noticeable component of face-to-face conversation. The "wise guy" normally stands alone, self-sufficient and without context.

29. In general, American mind is a binary type of mind, which is either turned on or off.

30. Americans have antihumanized religion and reduced it to a social function more than any other role.

31. The American public has been so thoroughly educated to fear that statesmen think they would risk their political future by coming to an accommodation with the Russians on the only firm basis possible - the resumption of trade, but without it disarmament is only a dream. For we cannot achieve a real warfare and expect that disarmament will bring military peace.

32. This view implies that adults can easily change their personalities and their allegiances, that they can be transformed from Europeans into Americans, and that, given the proper training, the children of the European born can become one hundred per cent Americans. But if adults and children can be transformed one way, they can be transformed another, and the uncanny phrase "brain-washing" suggests that this can be done against a person's will or consent, even, by extensions with-
out his knowledge.

33. (Fear of contamination by communism, narcotics, impure air and so forth are elaborated on in great detail on pages 251-254 of Gorer's, The American People.)

34. In America as opposed to Western Europe, the homosexual is a threat, not to the young and immature, but to the mature male; nobody is sure that he might not succumb.

35. The pattern of the implicit American Creed seems to embrace the following recurrent elements: faith in the rational, a need for moralistic rationalization, and optimistic conviction that rational effort counts, romantic individualism and the cult of the common man, high valuation of change - which is ordinarily taken to mean "progress," the conscious quest for pleasure.

36. These ideals of the essential dignity of the individual, of the basic equality of all men and of certain inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and fair opportunity, represent to the American people the meaning of the nation's early struggle for independence.

37. The ideals of the American Creed have thus become the highest law of the land...they have been elaborated upon by all national leaders, thinkers and statesmen...In all wars including the last one (WWII), the American Creed has been the foundation of national morale. To be sure, the political creed of America is frequently not put into effect, but as a principle which ought to rule. The Creed has been made conscious to everyone in American society.

38. Whatever else we are, we certainly are the world's most self-proclaimed equalitarian people. It fits with what we would like to believe about ourselves. It coincides with the American Creed and the American Dream, and is deeply imbedded in our folklore.

39. This conservatism (of the American Creed) has been perverted into a fanatic worship of the Constitution.

40. The American dilemma is the ever-changing conflict between on the one hand, the values which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian morals, and, on the other hand, the
values of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; consideration of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook.

41. Most thoughtful Americans are concerned about the fact that the theory and the practice of our culture are hopelessly out of line... It follows that if the expectancies which are generated by the cultural ideology are notably unrealistic, mass frustration and mass neurosis are the inescapable consequence.

42. Our problem is that our motive for production is not social usefulness, not satisfaction in the work process but the profit derived from the investment. The usefulness of this product to the consumer need not interest the individual capitalist at all.

43. The "freedom" which private enterprise today safeguards is in the first place freedom for... private enterprisers to sell, buy and make profit. Only if the bulk of men lived by such operations, that is, were independent entrepreneurs, or could become such, might this economic arrangement safeguard freedom for the bulk of men in other spheres (such as the political). But in modern industrial society the mass of men are, and must be dependent workers.

44. If there were ever a perfect balance between machines and workers to man them, then new industry would be impossible, for there would be no workers for the new machines, and so on. True equilibrium - balance, symmetry, whatever one wishes to call it, is poison to a system like ours.

45. In our society, consumption is defined as a means rather than an end. This implies we consume in order to achieve full employment.

46. The myopic pre-occupation with production and material investment has diverted our attention from the more urgent questions of how we are employing our resources and particularly, from the greater need and opportunity for investing in persons.

47. In other words, things are experiences as commodities, as embodiments of exchange value, not only while we are buying or selling, but in our attitude toward them when the economic transactions are finished.
48. But in the Overdeveloped Nation (the United States) the standard of living dominates the style of life; its inhabitants are possessed, as it were, by its industrial and commercial apparatus; collectively by the maintenance of conspicuous production; individually by the frenzied pursuit and maintenance of commodities. Around these fetishes, life, labor and leisure are increasingly organized. Focused upon these the struggle for status supplements the struggle for survival; a panic for status replaces the proddings of poverty.

49. The comparable media today (television, magazines, etc.) train the young for the frontier of consumption - to tell the difference between Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola, between Old Golds and Chesterfields.

50. The idea of obsolescence - or, better, "dynamic obsolescence" - has become such a necessary part of contemporary American thinking and life that it deserves a place, along with achievement, competition, profit, and expansiveness, among the drives. "Dynamic obsolescence" is the drive to make what is useful today unacceptable tomorrow.

51. The survival anxiety among products and claims is matched by the worker's worry about his job. He passively awaits the turn of the system - whether it will support him or let him drift - while industry and advertising collaborate in a fierce survival fight for markets.

52. Our economy is a prestige economy to a pathological extent.

53. The average American has learned to put in place of his inner self a high and rising standard of living, because technological drivenness can survive as a cultural configuration only if the drive toward a higher standard of living becomes internalized; only if it becomes a moral law, a king of conscience.

54. The process of persuading people to incur debt, and the arrangements for them to do so, are as much a part of modern production as the making of the goods and the nurturing of wants. The Puritan ethos was not abandoned. It was merely overwhelmed by the massive power of modern merchandising.
55. Only the elites - the professionals, the corporation executives and the successful businessmen - have a real chance to express the most highly rewarded cultural drives or to try in their occupational lives for some kind of self-realization not comprehended within the retail price index.

56. What characterizes income distribution in Capitalism is the lack of balanced proportion between an individual's effort and work and the social recognition accorded them - financial compensation.

57. Whatever role we wish to assign it in world affairs, however, there is no doubt that in American life dynamic obsolescence is fundamental and necessary. From the point of view of personality, this means that one's own capacities are in danger of becoming obsolete, and every man and woman, therefore, stands in peril of waking up one morning to discover that he is too.

58. None of this would be possible (allowing production to follow demand willy-nilly) if the goods produced were of great and urgent importance... (the myth surrounding the concept of demand) has enabled us to become persuaded of the dire importance of the goods we have without our being in the slightest degree concerned about those we do not have.

59. It... (that depression is the principle uninsured risk of major corporations) brings the economic society to the dubious world of make-work and boon-doggling. It is for reasons of economic security that we must produce at capacity.

60. Thus the democratic process when entangled in a web of fear, becomes its own enemy, for who, seeking the affections of the people would take economic risks? The path to increased armaments and industrial stability is clear: the road to peace, unclear and improbable.

61. Thus, since fear of war is anesthetized by heightened economic well-being, we become accustomed to living comfortably under conditions of impending annihilation. That is why a decision to go to war, or to the "brink" can be accepted much more readily than if the economy were placed in jeopardy by war.
Meanwhile, as we import more than we should and export less than we might, we are compelled to enter deals with an institution or nation that will help correct our loss of exports and gold reserve, and we, consequently, run the risk of appearing before the world either as bullies, suppliants, or weasels. As pride retreats before anxiety, we become fearful of the decline of our foreign "image."

The discovery that one of the implicit assumptions of American life is that hard work will be rewarded may explain a good deal about behavior in this country.

In short, "my own boss" means that the little man controls himself rather than being controlled by someone who has no interest in him other than a pecuniary one. To be used up for somebody else's drive realization goes against the grain; he wants to survive in his own interest and not be consumed in somebody else's; he wants to be protected.

We are reaching a point in this country where the old incentives to labor - the economic whip and the increased gain are running down, and where there are no new incentives to take their place.

His insight informs him that individualism languishes in a bureaucratic situation where quantitative standards and group efforts are common. By changing the conditions of work, bureaucratic structure has changed the character of work.

Even at professional and managerial levels, technological change has made work more like factory production. Thus indifference is becoming a more likely pattern of accommodation for white - as well as blue collar workers. Alienation from work that has become routinized, yet demands manipulation in the "personality market," is visible in both groups.

Because work is considered more important than play, it has been traditional to take more seriously the work that looks least like play, that is, the more obviously physical or physically productive work. This is one of the reasons why the prestige of the tertiary occupations, particularly the distributive trades is generally low.
69. Big organizations, then, are miniature social systems that meet many of the most basic needs of their members and expect in return loyalty and conformity.

70. They (complex organizations) have critical normative consequences. They provide the environment in which most of us spend most of our lives. In their efforts to rationalize human energy they become sensitive and versatile agencies for the control of man's behavior, employing subtle psychological sanctions that evoked desired responses and inculcate consistent patterns of action. In this sense big organizations are a major disciplinary force in our society. The essential values of the organization shape the individual's personality and influence his behavior in extra-rational affairs.

71. All of these giants (large organizations) have their own lives, as it were; they determine the activity of the manager and they direct the activity of the worker and the clerk.

72. Co-optation is the process by which those in power designate their successors. The preserve of the monopoly of source values that the hierarchy assigns to the organization's elite.

73. It is true that the larger a bureaucratic society, the more restricted its hold becomes. Other means built up restrict the use of bureaucratic means used.

74. And thus the character of our society is determined and patterned by the structural organization of its business, the technology of the mass-production plant.

75. In such a field (as exists in large organizations) highly differentiated systems of authority, status and small groups provide patent and specific stimuli that evoke the individual's learned dependence on authority.

76. Essentially, the status system relies on authority by structuring interpersonal relations in terms of the relative prestige of the actors.

77. Bureaucratic structures reduce anxiety and conflict by objective definitions of authority and status. But the leveling effect of bureaucratic work also induces status anxiety.
Centralized power and decision making with big organizations have shut the employee out from real participation and influence over the decisions that affect him.

By social ethic I mean that contemporary body of thought which makes morally legitimate the pressures of society against the individual. Its major propositions are three: a belief in the group as a source of creativity, a belief in "belongingness" as the ultimate need of the individual, and a belief in the application of science to achieve the belongingness...There is, therefore, no conflict between man and society. What we think are conflicts are misunderstandings, breakdowns in communication.

He (organization man) is not being hypocritical, only compulsive. He honestly wants to believe he follows the tenets he extols, and if he extols them so frequently, it is to shut out a nagging suspicion that he, too, the last defender of the faith, is no longer pure.

For it is not the evils of organizational life that puzzle him (organization man), but its very beneficence. He is imprisoned in brotherhood.

The altered role and status of the professional man is of particular interest. Professional standing becomes precarious in big organizations where power, loyalty, and status rather than skill are the source of influence. It seems clear that the professional's traditional independence and his style of work are being undercut.

In the outstanding scientist, in short, we have the direct antithesis of the company-oriented man.

The following are propositions dealing with the conditions of work faced by the scientist in complex organizations:

1. Scientists now concentrate on the practical application of previously discovered ideas rather than the discovery of new ones.
2. They (scientists) would rarely work by themselves, but rather as a unit of scientific cells.
3. Organizational loyalty, getting along with people, would be considered just as important as thinking.
4. Well-rounded team players would be more valuable than brilliant men, and a very brilliant man would be disruptive.
85. His (the trained specialist in the large organization) "trained incapacity" makes it difficult for him to see that the administrator's role is inevitably one of achieving compromises among competing units within the organization.

86. We attach profound importance to the fact that some industries advance. We attach almost no importance to the fact that others do not.

87. The rise of bureaucratic structures of executive power in the economic and political orders has lowered the effective use of all these small voluntary associations operating between the state and the economy on one hand, and the family on the other.

88. Organized irresponsibility is a leading feature of modern industrial societies everywhere. On every hand the individual is confronted with seemingly remote organizations and he feels helpless.

89. Significantly, this perception of the changed conditions of occupational success directly influences socialization. The family now receives many of its child-rearing cues from organizational elites whose influence and life styles provide the daily fare of mass media.

90. Status expresses a different relativity in a more mobile society; it resembles an escalator more than a platform; it is a vehicle rather than a goal.

91. It points up to the fact that we also have a very complex informally patterned status system. The counters on the mobility scale are numbers and so finely grained that while the average person can manipulate the system, he cannot describe how it works technically.

92. Since occupational roles are increasingly played in big organizations, as a result of the decline of the small entrepreneur, big organizations become important dispensers of status dividends. The status of one's occupation can be augmented by the status of the organization in which he works.

93. Opportunities for higher education, now the major instrument of social mobility, are unequal.

94. The social framework of status also suggests that its symbols become a substitute for values no longer attainable. The difficulty of achieving independence
through owning one's business, a difficulty which reflects the trend toward business and concentration; the employment of the independent professions on a bureaucratic salaried basis; the devaluation of the term professional— all seem conducive to increased status anxiety and striving.

6. The upward-mobiles now tend increasingly to gain control of the efforts and rewards of professionals, scientists, and other highly trained men... The unexpected consequences include the alienation of the professional, the routinization of administration, a tendency toward discipline, and insured survival power of both organizations and society.

7. Hierarchy and co-optation are apparent in union leadership which becomes a sinecure despite periodic elections and an emphasis upon democratic values.

8. The union are less for chance of that general framework than they are instruments for more advantageous integration within. The inertia of their actions implemented in terms of the largest projects, is a kind of political alienation from the top.

9. By are American a nation of soldiers? In part this is identical with a national defense the executive facility. The exercise structure spans the tension of conventional administrative goals, to be met in the form of a formal and not unified. Commonality with the men in uniform association.

10. The attainment of complete Americanism is judged principally by the eye, secondarily by the ear. The evaluation of cities in America can only be understood if it is remembered that the criteria for Americanism are, in the order of their importance, appearance, wealth, education, manners, ideals, and standards. All that all the fully American can be considered well mannered is it remembered, Americanism is not a fact, and failure to achieve complete Americanism is an individual fault much more than it is a national vice.

11. The most important criterion of all, however, is unimpeachable appearance. The completeness of Americanization is directly correlated with the similarity in appearance between the subject who is being judged and his other American peers in age and income. To the
extent that a person is identifiable as different in a crowd, to that extent is he or she incompletely American; and those whose skin color or physical confrontation makes it impossible for them to merge into the crowd are thereby debarred from ever being considered fully American.

101. There is characterologically speaking, an effortless duality about their adjustment, although as we have seen, the mode of adjustment may itself impose heavy strains on the so-called normal people. That is, the adjusted are those who reflect their society, or their class in the society, with the least distortion.

102. All the pressures on Americans today make for domestic conformity; safety lies in early marriage (a full and normal sex life), enough children, making the most of oneself both in appearance and in work, living in the best neighborhood one can afford and taking an adequate part in all the neighborhood activities including regular attendance at the church of one's choice, and having a lot of convivial fun with one's neighbors and friends.

103. The effort (by the peer group) is to cut everyone down to size who stands up or stands out in any direction. Beginning with the very young and going on from there, overt vanity is treated as one of the worst offenses, as perhaps dishonesty would have been in an earlier day. Being high-hat is forbidden.

104. The mass media are the wholesalers; the peer groups, the retailers of the communications industry. But the flow is not all one way. Not only do the peers decide, to a large extent, which tastes, skills, and words, appearing for the first time within their circle shall be given approval but they also select some for publicity through contiguous groups and eventually back to the mass media for still wider distribution.

105. The organization man's emphasis on the group, I have been maintaining, is not a temporary phenomenon, dictated by external necessity; it is a response to what he feels is a moral imperative and more and more he is openly articulating it.

106. Whereas etiquette built barriers between people, socialized exchange of consumer taste requires that privacy either be given up, or be kept, like a liberal theologian's God, in some interstices of one's
nature. Before the peer-group jury there is no privilege against self-incrimination.

107. So, ironically, rearing and social experiences that stress being a good guy and getting along with the group, lead to abandonment when the group is threatened or disrupted; togetherness ends in isolation.

108. But the explanation lies rather in the fact that men today simply do not know how to change roles, let alone mark the change by proper costuming.

109. It (alienation) is the fact that man does not experience himself as the active bearer of his own powers and richness, but as an impoverished "thing," dependent on powers outside of himself, unto whom he has projected his substance.

110. It needs to be said in this context that the very fact that we are governed by laws which we do not control and do not even want to control is one of the most outstanding manifestations of alienation. We are the producers of our economic and social arrangements, and at the same time we decline responsibility, intentionally and enthusiastically, and await hopefully or anxiously - as the case may be - what "the future" may bring.

111. They (parents of today) cannot help but show their children, by their own anxiety, how little they depend on themselves and how much on others. Whatever they may seem to be teaching the child in terms of content, they are passing on to him their contagious, highly diffused anxiety. They reinforce this teaching by giving the child approval - and approving themselves because of the child - when he makes good.

112. Finally, there has been a general shift of attention and energy from work to recreation and leisure. The decline of the Protestant Ethic, which deified work and accumulation, brings with it a re-evaluation of the whole vocational bargain, subtly reinforced by the suspicion that one's life chances have been exaggerated in any case.

113. The alienated attitude toward consumption not only exists in our acquisition and consumption of commodities, but it determines far beyond this the employment of leisure time... He (man) always remains the passive and alienated consumer. He "consumes" ball games, moving pictures, newspapers and magazines, books,
lectures, natural scenery, and social gatherings, in the same alienated and abstracted way in which he consumes the commodities he has bought.

114. Men no longer conspire enthusiastically in their own alienation; they are often somewhat dis-affected, but they lack the conviction that things could be done any other way - and therefore, cannot see, save in a peripheral way, what is wrong with how things are.

115. My impression is that temper is considered the worst trait in the society of the glad hand. It is felt as an internal menace to one's cooperative attitudes. Moreover, the peer-group regards rage and temper as faintly ridiculous; one must be able to take it with a smile or be charged with something even worse than temper, something no one will accuse himself of even in an interview - a lack of sense of humor.

116. Anger is also a common complaint about parents, especially about fathers, that they get "mad" and yell. Anger is not experienced by these children as a natural expression of a clash of wills but as an intolerable poison. Such anger is a universal human characteristic and since without it mankind could not endure, it is hard to understand why this is so. A lack of tolerance for anger is probably related to the fact that since modern American parents often attempt to create a home atmosphere of permissiveness and yielding, the appearance of anger finds the child relatively unprepared.

117. In a larger social context conflict is further inhibited by the pervasive American need to be liked, to pursue conformity for the sake of popularity. As we saw earlier, socialization inculcates conventional values to the extent that the individual feels guilty when he expresses unorthodox views. Essentially, conflict and criticism shake us out of the complacency that is uniquely the danger of a rich hedonistic society. While our complacency is surely reinforced by an inclination to regard as significant only those things which happen during our lifetime, it also reflects the blind nationalism that is inherent in every society.

118. When a specific conflict arises, the school seeks to mediate rather than to clarify. It assesses the power of conflicting interests, works out a compromise among them, and keeps its name out of the paper.
119. Yet both our social values and our organizational forms inhibit the conflict and criticism which are the very beginning of creativity.

120. As long as our organizations remain dynamic - which is, of course, only a hopeful premise - the organization will still be a place in which there is a conflict between the individual as he is and wishes to be, and the role he is called upon to play. This is a perennial conflict, and the sheer effort to exorcise it through adjustment may well intensify it.

121. American attitudes toward change (accepting of it) make generational conflicts more serious. These very generational conflicts, however, make certain types of social change possible. As Mead points out, children can be more successful than their parents, hence, "better."

122. Americans are accustomed to write their ideals into laws, ranging from their national Constitution to their local traffic rules. American law, thus, often contains rules which are not enforceable but which merely express the legislator's hopes, desires, advice or dreams. Legislating ideals has the "function" not only of giving them high publicity and prestige, but also dedicating the nation to the task of gradually approaching them.

123. One most relevant attitude toward law in America is expressed in the common belief that there is a "higher law" behind and above specific laws contained in constitutions, statutes, and other regulations. In America the Revolution gave a tremendous spread to this idea of "natural law," since natural law had to be appealed to when the king's laws were violated. The idea fixed itself upon the entire American state structure. The role given to the Supreme Court to refer to the higher principles back of the Constitution strengthened still more the grip of this old idea on the minds of Americans.

124. Each law is judged by the common citizen in terms of his conception of the higher natural law. He decides whether it is "just" or "unjust" and has the dangerous attitude that, if it is unjust, he may feel free to disobey it.

125. Here the citizen does not stop to criticize the laws and the judicial system and demand a change in them, but sets his own conception of the higher law above
the existing laws in society and feels it right to disobey them.

126. Uniquely, America did not start as a state, but as millions of individuals seeking their own advantage. The peril of the old world is, and always has been, tyranny; the peril of the new world is anarchy.

127. This anarchistic tendency in America's legal culture becomes even more dangerous because of a desire to regulate human behavior tyrannically by means of formal laws. This is a heritage from early American puritanism, which was sometimes fanatical and domineering and always had a strong inclination to mind other people's business...America has thus come to be a country where exceedingly much is permitted in practice but at the same time exceedingly much is forbidden in law.

128. The typical American attitudes toward authority have remained substantially the same as those manifested by the framers of the American Constitution: authority is inherently bad and dangerous; the survival and growth of the state make it inevitable that some individuals must be endowed with authority, but this authority must be as circumscribed and limited as legal ingenuity can devise; and the holders of these positions should be under constant scrutiny, should be watched as potential enemies.

129. Politicians are not suspect if it is believed that they have gone into politics for their own personal advantage, to make money or improve their position...A person who goes in for a political career for reasons other than direct personal advantages is deeply suspect for he is perhaps secretly lusting after authority, and the greatest vigilance must be exercised to see that he does not gratify this sinful craving.

130. The violence of lawlessness has received excessive emphasis through the newspapers, the books, the films and the radio stories devoted to the gangsters and hold-up men; although such activities are less frequent than the publicity they receive would suggest, they nevertheless do occur.

131. Authority in the middle of the twentieth century has changed its character: it is not overt authority, but anonymous, invisible, alienated authority. Nobody makes a demand, neither a person, nor an idea, nor moral law.
The division between the community and the political state has led to the projection of all social feelings into the state, which thus becomes an idol, a power standing over and above man. Man submits to the state as to the embodiment of his own social feelings, which he worships as power alienated from himself; in his private life as an individual, he suffers from the isolation and the aloneness which are the necessary result of this separation.

In us, the courts and particularly enforcement officers, are not supposed to be harsh and should be guided by the internal systems of the culture. That is, the law is never expected to be stricter than the rest of the culture. If it were undue harshness on people, then it had to be changed. When an American comes across a law which he considers to be unjust or which doesn't make sense, he is much more likely to violate it than if he considers it realistic and sensible.

The same may ensure in almost any kind of activity compatible with the strength and interests of its members but nearly all the boys' gangs have one feature in common; they create in illegal or illegal activities.

Only a tiny minority of American children are in such criminal activity; the same, etc.) but there is always a slight amount of instability, in the rest of the ability which the courts will carry their demands for orderly behavior, but in the necessity of internal conflict.

The immediate cause of white-collar crime is simply that there are not many laws on the books that are not in the heart. People obey these laws, but they do so because they feel that it is morally right not because they are afraid of being caught.

Furthermore, it is felt, because the personality is unpredictable and, therefore, Americans ways, that it is a present threat to the American character and the American way of life.

This means that, among the explanations for the general disrepute and deficiency of law and order in America, there are two other factors; the habit of passing laws without careful investigation and the relatively low standard of American administration of laws.
The belief that Americanism can be more or less complete, and that this relative completeness is above all a matter of will is a most important component in the attitudes of most Americans toward the inhabitants of the rest of the world.

If public sympathy for, or support of a foreign people is desirable, it is essential that such an identification (the people being fundamentally like Americans) then be made. Unless this minimum of Americanism is ascribed to them, how can they be considered human at all? And if they are not human, they are things; and things cannot be sympathized with or supported, they can only be exploited or destroyed.

The belief in the universal aspiration toward Americanism is so pervasive that it is abandoned with the greatest difficulty, and when circumstances force its abandonment, international cooperation is liable to be abandoned too. People so perverse as to choose to remain foreign deserve no help.

Tolerance (in America) is no problem when there is a wide gap between the tolerant and the tolerated. The mere expression of good will and perhaps contribution now and then, is all that is demanded.

Despite the well meaning and sincere social mixing of a few "liberal," intellectuals, and jazz enthusiasts, the general judgment is quite simply that Negroes look different and, therefore, are different.

The Negroes, on the other hand, are commonly assumed to be un-assimilable and this is the reason why the Negro problem is different from the ordinary minority problem in America. The Negroes are set apart, together with other colored peoples...While all other groups are urged to become Americanized as quickly and completely as possible, the colored peoples are excluded from assimilation.

An Asian appearance evokes far fewer memories than does a Negroid. Asians are not threatening nor are they distasteful parodies. They are most of them, politically oppressed and can therefore be sympathized and identified with as underdogs, as well as providing vicarious atonement for the treatment of the American Negroes.
146. Negroes have had to adjust to patterns of behavior which not only permit but call for discrimination by whites. The Negro, however, can consider the system unjust and can explain it in terms of white people's prejudices, material interest, moral wrongness and social power. But the unfortunate whites have to believe in the system of segregation and discrimination and to justify it to themselves. It cannot be made intelligible and defensible except by false assumptions which the whites force themselves to believe.

147. While the lower cast may release itself intellectually, the higher caste, on the contrary, is en-slaved in its prejudices by its short-range interests.

148. The character of the Negro is systematically distorted by the fact that they live in a world in which authority is continuously, though apparently capriciously, hostile; to teach their children to live safely in such a world, good Negro parents have to be continuously but apparently capriciously violent; physical punishment is used to a very great extent in the upbringing of Negro Americans, very little in the upbringing of whites.

149. The most tragic thing that happens to lower status youngsters in school is that they learn to accept the prevailing judgment of their worth.

150. Teachers, themselves usually of middle-class culture, discriminate against lower-class children. The children sense that they are punished for following the cultural patterns of their parents. If effort and ability are not rewarded, the way to delinquency or stolid escapism is inviting. In short, class thinking rather than individual typing has become an American mode of granting or denying recognition to their people.

151. School is an institution for training children in cultural orientations.

152. The function of education has never been to shape the mind and spirit of man, but to fill them and to the end that the mind and spirit of children should never escape. Homo sapiens has employed praise, ridicule, admonition, accusation, mutilation and even torture to chain them to the culture pattern.
Throughout most of his historic course homo sapiens has wanted from his children acquiescence, not originality. It is natural that this should be so, for where every man is unique there is no society, and where there is no society, there can be no man.

The principal learnings taught in the American public school are vestiges of prior cultural phases and many of them have to be removed from the social structure.

But the use of the school to prepare for a countermove against social rigidity is often regarded as either crackpot or subversive. Education is necessarily bound by the psychological considerations that govern our modern society. Our schools and our other social institutions can mechanically continue the type of living now current; or they can be slowly and blindly forced into changed directions as institutional changes occur.

The existing educational system is hopelessly irresolute on many fronts. It vacillates between training girls to be housewives or career women; it is torn between conditioning children for the theoretically desirable cooperative objectives or to the existing competitive realities.

Whether erudite or not, the inclination to the practical, the contemporary, has never been thoroughly in the American tradition. Education (in the United States) can never go back in the sense that so many fear -- to a strong liberal tradition, because what it is supposed to go back to never really existed in this country.

The by-products of formal education, moreover, are far more important than the aims deliberately avowed in the schoolroom...It is possible to teach intellectually a series of religious and moral precepts and to teach emotionally at the same time various laws of the jungle and various types of basic maladaptive responses to failure and the sense of inferiority.

Americans like to think that children must "understand" what they have learned. What happens, of course, is that a good deal of material that would be simple enough to learn without frills is made more difficult by the complex, and often erroneous explanations that go with it.
The difficulty in our schools today stems from the fact that the teachers try to inculcate teacher patterns that are partially or incorrectly analyzed... instead of having a familiar ring to the child, there is a decidedly unfamiliar ring. In fact, much of what he hears goes against what he has learned outside the classroom.

Heterogeneity has, in fact, become one of the organizing principles of American culture... "information, Please" and other formal and informal education devices are evidence that Americans value disconnected pieces of information and feel that people must be prepared to live in a world in which generalizations are hard to apply.

The first lesson a child has to learn when he comes to school is that lessons are not what they seem. He must then forget this and act as if they were. This is the first step in becoming absurd.

And while this criticism (or academic competition) developed, competition of the kind whose effects are most deleterious continue unabated in school, both in the scholastic arena and in the social arena. It has continued in the scholastic arena simply because educators have found no alternative to it as an energizing device - just as economic systems, including those in Communist countries, have found no substitute for it.

Mass education, like mass suffrage and mass production, is a leading trait of our code. During the last generation, education has supplanted the frontier as a favorite means of social mobility, for we have continued to define success in terms of mobility rather than in terms of stability.

Until recently, business was one of the many supporters of education, and its support was diverse - it was an accumulation of gifts by business men as individuals. But, business giving is rapidly becoming more institutionalized, more collective. Somebody is going to have to foot the bill for the increased costs of education and, unless the state is to take over, the corporation must assume a much greater share of the burden. Not just as an alumnus, but ex officio, the organization man is becoming a trustee of education.
In both the United States and the Soviet Union, education becomes a part of the economic and military machines. Men and women who are trained to fulfill technical functions in bureaucracies have little to do with ends and means.

The school is the official agent - the contemporary secular arm by which society deals with adolescents. As such, the school is peculiarly representative of social forces and demands.

The school exists fundamentally to provide the young people of a community - a nation may be a community, it had better be - with a fairly taut and firmly fixed philosophical apparatus for making certain kinds of sense out of their lives, and communicating with other people who may be assumed to have a basically similar apparatus.

The American school is, in the first instance, a social device, and an extremely successful one, for stamping the American character on children, whatever their background and origins may be; it is only secondarily an institution for implanting and transmitting knowledge.

They (educators) may regard the school as primarily the agent of society, but they still perceive it as an agent. They assume that it can and does act rather independently on behalf either of society or of its own educational ends, and that its policies if properly executed, ought decisively to influence the outcome of events...The school is not an agent. It is the arena in which social forces interact, employing students, teachers, and administrative officials in roles with which they have become familiar but into which they have not developed much insight.

It (the school) is staffed by people who are, in fact, vulnerable to public opinion and dependent on the approval and support of their colleagues, even in matters of detail, in order to be effective.

As a consequence, a principal's rewards are all for holding the school together for keeping it running without upsetting the equilibrium, except in special cases when outside forces press for addition or modification of courses. There is no mechanism built into the system itself for change and improvement.
173. The response in which institutions adjust to the pathway taken by a particular group may be called group-institution feedback, and the expression implies that the institution correct, i.e. change, its course to conform to the pathway chosen by the group.

174. Since America devalues learning that does not contribute to income, schooling tends to become meaningless except in terms of some distant and uncertain economic goal.

175. The loss of self and the rise of the values of the Id have combined to create a glittering modern pseudo-self, the high-rising standard of living, waxing like the moon in a Midsummer Night's Dream of impulse release and fun.

176. The structure of education puts both a floor and a ceiling upon scholarly effort, and prevents scholarship from truly competing for an adolescent's energy.

177. The function of high school, then, is not so much to communicate knowledge as to oblige children finally to accept the grading system as a measure of their inner excellence. And a function of the self-destructive process in American children is to make them accept not their own, but a variety of other standards, like a grading system for measuring themselves. It is thus apparent that the way American culture is not integrated it would fall apart if it did not engender feelings of inferiority and worthlessness.

178. I cannot think of anyone who was made into a creative scientist by such pressures (the present system of academic competition). The discipline of sound method, scientific caution, respect for solid facts will come if there is a little seed which in time can be nourished into such a flower. But if we deny our students the right to explore and to speculate, they will in time play by the rules in their own speciality and dogmatize all over the lot in every other area of life.

179. ...a boy or girl growing up never has a chance to "practice" with many of the difficult problems which will face him as an adult, because these are not interpersonal problems. They are problems involving a more impersonal and more powerful environment, the large institutions with which he must cope if he is to survive in this complex society.
Another consequence of the passive-reactive role in which adolescents are cast is its encouragement of irresponsibility. Lack of authority carries with it lack of responsibility; demands for obedience generate disobedience as well. But when a person or group carries the authority for his own action, he carries responsibility for it.

Finally, I argued that creativity is the last thing wanted in any culture because of its potentialities for disruptive thinking; that the primordial dilemma of all education derives from the necessity of training the mighty brain of homo sapiens to be stupid; and that creativity, when it is encouraged (as in science in our culture) occurs only after the creative thrust of an idea has been tamed and directed toward socially approved ends.

In American society, the role of the school teacher is the least costly and most readily available role commonly accepted as of professional status.

The principal's evaluation of teacher is based on subjective and debatable criteria even more than is the teachers' allocation of grades.

Deprived of older methods of discipline the teacher is, if anything, even more helpless than the parents who can always fall back on those methods in a pinch, though guiltily and rather ineffectively. The teacher neither dares to nor cares to: she has been taught that bad behavior on the children's part implies poor management on her part.

The teacher strives not to discipline the child directly but to influence all the children's attitudes that as a group they recognize correct behavior. If a child falls out of line, he does not have to be subjected to authoritarian structures of elders; he senses the disapproval of the group and, in that way, the school believes, learns to discipline himself as much as possible.

But the rationalization of society more and more inhibits the "natural processes" (children being raised and taught in the home) by separating the adolescent into an institution of his own, and insulating him from adult's work and adult's perspective. The adolescent remains in these institutions treated as a child, for a longer period, while he gains social sophistication earlier and earlier.
187. Since men in industrialized America move from job to job, the establishment of enduring and secure interpersonal relations is difficult for children. Since, additionally, the American child having made and lost so many friends, learns to commit himself deeply to none, he often cannot hold tightly even to what he has because he has suffered and hence withdrawn.

188. Despite the diminution of their authority, the parents still try to control matters, but with the loss of self-assurance their techniques change. They no longer hold themselves up as exemplars - when they themselves know better - nor resort, in case of conscience, to severe corporal punishment. The parent's recourse, especially in the upper middle class, is to "personnel" methods - to manipulation in the form of reasoning, or more accurately, of rationalizing.

189. In few societies is the role of the father more vertical than in the United States.

190. Except for his fundamental maleness, the father is not a model on which the son is expected to mold himself.

191. The father's participation brings his into the son's world, but the son gets no chance to move into the father's world.

192. In American thinking, the child is born tabula rasa, and only defects which subsequently develop are the fault of uncontrollable circumstances, or of the ignorance or malice of its parent...

193. Whatever system she may be following (the American mother), she can never have the easy, almost unconscious, self-assurance of the mother of more patterned societies, who is following ways she knows intuitively to be right.

194. Since permissiveness has come to look crude in the child's appreciation of either parent, they can now compete for the child more openly and on a more equal footing than in the past. Parental roles thus resemble each other; both parents now draw closer to the children and also become more equal to them in a modern version of American democratic equality in impulse release.
195. The discontinuity between child and adult behavior in this regard is disappearing, however, not only because it is difficult to maintain but because the world, including the parents, offers no rewards for self-restraint and no substitutes for indulgence.

196. Adolescence is not simply a physical process; there is more to it than sexual maturation. It is also — and primarily — a social process whose fundamental task is to clear and stable self-identification.

197. This task (adolescence) is self-definition. Adolescence is the period during which a young person learns who he is, and what he really feels. It is the time during which he differentiates himself from his culture, though on the culture's terms. It is the age at which, becoming a person in his own right, he becomes capable of deeply felt relationships to other individuals perceived clearly as such.

198. What the regressive and growing, rebelling and maturing youths (youth in general) are now primarily concerned with is who and what they are in the eyes of a wider circle of significant people as compared with what they themselves have come to feel they are.

199. All the contemporary institutions that bear on the youth, diverse as they seem to be, are united in their insistence on cultivating sensitivity and pliability to the demands and expectations of other persons. Other-directing, adaptability, adjustment, conformity — call it what you will, the idea is familiar enough — is a treat of great short-run social usefulness in today's open and rootless society; and that society has done a formidable job of creating institutions which mold other-directed and adjustable character structures.

200. Youth after youth, bewildered by his assumed role; a role forced on him by the inexorable standardization of American adolescence, runs away in one form or another; leaves schools and jobs, stays out at night, or withdraws into bizarre and inaccessible moods.

201. Adolescent growth is seriously blocked by anything that keeps youngsters from responding specifically to one another. Our cultural insistence on generalized patterns of response that ignore the significance of subtle but vital human differences is one of the things that most seriously impedes adolescence.
202. As the child grows older in our culture, he becomes so absorbed in self-examination that other people diminish relatively. At the same time, regardless of sex, worry about the personal community remains important; they (children) worry about where they stand, how they can attract others, how they can overcome their shyness, and how they can control their general tendency always to do the wrong thing.

203. Lack of self-confidence is another source of the wish (in adolescents) to be independent, for when one has many self-doubts, almost any concession to another person seems to make inroads on an already precarious autonomy. Meanwhile, continued dependence and parental block of impulse release intensifies adolescent self-doubt, while surreptitious impulse indulgence causes guilt and self-depreciation.

204. Adolescent personality evokes in adults conflict, anxiety and intense hostility (usually disguised as concern), colored by a whole complex of feeling, attitudes and influential unconscious trends.

205. What is irrational is not the adult conviction that adolescents can start things that will spread to the adult world, but their panic determination to protect themselves by fencing the youngsters in rather than by sharing with them a more complete understanding.

206. I believe that the growth of hostility toward the adolescent is one more index of the rootlessness and barrenness of modern life, of the intense need for statues in a society which provides few stable guarantees of respect on which a sense of personal worth can be had.

207. What differentiates their (the adolescents) judgment most from that of juveniles is the tremendous value adolescents place on competence. Competence is the foundation of autonomy; in the adolescent peer-group it is respect in a variety of forms.

208. The reason athletics have such a high status is that the teams generate self-substance to some degree for everyone, not just for the athletes.

209. As more and more enclaves of autonomous activity are opened up commercially, the role of individual compe-
tence declines, to be replaced by discrimination in choice among mass produced articles.

210. The (American adolescent) boy has no political sense whatsoever. The "dignity of man" has never occurred to him.

211. While this boy (the American adolescent) may primitively join in some casual references to a lower race or class, he is not really intolerant. For the most part his life is directed and "restricted" to bring him up against individual beliefs in this manner.

212. In this connection it must be said that our boy (the American adolescent) mostly by default and because of restricted vision, and often out of carelessness, causes a great harm to his less fortunate are mates of darker shade, when he excludes from his home, his clique, and himself, because to see and to face them as actual human beings might cause value discomfort. He ignores them, although he might have furthered their participation in the American identity by taking more seriously the social principle that what nobody can do to me, nobody should be able to anybody else either.

213. Our boy (the American adolescent) is anti-intellectual. Anybody who thinks he feels too "nerd" seems "super" to him.

214. This (creativity and work in another of what we may call the conventional or conventional (via the camera of secondary salient, i.e., the systems of rationalizations by which one makes our traits acceptable to his Self. Socialization by the adolescent culture provides its members with a system of defenses that protects the Self from attacks at the voice of conscience.

215. In other words, cultures itself, as it impinges on the lives of people, changes their experiences and interpretations of them, serves one of the agencies of character formation.

216. As more people are led into the political arena their association becomes mass in scale, and the power of the individual becomes dependent upon them to the extent that they are effective, they have become larger, and to that extent they have become less accessible.
217. Since then we have entered social and political phases in which power is dispersed among veto groups. These groups are too many and diverse to be led by moralizing; what they want is too various to be moralized, and too intangible to be bought off for cash alone; and what is called political leadership consists, as we could see in Roosevelt’s case, the tolerant ability to manipulate coalitions.

218. But whether smashed in a week or withered in a generation, the demise of the publics must be seen in connection with the rise of centralized organizations, with all their new means of power, including those of the mass media of distraction...But regardless of that they (the publics) lose their will for decision because they do not possess the instruments for decision, they lose their sense of political belonging because they do not belong; they lose their political will because they see no way to realize it.

219. All this may lead to the question: well, who really runs things? What people fail to see is that, while it may take leadership to start things running, or stop them, very little leadership is needed once things are under way - that, indeed, things can get terribly snarled up and still go on running. If one studies a factory, an army group, or other large organization, one wonders how things get done at all, with the lack of leadership and with all the feather bedding...at any rate, the fact they do get done is no proof that there is someone in charge.

220. The power to make decisions of national and international consequence is now so clearly seated in political, military and economic institutions that other areas of society seem off to the side and on occasion, readily subordinated to these.

221. Those who govern have always needed feedback from the governed, at least as regards their strength and endurance to perform and the possible dangers of revolt. As society becomes more complex, it is less and less feasible for an autocrat or a group of oligarchs to understand the control system itself and where it is tending. Those who operate at middle and lower levels are also facing more complex instruments with less and less certain outcomes. Just to go on governing becomes constantly more difficult unless better and better feedback is provided from all levels in the social machinery. Moreover, the nature of science and engineering stimulates curiosity rather than blind execu-
tion of routine tasks. Curiosity cannot be stifled without stopping the whole machine. Curiosity, however, involves more and more perception of alternatives. Unless those at the top get feedback from the constant exploratory behavior of middle and lower levels, they do not know where they are in the operation and the impulse to revolt may be growing. Very complicated espionage and secret police systems become imperative.
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