The role of the school in social control

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OUTLINE

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN SOCIAL CONTROL

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I.

SOCIAL CONTROL

The function of the school as a social institution has been to prepare the rising generation to take its place in society. Changes in the popular view of the scope of education have appeared with the changes in our general social order. Our educational system has been undergoing a transformation since 1875. Many differences of opinion have arisen concerning curriculum, methods of teaching and extra-curricular activities. With these have come changing ideas as to the role of the school in social control.

This paper aims to discuss the causes of social control and the reasons for its development; to discover facts about the present objectives governing social control and to formulate the part of the school in this work.

The Meaning of Social Control

"In its wider sense the term social control describes any influence exerted by society upon the individual."¹ This force has been fully and completely presented by E. A. Moss in his book, Social Control.² There are times when this control by


²Ross, Edward Alsworth, Macmillan Company, 1906. Much of what follows is based upon this book.
the group is both unconscious and involuntary. In other cases the group definitely plans to use and direct individuals for its own purposes, as it does, for example, through education. Blind social forces play a part, but even though social control is sometimes automatic and unconscious, society is being moved more and more by conscious purpose. For "... We have moved into an age when conscious, deliberate direction of human affairs is necessary and unavoidable."¹

In its narrower sense, that is, as active intelligent guidance of social processes, the idea of social control is thoroughly characteristic of the twentieth century. Other periods have had notions of "controls" and exercised them effectively, but none has had so clearly the concept of "control".²

Social control is, in its beginnings, largely negative, certain acts are tabooed; but the more that population grows in numbers and in complexity of make-up, the greater becomes the need for a system of planned official regulations. This need is supplied by the unconscious workings of society and by the growing realization of man of his need for a controlling force. For example, the church, though not founded primarily to exert control, later became a very powerful agent of control. On the other hand, government, the police, and the army were definitely founded for the purpose of control.³

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¹ Lippmann, Walter, A New Social Order, an address delivered March 23, 1933.
² Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ibid.
Control: A Function of One Aspect of Culture

The control of human social behavior is the function of one aspect of culture. The culture of a group is built up gradually and passed on from generation to generation. James H. Woodward has developed a very clear exposition of the divisions of culture in "A New Classification of Culture and a Restatement of the Culture Lag Theory."¹ He makes three divisions of culture: (1) Aesthetic Culture, (2) Control Culture, (3) Inductive Culture.

Aesthetic culture includes paintings, sculpture, mystic ritual symbols and vestments, architectural forms and the like, and such non-material items as dance forms, recreational forms, the folkways of purely social intercourse, and the purely aesthetic aspects of poetry, literature, music, ceremonial, and the like.

Control culture contains all those items which have a prescriptive force and a controlling or conforming influence on members of the group. Thus it includes such non-material items as usages, conventions, mores, morals, supernatural sanctions, and laws and institutions (in the Sumnerian sense). It also includes the rationalizing ideologies and buttressing lores and myths built up around these and includes patriotic emblems, insignias, and official vestments of office of authority, or coercive or conformative symbols or objects of any kind.

Inductive culture is all inductively-arrived-at bodies of knowledge; such material objects as tools, devices, machines, and such non-material objects as crafts, skills, techniques, mathematics, logic, scientific method, and bodies of scientific knowledge. These are an immediate source of the values, beliefs, and attitudes involved in observation and experiment on the natural world reality, the realm of identifiable cause and effect. Each invention or discovery facilitates further gains, so we have a steady accumulation. Here, he points out, the group most readily and confidently accepts the new. This inductive culture is transmitted almost entirely by our school system. The work of handing on our social heritage has made us more and more dependent upon education.

Inductive culture is then the pace setter. This changes at an ever-increasing rate and thus calls for changes in the control culture. Control culture because of its nature resists these changes, and there arises a constantly aggravated tendency toward maladjustment and cultural lag.

The Need for Social Control

If population is widely scattered, there may be no pressing need for any great amount of social control. But whenever large groups of people are thrown together, each seeking his own ends in his own way, there must be a directing order. There is a collective interest which only collective action can protect. Humans are not endowed with sufficient innate drives to
control their conduct. "Men are therefore in chronic need of better order than the natural moral motives will provide."\(^1\) They cannot carry on as can a colony of ants or a swarm of bees. If men were born so that they would fit exactly into one kind of work, as a bee is a drone or a worker, without ever desiring to try anything different, instinctive control would then do away with any need for social control.

Perhaps if society refrained from all control of its members, a natural order would arise. But it would be crude and imperfect compared with artificial order. Ross cites an example of a mining camp where every man defended himself and his property as best he could, where only the law of might prevailed.\(^2\) A few months of this convinced both honest men and criminals that there was a need of general government. For unless there was assurance of protection for themselves and their goods, traders would not come in with food, nor merchants open shops in the camp. The miners therefore held a meeting and appointed a committee of safety. When news of this was out, a better class of men arrived, merchants flocked in, and the camp prospered.

One of the clearest examples of the need for social control is at any large traffic intersection. Here it is impossible for any one to disregard others completely. Here too can be seen the advantages of the control, as the traffic moves

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\(^1\) Ross, E. A., p. 59.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 57.
smoothly and rapidly on its way far more efficiently than it could if there were no lights or even no rule of keeping to the right. As Allport says, "Orderly social life necessitates a certain degree of subordination of individuals to one another and to the regulated institutions of society."¹ For if there were no such control there would be no unity or coordination, only chaos.

The orderly movement of society that exists today could not have come about by accident or without regulative forces. Our nation of 130,000,000 people of various nationalities and races, lacking even the bonds of common deeply rooted traditions or a common religion, must have official regulation.

The progress of man requires the cooperation of men for its own development. In the earliest nations there was great belief in luck and more powerful than that was a belief in gods or a god whom certain acts might offend. Gradually human groups built up certain modes of action. Knowing little about what was right and best to do, and dreading the powers of nature, they were open to suggestion from any incident in nature. Thus early customs sprang up. For:

...in whatever way a man has done anything once, he has a tendency to do it again; if he has done it several times he has a great tendency so to do it, and what is more, he has a great tendency to make others do it also. He transmits his formed customs to his children by example and by teaching.²

Over most of these customs a semi-supernatural sanction grew sooner or later. Strong belief in these supernatural sanctions to conduct developed very early. Ross divides these sanctions into five classes and shows how they exerted tremendous force in modifying the conduct of men.¹

Agencies and Means of Social Control

According to Ross, sympathy, sociability and justice are the three roots of man's natural goodness.² Sympathy, he says, in the form of sexual, parental and conjugal love, preserves and renews family relations from generation to generation. It also serves the social group as a stimulus to beneficence, influencing citizens to provide care for the less fortunate members of society as the feeble minded and defective groups.

The desire for sociability is another controlling force. This leads men into social groups and fosters a feeling of tolerance. In civilized society, while sociability may not be a guarantee of good behavior, it does at least restrain man's combative urges. Its work is shown in the social club, the playground and neighborhood.

One of the strongest influences for social control is that which grows from man's sense of justice. Ross calls it a unique moral spring.³ While sympathy begins in instinct and

¹Cf. Ross, Social Control, Ch. XII.
²Ibid., Ch. III
³Ibid., Ch. IV
through pity and tenderness unites unequals, justice starts as a habit of thought and unites equals. Some believe that this force alone would be sufficient to bring about at least some sort of social order. Justice is particularly important in a democracy for it is one of the few formal and well established principles of social action.

The resentment of injustice is also essential to the development of social order. This resentment undoubtedly has influenced man in making many of his laws.

To-day various forms of agencies, both organized and unorganized, control individuals allegedly for the well-being of the majority. Those agencies of social control which are now dominant may be considered as developments of earlier controls.

Customs, ceremonies and superstitious beliefs were the earlier agencies of social control. After these came organized law and mass public opinion as we know it now. All of these of course have grown up gradually and it is not possible to draw a line at where one ends and another begins. It is possible that the customs in early societies were upheld by a kind of public opinion, but not the vast impersonal force that exists to-day.

One of the unorganized controls is fashion. Fashions are devised by manufacturers, who exploit for their own profit the forces inherent in social behavior. The average person strives more often to be a follower of fashion than he does to
be a leader. He does not want to appear conspicuous or out of date so he is quite willing to submit to fashion dictators. In blindly and fervently following fashion, individuals often fall into the current fad or craze. It is "being done" so they do it too; and thus one craze predisposes the public for another.

Men are also guided by that more or less permanent set of rules for behavior which we call conventions. These are more stable than fashions and may even outlast their own generation. When they do this, they are passed on as customs. Custom, then, is a group procedure that has gradually grown up without any constituted authority behind it. Custom is sustained by the common acceptance of it. From time to time, some part of the group may succeed in bringing about changes in our customs. But for the most part customs are early fixed in us as habits and strong disapproval usually falls upon the person who departs from the customary mode of action. "Those customs and traditions having to do with social control are enforced by the conscious recognition of the wise that such customs and traditions are the very props of social order." 2 And so, as communities become more and more civilized, many of the unconscious informal controls have been gradually taken over and made to serve definite planned ends. Public opinion

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1 Compare Allport, F. H., Social Psychology, p. 393.
2 Ross., Social Control, Chaps: XII-XV.
as a means of control may be developed by the press or by the government in time of war.

But control by means of legal penalties, social opinion, and belief in supernatural sanctions is not the only method of subjugating men's will. Social suggestion and personal suggestion are both effective means.

The most striking example of suggestion for the control of men is to be found in that combination of all the various methods which we employ in our systems of education. By means of example, reiterated precept, stern discipline, the emotional stimulation of play, and the rough and tumble democracy of the playground, and through faith in their capabilities expressed by one for whom they have either high regard or great fear, the plastic minds of the young are molded into a more or less uniform type.

MacIver considers this a very important method of control, for he says:

Under all conditions, social indoctrination, and inculcation of habits and modes of thought in the young, is surely the most powerful of all regulative and conservative influences.

He goes on to mention the incessant prodding toward "right" modes of conduct which the child receives from infancy at the hands of teachers, parents, and comrades. Though the child may resist the specific commands of his elders he cannot resist the system from which they emanate - he cannot think or speak except in terms of the approvals and disapprovals of the group.

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In the same way, he is often less affected by what his teachers say than he is by what they do.

**Important Units of Control**

The four fundamental units of society which exert the real stabilizing effects of control are the state, the school, the church, and the family. Two of these, the family and the church, have been losing power. There has been a loosening of the family bonds that existed when industry and agriculture were localized and more or less self-sufficing.¹ Under the domestic system, textiles, clothing, shoes, furniture, meats, cheese, and all foods were prepared in the home, largely from home grown products. While the family was thus self-sufficient and intact its members assumed responsibilities for education in practical arts and the humanities and for group welfare. But machines and industrial specialization disintegrated the household and destroyed the homestead arts.

The father is kept away from the home much more under the factory system than he was under the domestic. We seldom find a man to-day who has the time or opportunity to teach his son his trade or business himself. The mother no longer gives her daughters the extensive training in household duties that she once did, for the girls and often the mothers are engaged in gainful occupations outside of the home.

The family has gradually dropped these responsibilities and the school has been expected to assume more and more of them.

The family has been an important control in transmitting language, beliefs, ideas, tastes and standards. Even now, in spite of loosening bonds, family influences are still very strong.

Religion has been a very strong factor in social control. Its strength now seems to be diminishing in various ways. The preacher is no longer as powerful as he once was. He is now coming to have only such authority as writers and educators. Recent discoveries in the sciences have shaken the faith of some persons in the orthodox beliefs. The spread of democratic principles in government and industry and even in education has made others less willing to accede to dogmatic rule by church authorities. The waning power of creeds has taken away much of the importance of the church. "We are no longer looking to churches to supply the spiritual energy; but to education, to art, and to a variety of reform movements."

A diminishing interest in religion seems to be shown by the decline in the proportion of books on religion and in the decline in proportion of articles on religion as shown by

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investigations cited in Recent Social Trends.¹ The Lynds in their study of Middletown make this statement: "Questioning of the dominant Christian beliefs in public appears to have declined since the nineties, but one infers that doubts and uneasiness among individuals may be greater than a generation ago."² They also add: "The habit of attending religious services appears to be declining as compared with 1890."³

Gradually the school has been expected to make up through its control for these losses of restraint by the family and the church. As Ross puts it, "We find an almost worldwide drift from religion toward education as the method of indirect social restraint."⁴

The potential power of religion has been recognized, however, even by the present day dictators. Mussolini early in his career took care to make peace with the church. Hitler has attempted to suppress various creeds. In Russia all church-going was virtually abolished when the state was set up as the one and only directing power.

Attempts to Direct the New Agencies of Social Control

While the family and small community, the major edu-

³Ibid., p. 359, see also tables pp. 529-531.
cational institutions in practically all societies of the past, have been weakened, the press, movie, radio, and travel have increased in power. The German and Soviet governments have recognized the possibility of using these new agencies to achieve what they consider desirable ends. In fact, Russia has demonstrated clearly the possibility of a deliberate change in any country in both the instruments and the aim of control.

The Soviet government has accomplished an outstanding piece of organization for the intensive training of its future citizens, both in and out of school. That section of the government which is in charge of education "does not hesitate to speak of itself as the instrument for the state propaganda (sic) of the principles of Communism. Workmen's Faculties, Factory Schools, and Schools of Peasant Youth are at one and the same time special institutions and part of the general and basic educational system."¹

Italy too is regimenting her youth in such groups as the "Balilla" and "Avanguardisti" for the purpose of increasing the power of the state. Mussolini has announced an enlarged program of training for Fascist youth, from eight years of age to twenty-one, "designed to interest boys in military life by means of frequent contacts with the armed forces of the nation,

whose glories and traditions will be taught to them.\(^1\)

In Germany the military regime under Hitler trains even the very young children for military service for the state. Freedom of speech, assembly, and the press have been destroyed and a rigid censorship exists. The university has been transformed into a political institution, and dissent has been forbidden even in the church. The ideal of the totalitarian state has resulted in the almost complete regimentation of the German people.

These governments certainly are not aiming at what James Truslow Adams has recently called "the Great American Dream: the vision of a larger and fuller life for the ordinary man, a life of widened freedom, of equal opportunity for each to make out of himself all that he is capable of becoming."\(^2\) Rather they are aiming only for increasing the power of the state. The individual exists for them only so that he may work for the state.\(^3\) The state in these cases is the main directing agent of social control.

Social control can be a factor for evil if it falls into the hands of unscrupulous interests. To-day those power-

\(^1\) Mussolini's announcement of September 18, 1934, as quoted in The New York Times, September 19, 1934.

\(^2\) Adams; James T., School and Society, October 29, 1932.

\(^3\) Rocco, Alfredo, in Social Reformers (by Wagner; Donald Owen, Editor), Macmillan Company, 1934, p. 641.
ful agents the radio, the press, and the movies are in danger of being controlled too much by money-seeking commercial interests. It would be fortunate for us if much of the time given over to creating new buyers for various commercial products by radio could be more constructively used for educational purposes directly or indirectly.

The Varied Aims of the Agencies of Control

Of the many agencies of control at work in our society, government is probably the most obvious. But there are many more informal controls which are most significant to the average individual, such as the agencies of information and communication: the newspaper, the magazine, the radio, and the movie. These are largely responsible for building up public opinion. They fashion our tastes and many of our attitudes. But planned guidance is lacking in the control by the agencies of communication. In fact, it seems at present that social control is directed toward a number of scattered and disconnected objectives. Certain of these objectives are concrete and can be easily defined, such as the abolition of war, the elimination of inefficiency in its various forms, a higher standard of living for the lower levels of population. Also there are such concepts as freedom, equality, the creation of more desirable human types, or the enrichment of human life.

How these various controls are in turn controlled and how they should be controlled, by what
agencies and to what end constitute a continual challenge to society. This same challenge applies also to the educational system in school and college. Education is perhaps the most useful tool of social control, but it works for militarists and class conscious snobs as well as for humanitarians and men of vision. In this as in other social institutions the critical problem is to keep it free from special interests and give it wise direction.

THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIAL CONTROL

II

The lag between control culture and inductive culture is indicated by Woodward's paper. Many people regret that social progress does not keep abreast of scientific progress, but this ideal is probably impossible to realize. Since our inductive culture is transmitted almost entirely by our school system it is important to attempt an intelligent direction of education which may as far as possible reduce the lag and gap between the two cultures.

What men do at any time is largely the spontaneous outcome of deep social attitudes which in turn are determined by social customs, concepts, and inhibitions arising from earlier generations. Improvements in social adjustments and arrangements are to a considerable extent dependent upon changes in these deep seated attitudes. This is a problem of education.

The Widening Scope of Elementary and Secondary Education

The historical function of the school has been to pass on to the younger generation the culture of the race, that is to transmit knowledge. Public school education above the elementary grades was acquired by a much smaller percentage of our population before 1875 than it is now. Secondary school and college training was not considered necessary except for those people who desired to enter the ministry or
law or perhaps the teaching profession. Since the nation was then engaged chiefly in agriculture and pioneering the elementary education provided was fairly adequate.

Today the schools face a different situation. Education beyond the grades is no longer the privilege of a chosen few. The American schools and institutions of higher learning now have an approximate enrollment of 29,500,000 with more than 1,000,000 teachers. Thus approximately a quarter of the population is directly engaged in learning or teaching.

The table on page 20 shows the steady increase in enrollment which has taken place in public secondary schools and colleges from 1900 to 1930.

In 1932 there were in the United States 32,031,549 children of school age (five to seventeen inclusive) comprising 25.7% of the population of the country. Of the entire school population, 82% were enrolled, and of the enrolled children the daily attendance averaged 84.7%. These figures indicate tremendous gains over school attendance in previous years.¹

All the states in the United States now have laws compelling children to attend school. During recent years there has been a marked tendency for them to advance the age of compulsory school attendance. States also regulate the number of days during which school must be in session. A substantial

¹Figures from Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1930-32.
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN
PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND IN COLLEGES, BY NUMBER AND
PERCENT, 1900-1930*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Institution and Sex</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th></th>
<th>1910</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public secondary schools:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>216,207</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>398,525</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>303,044</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>516,536</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>519,251</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>915,061</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>68,047</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>113,074</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>36,051</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>61,139</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/</td>
<td>104,098</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>174,213</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public secondary schools:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>992,213</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>2,115,228</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>1,207,176</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>2,284,194</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,199,389</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4,399,422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>212,405</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>441,985</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>126,677</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>311,842</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>341,082</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>753,827</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†Students in normal schools and teachers' colleges are not included. If such students were included, the total for 1930 would be 1,033,022.
‡Data supplied by the U. S. Office of Education.

increase has been made in the length of the school year and in the average number of days of attendance of individual pupils as the following table shows:

**AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS PUBLIC SCHOOLS WERE IN SESSION AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDED BY THE PUPILS ENROLLED, 1890-1930**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Days in Session</th>
<th>Days Attended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>134.7</td>
<td>86.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>144.3</td>
<td>99.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>157.5</td>
<td>113.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>161.9</td>
<td>121.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>172.7</td>
<td>143.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ Data supplied by the U. S. Office of Education.


Due to the various state regulations and to such other factors as the increasing restrictions on child labor, pupils now receive a longer period of education than their parents did. Some statistics on this are given in the table on page 22.

It is believed now that the rapid population growth in this country has ended. Statisticians prophesy a stationary or even decreasing population by 1950 or 1960. This of course will entail a diminishing child population. "By 1940, it is estimated that there will be 200,000 fewer children 14 years of age than in 1930, and by 1950 possibly 600,000 to 700,000 less."¹

EXTENT OF EDUCATION OF THE FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF 8,891 PUPILS ENROLLED IN FOURTEEN HIGH SCHOOLS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years of Education</th>
<th>Fathers</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2,653</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2,328</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>2,468</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,891</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>8,891</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data secured by means of a questionnaire study made for this report in 1930-1931.

Thirty-four of the 366 fathers reported as having had eleven years of education and 1,294 of the 2,328 fathers reported as having had twelve years of education received further education in colleges in the United States or corresponding institutions in foreign countries.

Twenty-one of the 469 mothers reported as having eleven years of education and 1,009 of the 2,468 mothers reported as having had twelve years of education received further education in colleges in the United States or corresponding institutions in foreign countries.

Relieved then of the problem of trying to build schools fast enough to keep up with the population expansion, the nation can turn its attention to the needed changes in the educational program. Many of the changes which have occurred in the American educational system are directly related to changes in the industrial system. Society has gradually been shifting heavy burdens upon the schools. As new social conditions have come with the mechanization and urbanization of economy, new demands have been made upon the schools.

Whether it was a matter of moral unrest among youth, crime, disease, or inebriety, they turned to the schools for aid, and imposed upon them obligations once assumed by the family and business and agriculture.  

Recent Trends in Objectives of Schools

Tracing some of the changes in the function of the school one notes that the early training was linked closely with religious education. Then, as Ross points out, religious training was gradually removed from public education and the teaching in the common school was given an intellectual bias.  

Ross goes on to say that the school had then - "become less an instrument of social control than an aid for individual success."  

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1 The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy, Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, Washington D. C., p. 3.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
Gradually a decided vocational emphasis began to creep into education. Boyd in his *History of Western Education* emphasizes three factors of recent educational development: first, the increasing importance which has been attached to vocational preparation as an element in education by all modern states; second, the remarkable extension of the function of the schools, beyond the mere provision of "learning" to a concern with all aspects of child life. For example, when nations began to find their army recruits had impaired health they soon developed procedure for the care of health of school children. The third factor he mentions is the democratic view of life. When democracy insists that every person is an end to himself, as well as being a means to the maintenance of society, it naturally involves a higher education in the great human interests, such as in art, literature, and religion.

There has also been a growing emphasis on training for citizenship. The heterogeneous population of this country and the need for a socially literate people in a democracy make the training of citizens a great problem. Because some people have felt that there was a need for better training of future citizens, the American Child-Study Movement grew up. Though the movement itself no longer exists, its theories are carried on.

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One criticism of the present school room procedure has been that "the motive and cement of social organization are alike wanting." Some believe the learning that is gained in school does little to organize the pupils as a social unit, for moral or social education is acquired by participation in the common aims and needs of society. There has been a gap between the theoretical teachings of the school and the realities of the outside world. For one example pupils have heard of politics as they ought to be and not as they are. They have been taught at school that all civic officials were high-minded and striving only for the welfare of the group, while at home and in the press they have heard continually of bribery, deceit, crookedness, and inefficiency of government.

**Standards of Behavior Set by the School**

The school has always trained the child in traditional standards of behavior and in ways of behaving. The child has had to realize that in the school community he must accede to the desires of others even more than in the home. Here he came to understand that his desires and his wishes could not always be accomplished. He was taught that certain ways of behaving were acceptable while others were not.

The standards of good behavior however have not always been chosen because they achieved best results for the

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child but more often for the ease and comfort of the adult. A comparison of the attitudes of teachers and child specialists (psychiatrists and clinicians) toward child behavior disorders showed almost a reversal of ratings of their importance.¹ 

The teachers considered as most important those types of behavior which were disturbing to the routine of the classroom and as least important such symptoms of child maladjustment as shyness, oversensitiveness, and unhappiness.

The school could most easily accomplish the instruction of the students in the traditional curriculum content by setting up definite standards of accomplishment for all. The student therefore had to adjust himself to the school. He had to meet its requirements of entrance, of achievement, and of conduct, and take whatever the school cared to offer him. The teaching process often consisted merely of conveying information rather than of inducing logical and intelligent thinking. If the student could not or did not meet the standards of behavior he was termed a problem child.

The trend has changed, however, and more and more the assumption now is that "the problem child has become the problem of the child."² The school is now, in some cases at


least, trying to adapt itself to the varying needs of the individuals. Vocational subjects, manual arts, and other specialized subjects have been introduced to meet the varied needs of the pupils. When the secondary school's student body was composed almost entirely of students preparing for college, the curriculum could remain practically static. But the diverse aims and widely varying abilities of the present students have changed this. With such provision for the different interests and abilities of pupils there should be less cause for friction. There should result fewer problems of undesirable behavior in the school. The control of the pupil by the school should be more efficient and more beneficial for the child.

Some educators decry the situation because they believe we are lowering standards and that we are now getting a student body of lower intelligence quotient than in former times. It is not improbable that this may be true, for high schools have been receiving a greater percentage of the youth of the population, and there has been a decided tendency to try to graduate all with as few "failures" as possible. Whether or not this will have a very damaging effect on our society is debatable.

To summarize then, when the state school systems were developed in the 19th century, they were based on two premises: first, that knowledge was the end to be pursued; and second, that discipline of the faculties, reason, memory, will, observation would prepare men for life. Until 1895 American schools
devoted themselves almost exclusively to supplying information and developing the "faculties." But the following generation paid more attention to stressing certain patriotic ideals with which to indoctrinate the youth, while training of the faculties declined in popularity. The new philosophy is concerned with the nature of the process by which men may be educated for freedom. So one contemporary educator, John Dewey, is concerned with the nature and limits of the power which educational agencies should exercise over youth. He would have the school itself become a cooperative society, would unify school life and social life. Professor Dewey's experimental school tried to solve four problems:

1. What can be done to bring the school into closer relation with the home and neighborhood life?

2. What can be done in the way of introducing subject matter in history and science and art that shall have a positive value and real significance in the child's own life?

3. How can instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, the formal subjects, be carried on with everyday experience and occupation as the background, and be made more interesting by relating them to other studies of more inherent content?

4. How can adequate attention be paid to individual powers and needs?¹

Dewey, like Pestalozzi, found in the ideal home his model for the ideal school, believing that the school like the home should be a genuine community in which the child would

feel himself a true contributing factor.

Two principles that underlie the work of the newer experimental schools are (1) that methods of education must be developed inductively without unnecessary regard for tradition; (2) that activities of some kind should have a fundamental place in the school regime.\(^1\)

Absence of Federal Control of Education in the United States

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the political organization of this country has been the absence of direct federal control over the schools. Some contend that higher standards could be maintained under federal direction. Others hold that we are fortunate because there is no one central bureau in control of our educational system. For..."It is widely believed...that the exercise of federal control of education tends to weaken local and state initiative and that in the long run education will profit by adherence to the American tradition of local control."\(^2\)

Indoctrination by Totalitarian States

The totalitarian states today use their schools as definite instruments of propaganda. They indoctrinate the youth to suit themselves. About the globe in Paris, Moscow,

\(^1\) Boyd, William, History of Western Education, p. 427.

\(^2\) Recent Social Trends, p. 363
Tokyo, Rome, Nanking, Berlin, and in many other places throughout the world there can be found but little promise of intelligent education for the world of today. Even in this country there are some who want pupils trained to be blindly patriotic; never to question any motive of the country; nor to see any wrong in anything it does. But

Governments which deny their citizens intellectual freedom, whether they be capitalistic, or communistic, nationalistic or international in outlook, amount to the same thing; they offer no hope to humanity in the long run, since they deny the exercise of the highest capacity of which men are possessed.

It is well known that Russia, Germany and Italy instil in the youth of their countries undivided loyalty and belief in the theory that the citizen exists merely for the good of the state.

France's Method of Making Patriotic Citizens

France too carries on a very intensive program of citizenship building. All through the school system children are filled with nationalistic feeling and love for the mother country. The history of France receives great emphasis. Very little time is given to study of the contributions to society which have been made by other countries. A study of French schoolbooks since the World War reveals intense propaganda against the enemy and an insistent charge to youth never to

1Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 169, Sept. 1933, p. 120. Article by Woody, Thomas, Citizenship Training Versus the Education of Men.
The methods by which this training is accomplished are well explained by C. J. Hayes in his *France a Nation of Patriots*.\(^1\)

He shows how the French people are made ultra patriotic and supremely loyal to France. Through education and propaganda the state impresses the desired ideas upon its people. Since the government supports and directs all the schooling of the French youth from the kindergarten to the university, it can easily accomplish its ends. In addition to this it supplements the schooling of French boys by training them as soldiers and sailors. The central government has a ministry on a par with the ministries of war, finance, foreign affairs, and agriculture, charged with the supervision of its manifold cultural activities. Its multiform civil bureaucracy registers every move of the citizen from birth to the grave.

Newspapers are subject to state control. Persons are constantly made aware that they are Frenchmen. Teachers exert a special influence, secondary only to the influence of the family, upon the children of the French nation. The educational system is marked by extreme centralization, extreme dependence on the state, and the avowed purpose of child training for citizenship.

All texts of the same subject for each grade closely follow an official program. They are similar in style and content. They are nearly all of a distinctly national tone aiming to make the child love France with an emotional pride and religious zeal.

The Pro-American Emphasis in Textbooks

Not many people realize that our own textbooks have a decided nationalistic and patriotic spirit. Some would proclaim this as desirable; others would not. Bessie Pierce found, by an examination of nearly 400 texts, that they are permeated with a national or patriotic spirit.¹ Most of them are pro-American. The emphasis on war heroes and incidents is so great as to exalt war over peace. Other nations often suffer in comparison with ours.

Since not all the histories were deemed equally objectionable she expressed hope that the more tolerant ones might increase. She expressed alarm, however, at the growing movement advocating an "official" history. Nowhere in her study could she find any recognition that patriotism entails the obligation to think independently, to criticize, or to strive for an improvement of conditions. Instead the majority of texts regarded defense of the country as the highest attribute of patriotism with obedience to the law a close second.

¹Pierce, Bessie, Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks, Chicago University Press, 1930.
Walworth, making "a study of the treatment of our wars in the secondary school history books of the United States and in those of its former enemies," presents similar findings.\(^1\) He does not claim that authors wilfully misrepresent the facts of the war. He is no more critical of American than of Canadian, English, Spanish, Mexican, and German books. He shows conclusively that the histories of the warring countries give conflicting versions of events. He thinks that authors instinctively and with entire honesty in writing of their native land give it "the breaks."

His conclusion is that such instruction can do nothing but breed more international discord. He feels that the strongly nationalistic attitudes built by schooling of this kind will not lend themselves to any tempering even by diplomatic negotiations. Such training then could be an important cause of war.

How much better it would be to give pupils an accurate history which tells about the lives and activities of everyday people, one which stresses peaceful pursuits, describes industries, and explains social theories. Surely this would do more to promote the ideals of democracy.

Moreover Walworth deems the school an especially strong and influential agency for it deals with the youth of the country during their most impressionable years. The beliefs

\(^1\)Walworth, Arthur, School Histories At War, Cambridge, mass., Harvard University Press, 1938.
and attitudes acquired then are very difficult if not impossible to outgrow or change.

History, he continues, is probably the subject which has the greatest formative influence on national and international attitudes. He finds present day history texts less didactic and more nearly abreast the findings of modern scholarship. But authors are still not free to set down the facts. Any attempt to lessen the nationalistic emphasis of their works encounters at once the opposition of powerful pressure groups and patriotic organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion.¹

Attempts to Control Textbooks

Various groups have attempted to control textbooks. In 1834 Roman Catholics of New York urged school texts that would show an agreement with their point of view. Nothing was done, however, to carry out their suggestions. About the same time Boston Catholics denounced both teachers and texts.

In the South just after the Civil War there was a decided movement against using northern textbooks. To justify themselves to posterity the southerners wanted to avoid all books written by northern authors.

Since the close of the World War texts in civics, economics, and sociology have been under fire. Emphasis has

been laid upon patriotism, the study of the Constitution, and good citizenship. Members of the bar have been especially active. For one example, the New York City's Report on History Textbooks, 1922, sought to show authors and publishers what they should do.¹

The American Legion has been interested in installing an official history. "In 1922, the Legion undertook the writing of a textbook of American history, which would preach on every page a vivid love of America."² In 1925 their publication, The Story of the American People, was released in two volumes, a thoroughly American and patriotic United States history textbook. The Legion has renounced all participation in profits from its sales but has sponsored its adoption throughout the country.

Is this intense nationalism the best sort of training for youth? Surely children should be patriotic, but in a democracy there should be more than blind loyalty; there should be developed the ability to think for oneself. The success of a democracy depends upon the cooperation of its citizens. In order to progress it must have citizens who can harmonize self interests with social interests for otherwise

¹Tidwell, Clyde J., State Control of Textbooks, New York Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1928.

²Pierce, Bessie Louise, Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, p. 37.
the selfish desire of individuals would defeat the interests of the group.

It does not seem desirable to train children to accept all national traditions, popular hopes, and hates, blindly or to reject all of them indiscriminately. The problem is to encourage a critical attitude without nullifying the controlling influence of tradition. Martin states that this part of the task of education

...is that of leading men to reflect on the way they are going, to consider for themselves ends and values in the light of the experience and the serious thinking of all time, to break the bondage of narrow self-interest and of parochial prejudices with wider outlooks and sympathies. 1

Democracy means or should mean freedom of choice. Thus the difference between propaganda and true education is the difference between inducing another to accept your conclusions without himself doing the thinking necessary to validate the conclusion, and inducing him to consider a problem and to seek and weigh evidence. Pupils need to be guided to do critical thinking, not to be indoctrinated.

What society needs is not control of the direction of change by personalities or special interests, but a spread throughout its members of the mental power to understand events as they arise, and the moral courage to trust human experience and to make the maximum possible use of a socially guaranteed intellectual liberty. 2

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1 Martin, Everett Dean, in Whither Mankind (Edited by Charles Beard) Longmans, Green and Company, 1929, p. 368.

Groups Which Desire to Use the School

The power of the school as an agency of social control is being increasingly recognized by various groups, even though Bernays declared in 1928,

"Education is not securing its proper share of public interest... The public is not cognizant of the real value of education, and does not realize that education as a social force is not receiving the kind of attention it has a right to expect in a democracy."

There are numerous groups which are now attempting in one way or another to use the school. The danger is that highly organized and powerful groups may exploit their power to control in order to better themselves rather than society at large. There is also the chance that well-meaning public spirited groups may do more harm than good in their zeal to improve the educational process.

Rorty describes the advertising controls which are operating on our publically owned schools. This indirect education may take one of two forms. The positive type is familiar: manufacturers of tooth brushes and dentifrices supply free literature on dental hygiene to the schools. They are amply repaid by the "tooth brush drills." The negative methods are less well known but vastly more important. For example, the study of "consumption economics" aims to show

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the consumer just how he can best serve his own interest. It deals with the possibilities and limits of consumers' cooperatives, credit unions, and consumers' research.

While such consumer education by the school would seem to be desirable and possible, attempts to put it in the curriculum meet the united opposition of business, manufacturers, distributors, bankers, and publishers. It is difficult to introduce any service in the school program which may injure an established financial interest.

Judd cites a similar example wherein Lessons in Community and National Life written by authorities on the subjects, at the order of President Wilson, and sponsored by the United States Food Administration, were kept out of the schools. Representative of leading manufacturing industries, organized as the National Industrial Conference Board, published a pamphlet condemning the lessons and called the attention of various town politicians to their views. They were successful in suppressing the Lessons.

Two excellent studies of these attempts at control have been made by Bessie Louise Pierce, Associate Professor of American History at the University of Chicago. The first is Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States. This book shows clearly just how teachers are ham-

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2 New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.
pered in presenting facts, just how they are made to conform to the desires of various pressure groups in the community. It outlines some of the attempts which have been made to scrutinize both the textbooks used and the affiliations of the teachers using them.

The second is Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth.\(^1\) In this she has made a study of citizens' groups which have been interested in civic instruction during the period following the World War up through 1930-31. Some of all types of organizations have been treated in the book. The policies of those organizations which are large and influential and which have been instrumental in shaping the channels of American thought have been described. "On the whole, attention has been directed chiefly to patriotic, military, peace, religious, business, political, and fraternal groups as they effect instruction in the common schools of America."\(^2\)

Miss Pierce found that the educational programs of the societies covered by her study included a wide variety of plans "...focused on the objective of a more intelligent citizenry and an unquestioning loyalty to country."\(^3\)

\(^1\)Pierce, Bessie, Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth, Part III Report of the Commission on Social Studies, American Historical Association, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 11.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 315.
She had not made any attempt to point out the validity of the claims made by citizen groups upon the schools, nor has she prophesied the results of these activities. She simply closes with the statement that directly or indirectly these "...programs effecting the education of the youth of this country have the opportunity to influence 25,000,000 children in the elementary and secondary schools, besides over 2,700,000 pupils enrolled in private and parochial educational institutions."\(^1\)

Raup places all the organized interests which are attempting to exert control in the school in two categories: (1) those concerned with the distribution and control of wealth, (2) those concerned with nationalism, war, and international policy.\(^2\)

The Institute of Propaganda Analysis has recently made a study of specific propagandas which work in the public schools of the country. See the following pages for their questionnaire.

There arise decided conflicts of interests then in these attempts to use the school. There are those who would instil in the pupils the belief that government ownership of utilities is preferable to private. Opposed to them are the monopolists themselves. Because of the publicity given the hearings of the

\(^{1}\)Ibid., p. 317.

\(^{2}\)Raup, Bruce, *Education and Organized Interests in America*, New York, Putman's Sons, 1936.
INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS
A Non-profit Corporation to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

130 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE · NEW YORK CITY

February 15, 1939

Dear School Executive:

As every school executive knows, pressure groups of every kind seek constantly to utilize the schools to achieve all manner of ends. Some of these groups are legitimate, contributing to desirable civic goals which are also the goals of schools. Examples of "good" pressure groups are those which try to promote health and safety. Other groups attempt to shape the curriculum to make it serve ends which may be selfish. All of these groups carry on activities—which come within the definition of propaganda.

Later this year the Institute for Propaganda Analysis hopes to publish a special study of specific propagandas which work in the public schools of the country. The Institute, a non-profit, educational organization, is undertaking this study at the request of many of its subscriber members, including teachers and administrators in schools throughout the country. Would you yourself like to assist in this study by making suggestions of matters it might include, by providing information about propaganda activities which you consider "good" or "bad"?

Your response by letter will be most welcome; also perhaps we can discuss this matter at the February meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. For Monday afternoon, February 27, Division VI, Group A, Superintendent Saxon has scheduled a meeting on "Propaganda and General Education". If you attend this meeting, you may wish to make suggestions there. Meanwhile, for your convenience, a number of points are raised on the inclosed sheet. Perhaps you would like to write us with reference to these points indicating aspects of propaganda in the schools which you consider "good" or "bad". We shall be pleased to have your suggestion and counsel. No use will be made of your name in connection with anything you write or suggest.

Sincerely yours,

Clyde R. Miller
Executive Secretary

DIRECTORS: FRANK E. BAKER, Milwaukee State Teachers College · CHARLES A. BEARD · HADLEY CANTREL, Princeton University · EDGAR DALE, Ohio State University · NED H. DEARBORN, New York University · LEONARD DOEB, Yale University · PAUL DOUGLAS, University of Chicago · GLADYS MURPHY GRAHAM, University of California at Los Angeles · F. ERNEST JOHNSON, Teachers College, Columbia University · GRAYSON N. KEIFER, Stanford University · WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK · E. C. LINDEMAN, New York School of Social Work · ROBERT S. LYND, Columbia University · MALCOLM S. MACLEAN, University of Minnesota · KIRTLEY MATHER, Harvard University · ERNEST O. MELBY, Northwestern University · JAMES E. MENDENHALL, Lincoln School, New York City · CLYDE R. MILLER, Teachers College, Columbia University · ROBERT K. SPEER, New York University
1. What community interests are served by your school?

What groups represent these interests?

Kindly name organizations, giving typical activities of each, such as speakers in school assemblies, sales campaigns for better health stickers, drives for benefits, essay contests on fire prevention, safe driving, and the like.

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<th>Organizations</th>
<th>Activities</th>
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a. Civic and community organizations, i.e., Kiwanis, Lions, Chamber of Commerce; City Health Council, fire department.

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<th>Activities</th>
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b. Women's clubs and youth organizations, i.e., Business & Professional Women's clubs, Campfire Girls, Boy Scouts, etc.

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<th>Activities</th>
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c. Local branches of national patriotic organizations, i.e., Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution, etc.

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<th>Activities</th>
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d. Churches and religious organizations, i.e., young people's societies, Y.W.C.A., Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus.

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e. Others

<table>
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<th>Organizations</th>
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2. What groups (local, state, national) with definite political, economic, social, or religious convictions have brought pressure to bear to have your school teach or not teach certain subjects?

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<th>Name of organizations</th>
<th>Objection</th>
<th>Methods (petition or delegation or —)</th>
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3. What groups have brought pressure to bear to use or not to use certain textbooks?

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<th>Organizations</th>
<th>Methods</th>
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4. What groups have exerted pressure to dismiss certain teachers or to employ others?

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<th>Names</th>
<th>Methods</th>
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5. What organizations, associations, or commercial companies make available to your school such materials as motion picture shorts; pictorial charts, bulletins, pamphlets; radio facilities and equipment; textbooks?

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<th>Organizations</th>
<th>Nature of Supplies</th>
<th>Designate if distributed free</th>
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Federal Trade Commission it is well known that the public utilities have been interested in the instruction and the textbooks of the schools. Though their attempts to bring about regimentation of thinking in secondary schools may have been no more extensive and no more effective than those of other agencies they are at least better known.¹

Along the economic front also are arranged on one side those individuals and groups who desire to further their own private interests by using the schools as opposed to those who desire to obtain the greatest good for all. There is also dissension and disagreement among the members of the groups.

On the international issue are aligned those who really believe they are promoting general welfare when they strive to uphold their theories of "100% Americans" or "America for Americans" and the like, while against them work just as sincerely those who believe in world brotherhood. Also opposing the "loyalists" are the Communistic and Socialist groups, both of which now have active youth organizations here. For a description of the type of work done by such groups one might well read Prussianizing American Schools by Gustavus Ohlinger.²

Obviously there cannot be agreement between those who demand an ultra-nationalistic training even to the point of

¹Pierce, Bessie, Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth, p. 242.
going to war and those people who desire tolerance, harmony, and peace among all nations, nor between those who believe that patriotic symbols and demonstrations will of themselves insure democracy and those who hold to a philosophy of authoritarian control.

MacIver declares that there will always be conflict whenever like interests are inharmonious. He presents three orders of inharmonious like interests. The first would include all economic goods whenever people are in a position to compete for them; this would include the public versus private ownership struggle, the struggle of commercial interests to build good will through the schools, and various others. The second consists of exclusive emotional attachments which are apt, under various conditions, to breed rivalries and jealousies leading to open or latent conflict. The third includes the interests of power and distinction, such as the quest for power, for prestige, and preferment.

MacIver continues by pointing out how the common interests of groups can be strong spurs to conflict. A group often becomes most conscious of its unity when it is threatened by another group. He also indicates the unusual multiplicity of racial, national, and religious groups in the United States.

Considering the number and diversity of interests among the groups which are attempting to use the school as an

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agency of control it is obvious that conflicts are likely to arise. The desirable solution to this problem would be a "resolution of conflict."\(^1\) This can occur when the groups find a common ground of harmonious like interests. If educators and laymen could meet to decide upon a set of desirable objectives for the school. If they would measure the results of its present procedure perhaps through more polls and surveys such as that of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, they might be able to agree as to just what those best interests are that the school should serve. But this does not seem likely to happen.

The alternative that might be hoped for would be to reduce the hostility between groups, for as MacIver indicates, sometimes the resolution of conflict comes about directly through the transformation of hostile attitudes rather than through the discovery of harmonious interests. This occurs when hostility is due to prejudice that disappears on better acquaintance or fuller knowledge; when differences, at first regarded as essential, are seen to be relatively unimportant; or when for whatever reason the sentiment of comradeship or community wins out over the opposing sentiment, and the alien or outsider is admitted into the fold.\(^2\)

If the ultra-patriotic group could be shown the futility of saving the nation's honor by resorting to force; while the dissatisfied factions could be made to see that this form of government is not entirely worthless, this desired

\(^1\)MacIver, *Society*, p. 57.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 58.
transformation of hostile attitudes might be achieved. Strife
between other pressure groups might be reduced in the same way
by reducing prejudices through spreading understanding and
knowledge.

Just how much effect these organizations achieve by
their work in the schools has not yet been measured. The
study by Pierce did not attempt to measure results nor to
prophecy for the future. Rorty pictures the common man as
very much the slave of the advertisers. He also declares
"...business can influence or control our schools and univer-
sities when it wants to or feels that it has to."

It may well be that the school is missing an oppor-
tunity in not gauging the power of these forces and planning
a constructive program to deal with them. Certainly the in-
dustrialists are in an ideal position to supply much good
educational material to the schools. It would seem unfortunate
if some method or technique could not be worked out whereby
the schools might take advantage of the best of it without
selling themselves to the donors.

The School's Work in Social Control

There are many and diverse theories as to the func-
tion of the school. Theories vary from state to state, from
country to country, and even from year to year. Many agree

1Rorty, J., Our Master's Voice, New York, John Day Co.,
1934, p. 172.
that it would be desirable to reorganize and crystalize the aims and goals of the school. But not all can agree as to what they should do. Expansions in an educational system as extensive and as rapid as those which have taken place in the United States inevitably give rise to problems of readjustment which require the highest wisdom for their solution.

Experience seems to point out that the passing on of the cultural heritage of the world can best be accomplished through the medium of education and especially by the school. The instruction in the fundamental skills of reading, writing, and mathematics has definitely been delegated to the school. Probably most people would agree that the home and the school should share in the promotion of morality and order through the building up of certain standards of behavior. Further than this there is little agreement. Experts disagree violently on both the content and method of the school's program.

Should the school seek merely to train meek and obedient citizens? Should the school discuss controversial questions impartially or should it always have its discussion uphold the present government? Should the school merely impart traditional information or should it train the youth to be able to recognize and analyze propaganda? Should the school inspire pupils with a desire to improve the country and government or demand blind loyalty to the present system?

Is it enough to train the "faculties?" Will a "transfer of learning" take place? Should everyone be made to
meet certain academic standards without regard for individual differences? Should more manual arts' work be offered for those who profit by it? Would youth be better served by more vocational training?

Is education to be a liberating force or is it to be perverted to a point where it blocks intellectual activity? Is it to be a free agency spreading knowledge among all or is it to be a tool of the state giving out propaganda as the group in power sees fit? Must the school be shaped by the government or may it help shape the government?

These are some of the questions which are disturbing the minds of many thoughtful citizens.

Various educators have been willing to accept a social interpretation of the work of the school, which holds that the school shall be oriented to the present day and future problems of society. But they have been less willing to accept the corollary that the school should function as an agency of cultural selection. Their interpretations of education seek to avoid such a social responsibility. One interpretation which has been very popular would make education a completely objective science. It would determine everything by fact finding. It has neglected the human interests and values which many think should enter into the making of educational policies. While this movement has tried to make up a school program through accumulating social data, it has failed to realize that knowledge about what is cannot of itself deter-
mine what ought to be.

A second movement has sought to center the school around the individual child. This work has made an important contribution to educational thought and practice. But many criticise this for they believe that the standards and norms for education can never be exclusively built up from the interests of the child. They hold that interest in the welfare of the child cannot be made a substitute for social understanding and cultural selection.

A third group of educators agree that education must rest ultimately upon a conception of social welfare, that it cannot be made into an exact science, and that while it may recognize the uniqueness and interests of the individual child it is still responsible for adult guidance and socio-educational control. Yet they are fearful to have an educator as such attempt to choose between competing interest groups or cultural patterns.

According to them the school must educate only in terms of values and practices now in vogue; it must not try to improve or reconstruct the social system.

Even if the exclusive purpose of the school is to teach the pupils the values already established in American society, that does not deny the right to criticize constructively. Most people would affirm that the right of criticism was an inviolate part of democratic society.

Since many traditional beliefs and practices seem no
longer useful in our present situation, it would seem foolish to cling to them. Nor does it appear certain that all citizens want the schools to do so.

An alternative to these theories is the interpretation of education as a process of social analysis and criticism. This would imply that educators recognize that American life is in a period of transition; that they should be intelligent about these new conditions and be able to help the young to adjust to new situations.

Probably no school can present all the social alternatives of the day and leave the pupil wholly neutral. It will perhaps bias him in favor of one side or the other. It may give him a set of values with which to weigh and criticize other problems.

Some people on the other hand believe that the sole purpose of the school should be to train good citizens. Their arguments would run substantially as follows: The school has the youth under its supervision for a greater period of time than any other agency except the family. Because it is or can be a small democratic community in itself (with the proper teachers) it has the chance to do a great deal in developing these young people. The pupils are young and are susceptible to influence. It is known that children learn by doing. It is also apparent that they receive many of their attitudes through imitation of their elders. The school probably has the best resources for developing intelligent citizens of any
social agency. For...

On the whole, the school emerges as the dominant figure in the new process of civic education, and in all probability will continue to hold this position for some time to come; and to strengthen its influence with the adoption of more scientific methods of analysis and instruction.¹

The program which Paustian and Oppenheimer outline to achieve this civic education is in content very similar to that outlined by Merriam in *Civic Education in the United States,*²

Another group advocates training for leadership. They hold that the need for specific training for social life in a democracy is evident and essential. Beginning early and continuing all through the educational system, there should be special training given in all subjects that pertain to social order and social control; that is everything which deals...

...with the political and industrial history of the nation, with its social and economic conditions, with its forms of government, its constitutional and common law, and, indeed, with its social relations, should be taught in its public schools.³

Gillin declares that there is definite need for organized training for those who are to be the officials of the state, in other words technical schools for those who intend

to make government their vocation. Jones is in accord with this theory and holds that if the schools are to be effective agencies for the selection of leaders two things are necessary: every possible leader must have an opportunity for education, and the training and education suitable to his needs must be provided.¹

Others would say that probably the educator should not attempt to draw blue prints for a new society. But he should recognize that American life has entered upon a period of social transition. This requires a new orientation of the American school. The greatest good he can do for the pupil is to help him acquire the basic skills and knowledges necessary and train the youth to be able to adjust to changes which may come.

During this period of social transformation, one of the most important obligations for the educator is to become intelligent about these new conditions and about the ideal aspirations of the American people, so that the school may do its share in helping the young to adjust to that which lies ahead.²

Another group condemns all such aims as intangible objectives. J. Anton DeHaas says the schools now set up smoke screens behind which failures may be hidden.³ He deplores the

over emphasis on method. He points out that many grammar
school and high school teachers have spent so much time in de-
partments of education learning how to teach, that they have
not had time to learn what to teach. He objects because he
says education has been sold out to big business. The slow
laborious task of arriving at sound conclusions is annoying to
the business executive. Business men want schools to train
quick thinking leaders.

DeHaas suggests a return to learning as he knew it in
the schools of Holland. He prescribes better pay for better
trained teachers, more democratic control of schools by tea-
chers, the end of Parent Teacher Associations. For

If your teachers know their jobs, if they have been selected because they have had the
necessary equipment and experience why not leave them alone? Would you organize a family doctors' association to supervise the operating technique of your physicians?1

Conclusion

Many have written dogmatic treatises on these pro-
bles of the school. In addition to those in various educa-
tional journals, there have been at least three volumes of The
Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science devoted
to them.2 The National Education Association added two books
to the field just recently. They were Implications of Social-

1 Ibid., p. 322.
2 Vols. 169, 182, 67, (also 179 indirectly).
Economic Goals for Education and The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy.¹

Although many have stated their opinions and offered their own solutions little has been done to prove their solutions are workable. The attempts which the school has made to meet these new conditions have been roundly criticized. The conservatists, who would return to the traditional solid curriculum of facts, can see no good in the progressive view. The progressives, on the other hand, deplore a situation where

Most of our education is determined by factors other than children's needs. Tradition, adults' ideas of what children should know, and the vested interests of persons who have been trained as subject-matter specialists have been more predominant determining factors. We have preferred to do things that have always been done, even though we see all about us evidence that education is failing youth - literally passing them by unaffected - because we have ignored the needs of youth in planning the school program.²

Educators disagree with other educators, parents disagree among themselves; administrators are caught between the two, some leaning toward one camp and some toward the other. The whole picture is one of educational confusion. The same school is charged at once with soft pedagogy and with severe discipline. Some declare the curriculum too narrow and formal.

¹Implications of Social-Economic Goals for Education and The Function of Education in American Democracy, Published by the National Education Association, 1937.

²Dr. Caroline Zachry speaking at New England Regional Conference of the Progressive Education Association in Boston, March, 1938.
others affirm that it is too much concerned with frills and newer subjects. These people deplore mass education methods, those shout that faddists are in control. The only point of agreement is that schools lack contact with real life.

The following table taken from a nation-wide survey of lay and professional criticisms of schools is a very good illustration of the state of affairs. (See page 54.)

The school has not been as effective in its work as people want it to be. Perhaps its inner motivation has been too weak, or outer pressures have been too strong, or the intricate issues have been too little understood. Its task is not clearly outlined, but it will probably involve shouldering even more responsibility for child life and adult life in the future.

At least four factors may account for the failure of the average school to meet the needs of the times. (1) It takes on the average about ten years for the findings of current research to reach textbooks. (2) Textbooks are often used for many years after publication. (3) Teachers are apt to fall victim to habit and routine. Therefore, they seldom find it possible to keep up with contemporary findings. (4) The school's definition of its function is still that of transmitting knowledge. In most cases, children are still expected to master a set curriculum that may not be adapted to their interests or abilities. This is probably the most important cause of the lag.
Evidently just what the Role of the School should be cannot be satisfactorily determined until more definite information has been gathered as to the results of the present system and the results obtainable by the proposed systems.

Table on previous page is from—

Social Control: the Meaning

Social control means any influence exerted by society upon the individual. This control is sometimes unconscious and involuntary. At other times the group definitely uses and directs individuals for the realization of its own purposes.

Control: A Function of One Aspect of Culture

The culture of a group is built up gradually and passed on from year to year. Professor Woodard divides culture into three sections: (1) aesthetic culture, including paintings, sculpture, symbols, dance forms, and aesthetic aspects of poetry, literature, music, ceremonial, etc.; (2) inductive culture, including all inductively-arrived-at bodies of knowledge, skills, technics, and mathematics which are the source of values, beliefs, and attitudes; (3) control culture, including all those items which have a prescriptive force and a controlling or conforming influence, i.e., conventions, mores, morals, sanctions, and so forth. Control culture resists change as it is brought about by inductive culture, and so there is a tendency toward maladjustment and cultural lag.
The Need for Social Control

The orderly movement of society to-day could not have come about by accident or without regulative forces. Man has no innate drives to control his behavior automatically, hence he has built up a system of controls. For a group to function efficiently there must be cooperation and a guiding plan of action.

Agencies and Means of Control

One of the earliest methods of control used by primitive man was that of custom. These people were greatly influenced by happenings in nature, and once an acceptable mode of action was found it was adopted. Other means of control were the feelings of sociability, justice, and injustice. In addition to these early controls of ceremony, custom, and superstitious beliefs, there grew up such agencies as law and public opinion. One of the most powerful methods of control is through suggestion. Education is an example of how men are controlled by suggestion.

Important Units of Control

The four fundamental units of society which exert the most stabilizing controls are the family, the state, the church, and the school. Two of these, the family and the church seem to have been losing some of their power and the
school has had to take over much of this work in their stead.

Attempts to Direct the New Agencies of Social Control

As the family and small community have gradually been weakening, the press, movie, radio, and public opinion have increased in power. The great problem now is to direct these along socially desirable lines. The German and Soviet governments have recognized this problem.

The Varied Aims of the Agencies of Control

Planned guidance has been lacking in the control of the agencies of information and communication. In fact, it seems at present that social control is directed towards a number of scattered and disconnected objectives. Education is perhaps the most useful tool of social control, but the critical problem is to keep it free from special interests and give it wise direction.

The School as an Agency of Social Control

There is a recognized lag between the control culture and the inductive culture. People regret that social progress does not keep abreast of scientific progress. Since the school passes on the inductive culture of the world, intelligent planning by the school might reduce this lag.
The Widening Scope of Elementary and Secondary Education

The school's work has been to pass on to the younger generation the culture of the race, that is, to transmit knowledge. Until 1875 only persons who planned to enter the professions attended school beyond the elementary grades. This was a much smaller percentage of the population than attends secondary schools now.

Recent Trends in Objectives of Schools

The early school aimed simply to transmit knowledge. But society has been shifting more and more responsibility to the school. More emphasis has been put upon the vocational side of training and the function of the school has been expanded.

The school has always trained children in the traditional ways of behavior. It has sometimes set up standards of behaving because they made it easy to handle children rather than because they were best for the pupils. The recent trend has been away from this and toward an attempt to adapt the school to the child's needs. The school is recognizing that the abilities and educational needs of its students vary greatly.
Indoctrination by Totalitarian States

The totalitarian states definitely use their schools as instruments of propaganda to uphold the power of the state.

France has a very systematic method for instilling patriotism in the youth. Her textbooks laud France and caution youngsters never to forget the sins of their enemies.

The Pro-American Emphasis

American textbooks also have a distinctly nationalistic spirit. The emphasis on war heroes is such as to exalt war over peace. Other countries suffer in comparison to ours. Such training can only breed more international trouble.

Attempts to Control Textbooks

Authors are not free to record the facts as they actually exist. Any attempt to lessen the emphasis on war and nationalism is viewed with alarm by various pressure groups in the community.

Groups Which Desire to Use the School

The power of the school as an agency of social control is being recognized by various groups. They are steadily increasing their efforts to direct and use the school. Some groups are selfishly interested in this, others are
trying to serve what they consider to be the best interests of the nation. The organizations include patriotic, military, peace, religious, business, political, and fraternal groups. At the risk of over-simplifying the situation, these groups may be put under two basic types: those concerned with the distribution and control of wealth, and those interested in nationalism, war, and international policy. It is difficult to determine the extent to which these groups actually control the schools.

Conflicts of interests are likely to arise in such use of the school as an agency of control. This conflict will continue until agreement can be reached as to just what the function of the school is, just whom it is to serve, and just how this is to be accomplished.

The School's Work in Social Control

Though many criticize the school's program and methods, few can agree as to what the aims, objectives, and methods should be. Theories include building a new social order, training for citizenship, training for leadership, returning to a strict curriculum of learning facts.

The greatest problem seems to be a lack of facts concerning the results obtained now, and the results which would be obtained under other programs. It is encouraging to see some actual testing in process for this, but more is
needed, Critics need to supply proof that their proposals will actually give the results they claim.
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