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Attitude of organized labor toward vocational education.

By

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CHAPTER ONE--INTRODUCTION

Not long ago the attitude of organized labor on the subject of vocational education would have been considered by the majority of educators as of little consequence. Indeed, at the present time, many members of the teaching profession, due to leisure class tradition, education and training look upon the demands of labor in matters of education with no small degree of suspicion. This situation is due to the fact that labor has had to fight for its place in the educational field, and that it has had a long and tortuous path to tread before being admitted into educational councils with a reputable standing. The old institutional furniture of the past, heritages of slavery, serfdom, peonage, indentured service, apprenticeship, and contract labor, were remnants of an unhappy history of status and servility and lack of rights which created a distrust that (whether we wish to admit it or not), has been difficult to remove in order that unprejudiced recognition be granted the demands of labor in educational circles.

Labor has an attitude toward vocational education for the following reasons:

1. Because upon the choice and practice of a vocation there follows the determination of a life. One's choice of a vocation and the capacity to practice it defines a person's social and

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Labor has an attitude toward vocational education for the

following reasons:

1. Because work is the choice and practice of a vocation there follows the determination of a life. One's choice of a vocation and the capacity to practice it defines a person's social and

and civic status. Whether you will live in the slums, occupy a modest bungalow, or a more pretentious residence depends chiefly upon your choice of a vocation. Whether you will be just one of the workers of the world "bowed by the weight of centuries" and upon your back the burden of the world, or a member of a professional class with increased opportunities of worthy leisure, distinction, and influence, depends upon your choice of a vocation. In a general way, perhaps, more than any other single factor, the making for better or for worse of a life, is the choice of a vocation.

2. Labor has an attitude toward vocational education because vocational education comes from the field of industry more than from the interests of education as such. The meaning of this is that the pace set and the courses offered at present do not come from the schools and colleges but from industry itself. It is the institution of industry which affects the lives of the laboring class so completely that an indifference for labor to the problems of vocational education is impossible. The problems of vocational education for labor are more of an industrial nature than educational, that is, they function chiefly in the field of industrial enterprise, and it is chiefly in this capacity that labor's interests function the most fruitfully.

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iciency, that it must have trained workers for the good of all, is she is to take her place among the competing nations in the world of industrial enterprise. Our efficiency or our inefficiency will be tested by our ability to adapt the technical arts and machine production to the industrial process. This is a national ideal of labor and capital alike which can only be attained through vocational education of a technical character.

4. Labor has an attitude toward vocational education because it realizes perhaps more fully than any other force in society that industry and its problems constitute the most fertile field for adventure, development, and growth, and hence for education. It is in this field that the "creative impulse" in industry and the "instinct of workmanship" may best be realized; that when the scopy of industry is thrown open for first hand experiment and cooperative enterprise it will be fully demonstrated that the industrial process and the educative process are one, and that there can be little social growth while where is conflict between "growth in wealth (which is industry) and growth in individuals (which is education)".

5. Labor has an attitude toward vocational education because in the movement for vocational education it sees the opportunity for redemption from the deadening results of machine specialization. "This division of the workers into eyes, arms, fingers, legs, the

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... "This divider of the workers into eyes, arms, fingers, legs, the

plucking out of some one of his faculties and discarding the rest of man as valueless, has seemed to be an organic requirement of machine evolution."*

6. Labor has an attitude toward vocational education because it realizes that in a participation in this movement there lies opportunity for a larger control of industry by which and from which labor must survive. The chief significance of the evolution of machine industry for labor has been in the fact that it has separated the laborer from his means of life, that the control once his, due to the possession of tools, materials, and especially, his skill, constituted for the worker a reliance, an independence, which the "new power" in machine industry has placed in the hands of his employer. Vocational education directed in the interests of labor will restore much of this lost power and independence.

7. Labor has an attitude toward vocational education because it realizes that in the vocational education curriculum there lies the greatest opportunity for the democratization of education. Never before in the history of education have democratic demands been so urgent as at the present and never have they seemingly been so near of realization. Democracy for labor has a specific content. It means that for an educational criterion

*Marot, "The Creative Impulse in Industry," p. 5.

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the school curriculum shall mean a participation in social life in which the interests of the group shall be shared by all its members. The curriculum must not only offer an opportunity to share but to participate in all that is included in school life on equal terms.

8. Labor has an attitude on vocational education because vocational education offers the very best opportunity for educational motivation. This does not mean that each school activity should be evaluated solely in terms of mercenary considerations, or that most of our school work must function economically, but that school work should reflect life's work, not only reflect it but supplement and enrich it at every possible point. School work should not necessarily be a preparation for life but a participation in life at its best.

9. Labor has an attitude on vocational education because it sees in the vocational education curriculum the opportunity for the individual to function as an economic unit and this is the chief interest of organized labor. Labor claims and insists that any and all school curriculums in order to meet the requirements of a democracy must include the three following forms of knowledge.

1. Productional knowledge.
2. Distributional knowledge.
3. Consumptional knowledge.

Labor demands that all the knowledge of the vocational curriculum

the school curriculum shall mean a participation in social life in which the interests of the group shall be shared by all the members. The curriculum must not only offer an opportunity to share but to participate in all that is included in school life on equal terms.

B. Labor has an attitude on vocational education because vocational education offers the very best opportunity for educational activities. This does not mean that every school activity should be organized along in terms of vocational considerations, but that part of our school work must function economically, but that school work should reflect life's work, and only reflect it but emphasize the aim in as every possible point. School work should not necessarily be a preparation for life but a participation in life at its best.

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1. Vocational knowledge.
 2. Intellectual knowledge.
 3. Constitutional knowledge.
- Labor insists that all the knowledge of the vocational curriculum

shall not be productional, as is now the tendency in nearly all vocational schools. Labor demands that there shall be taught the meaning of distributional knowledge and that the safest guarantee against economic exploitation is a knowledge of the subject matter of the economic production of wealth. Labor realizes that no person is so poor as he who is poor for the lack of higher wants, that in any well-ordered school curriculum ample provision must be made for the best use of leisure as may be expressed in the fine arts, languages, music, literature, acting, or any knowledge that improves leisure moments.

10. Labor has an attitude on the subject of vocational education because it believes that in the vocational education movement there will develop opportunity to present the subject matter of labor's problems. It is to the interest of labor that labor's interests be represented in the vocational education programs. This is necessary for labor's interests in the vocational education movement. When labor sees to it that the children of those who toil are taught by teachers who have been trained in the industry they teach; who know that the trade they are imparting is only a small part of an ethical code of labor and labor's claims in the social order; it is then that labor can begin to exert its real service in the cause of vocational education.

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11. Labor has an attitude on the subject of vocational educa-

tion, because it cannot help but realize that in the scientific management and consequent organization of industry, there will be eliminated most of what economists know as "economic waste" in the production and distribution of economic goods; that by the avoidance of unnecessary duplication in business enterprise, by the elimination of skill due to machine specialization, and the substitutions of mechanisms for men, there will be such a release from the drudgery of labor that a much greater share of leisure may be shared by all workers.

12. Labor has an attitude on the subject of vocational education for the very good reason that it has always had an interest in educational matters. In the development of a free public school system in the United States, organized labor played the most important role. About the only contribution America has made to education is a FREE public school system and the FREE part of the system is due to the militant interest that organized labor took in the general education movement during the early half of the nineteenth century.

13. Labor has a very decided attitude on the subject of vocational education because it realizes there are other interests bidding for the control of the vocational education movement whose interests in the subject are widely divergent and often antagonistic to the interests of organized labor, that is, the interests of "Big business", manufacturer's associations,

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employer's associations, and employers of labor in general. Labor realizes clearly the fact that the interests of labor and capital are not wholly the same no matter how much we desire them to be identical. Labor is emphatic in its demands that its children shall not be trained "Hands" for the exploitation of those who make a profit from their industry. If there is one lesson above all others that the late war has taught us, it is the refined brutality of the Prussian vocational education system. The perfection of the German industrial supremacy was due to the fact that Germany made it imperative that the youth of her country should be "consecrated and sacrificed" to a vocational scheme wherein the youth of the country were as carefully moulded to fit the industrial scheme as the machines themselves. Labor wants initiative, not submission, in industry. This viewpoint necessitates the inquiry, "In whose interests is vocational education to be conducted?" Shall it be in the interests of the employer (vocational education with the education left out), the creation of a willing group of wage earners, trained to fit into the machines of the employers, or shall vocational education be conducted for the purpose of developing intelligent workers saturated with the ideals and dignity of labor? If one can enter into the setting of this situation, the attitude of labor toward vocational education can be easily understood.

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will offer some release from the blight of poverty that it is now the curse of labor to bear. When three-fourths of the laboring population is underfed, under-clothed, and under-educated, chiefly due to the problem of poverty, it well behooves labor to become interested in the poverty problem or it will sink to still lower depths of degradation and dependence. The question of poverty is perhaps the most far-reaching of all, for such phrases as "democracy" in industry, "equal opportunity", etc., are meaningless when sixty per cent of the wealth of the United States is in the hands of two per cent of the population and two per cent of the wealth is owned by sixty five per cent of the population.*

It shall be the purpose of this thesis to establish beyond a reasonable doubt the fact that labor, be it organized or unorganized, has and will continue to have a most vital attitude on the subject of vocational education; that its attitude and record in the past is of such character that it may well be proud, and that its attitude at present is in accord with the best that has been thought, said, and done in the vocational field; further, that labor's attitude is determined by the status of laborers as wage earners in an industrial system, that whatever this attitude may be, it must be interpreted in terms

*From the Manley Report of the Industrial Relations Committee.

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*From the Ashley Report of the Industrial Relations Committee.

of the economic life from which it receives sustenance and support; that this interpretation manifests itself in nearly the whole round of the laborer's life; hence labor's insistence upon an exhaustive program for vocational education; further, that while labor may look upon some of the efforts of vocational education with more or less suspicion, yet, on the whole, organized labor is in favor of an extensive program for vocational education, providing it has a liberal share in its direction. Labor is in the vocational education business because it wishes to control it, which is the very reason why any other group is in it, and in the main it seeks this control because through the vocational education curriculum it can best propagate the ideals and aims of organized labor.

The industrial system, and the industrial force which maintains it, are the basis of business enterprise. As a greater part of the world's population is engaged in this activity, it is not surprising that the industrial system has become the dominant force in the world. The industrial system is the basis of the modern world, and it is the industrial system which has created the modern world. The industrial system is the basis of the modern world, and it is the industrial system which has created the modern world.

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CHAPTER TWO--THE ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK OF OUR SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Before an intelligent understanding of the interests of labor can be acquired on the subject of vocational education, there must be kept clearly in mind the enormous importance of economic considerations in our daily life. An exaggeration of this economic factor can hardly be made. If it were not for this economic background shaping and directing the movements of labor, industry, and education too, there could be no problems for vocational education to solve, and no variety of interests and attitudes for labor and for industry to struggle over. In none too emphatic terms is it stated,

"The material framework of modern civilization is the industrial system, and the directing force which animates this framework is business enterprise. To a greater extent than any other phase of culture modern Christendom takes its complexion from its economic organization. This modern economic organization is a system of industry based on capital, 'The modern Industrial system' so called. Its characteristic feature and at the same time the forces by which it dominates modern culture are the machine process and investment for profit."*

It must follow from even the most cursory observation that modern business is dominated by considerations of loss and gain. Investment is made almost solely with an eye to a profitable re-

*William T. Veblin, "Theory of Business Enterprise."

THEORY OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
BY WILLIAM L. FOSTER

Before an intelligent understanding of the interests of labor can be achieved in the subject of vocational education, there must be first a study of the economic principles of business administration in our daily life. An essential part of this economic study is the study of the nature of labor, industry, and competition, and the various problems for vocational education to solve, and the various of interests and attitudes for labor and the industry to serve. In view of the economic terms it is defined,

The material of modern civilization is the industrial system, and the direction of the whole system is business administration. It is a system of production and distribution of goods and services. The system is organized into various units, each of which is engaged in a certain kind of activity. The system is organized into various units, each of which is engaged in a certain kind of activity. The system is organized into various units, each of which is engaged in a certain kind of activity. The system is organized into various units, each of which is engaged in a certain kind of activity.

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turn upon capital invested. Business is capitalized more and more upon this basis, that is, profit-yielding capacity. According to good business ethics, a reasonable profit is normally expected from any business. This is the pace set by business enterprise and persons who work upon other bases do not stay in business. This form of business principles and customs has come about by virtue of the fact that the employer of labor with his capital, and the laborer with his productive power applied to the natural resources of the earth, produce a social surplus. The object of the employer is to secure as much of this joint enterprise as possible, and it is the problem of the laborer to retain as great an amount of the same surplus as he can.

John Hobson* points out that there are five relationships to be considered in the co-operation of capital and labor in a transforming process.

1. The ownership of the material
2. The ownership of the tools.
3. The ownership of the productive power.
4. The relationship existing between the units of labor.
5. The place of workmanship.

**"Under the Gild System the material was sometimes own by the master workman, and sometimes by the consumer, the tools usually belonged to the workman. The workman furnished his own pro-

* "Evolution of Modern Capitalism."

** "Economics and Industrial History," by H. W. Thurston.

term upon capital invested. business is capitalized more and
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 the to each business class, a reasonable profit is normally ex-
 pected from any business. This is the pace set by business enter-
 prise and business the work upon other bases or not that in business.
 This idea of business principles and criteria has come about by
 virtue of the fact that the employer of labor and his capital,
 and the laborer with his productive power capital in the market
 resources of the state, produce a social surplus. The object of
 the employer is to receive as much of this joint enterprise as
 possible, and it is the problem of the laborer to retain as great
 an amount of the same surplus as he can.

John Russett points out that there are five relationships to
 be considered in the co-operation of capital and labor in a trans-
 forming process.

1. The ownership of the material
2. The ownership of the tools.
3. The ownership of the productive power.
4. The relationship existing between the units of labor.
5. The place of workmanship.

"Under the old system the material was sometimes owned by
 the master workman, and sometimes by the capitalist, the tools were
 also assigned to the workman. The workman furnished his own pro-

"Evolution of Modern Capitalism."
 "Economics and Industrial History," by E. W. Ross.

ductive power; the relation between the workers were those of apprentice, journeyman, and master workman, who were usually neighbors and socially one about as good as another, and the workplace was the laborer's home, the home of the master workman, or the home of the consumer who was having the work done.

"Under the Domestic System the tools usually belonged to the workman, but sometimes to the master workman, or to their common employer. The material was owned by the employer, the motive power or skill was still largely that of the worker. The relations of the workers were still those of equals, though the employer might be far removed from the workers. The workers who performed one partial process might be far removed from those that performed another partial process. The workplace was usually the shop of the master workman.

"Under the Factory System, materials, tools, productive power, and the workplace have passed completely out from the wage workers." The social relation under this system no longer retains its personal interest, and hence is non-operative as an economic factor.

It might be asked that since there are only five relationships and these have been lost in the industrial revolution and the development of the factory system, what is there that remains for the worker? There remains for him just one possession, his labor power. This he must take to the labor market just the same

as any other commodity and its value on the market depends upon the supply and demand as is the case with other commodities. For the employer it is an indispensable factor in economic production. It is apparently to the interest of the employer to have many competing units in the labor market seeking employment, for this reduces the market price of labor. It is to the interest of the employer that these labor units be highly skilled, hence his interest in vocational education.

The significance of this to the wage earner--there are many of him--is that in the industrial transformation, due to machine industry, the laborer has lost control of the necessary forces that once made him a relatively independent human being. In the more primitive forms of industry the family unit was the industrial unit, and around this organization there clustered the group of economic activities that sufficed for a more or less complete mode of living. The lives of our grandparents illustrated forcibly this status. On their farms the raw economic goods were produced; in their shops and by their firesides the raw material was transformed into the desired utility, and in the same environment these necessities of life were consumed. Relatively speaking, our forebears enjoyed a greater measure of economic security than the wage earner of our modern industrial system, because the whole economic process from production to consumption was under his own initiative and control. Of course this situa-

as any other commodity and its value on the market depends upon
the supply and demand; in the case with other commodities,
for the employer it is an indispensable factor in a man's
production. It is necessary to the interest of the employer to
have every commodity which is the result of his labor, and
for this reason the market price of labor. It is the inter-
est of the employer that there should be no delay in
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The difficulty of this to the wage worker--there are many
of his--is that in the industrial revolution, and in making
industry, the laborer has lost control of the necessary forces
of nature and has a relatively independent human being. In the
more primitive forms of industry, the family unit was the indus-
trial unit, and every one's dependence on each other was
great. In modern conditions, the individual has become an
isolated unit. The lack of an independent firm
exists today. On their part, the low economic
goods were produced; in their hands and by their activities the
raw material was transformed into the desired article, and in the
case of the individual these necessities of life were consumed. In-
stead of this, the individual enjoyed a greater degree of econ-
omic security than the wage worker of our modern industrial system,
because the individual producer first produced his own necessities
and later his own individual and a profit. In doing this, the

tion will never return again, but there are more and more workers who are beginning to feel that since their power, control, and independence in the economic world has been lost because of the separation of the worker from his interest and possession of the means of life, that, to regain this power, control and independence, he must regain a greater control of the economic necessities upon which his life depends.

The greatest power in the world today is economic power. Also the greatest dependence is economic dependence. In our present wage-system of industry, the wage-earner must secure employment in order to live. In other words, he must have access to capital goods in order to exist. The owner of capital naturally wishes to state the terms upon which the worker shall have opportunity to work. In a very true sense of the word, he has the power of life and death in his hands. Undoubtedly the worker must feel that when any person can dictate to him his hours and days of work, where he shall work, and how long, and whether he shall work at all or not, the price he shall receive, the conditions entailed, etc., that this person somehow, somewhere, or in some manner, owns him only in less degree than did the feudal lord of the past. All this is a part of the economic framework of society and in specific terms it is at the base of labor's problems. On the other hand, labor is militantly organ-

... the power of the market is not absolute, but is limited by the power of the state. The state can intervene in the market in various ways, such as through taxation, subsidies, and regulation. This intervention is necessary to correct market failures and to promote social welfare. The power of the state is derived from its ability to enforce laws and to provide public goods. In a free market, the power of the state is limited to the protection of property rights and the enforcement of contracts. However, in a mixed economy, the state has a more active role to play. It can use its power to redistribute income and to provide social services. The power of the state is also limited by the power of the market. The market can resist state intervention and can even undermine the power of the state. The relationship between the power of the state and the power of the market is a complex one, and it is one that is constantly evolving. The power of the state is not absolute, and the power of the market is not absolute. The power of the state is derived from its ability to enforce laws and to provide public goods. The power of the market is derived from its ability to allocate resources and to produce goods and services. The power of the state and the power of the market are both essential for the functioning of a modern economy. The power of the state is necessary to correct market failures and to promote social welfare. The power of the market is necessary to allocate resources and to produce goods and services. The power of the state and the power of the market are both essential for the functioning of a modern economy.

ized in many cases to prevent its exploitation and to protect its interests at every point. Otherwise, "strikes", "lock-outs", and "boycotts" would have no significance or, in fact, no existence.

The scope of economic forces that seem to form such a dominant position in our social relations has given rise to an explanation of the world, and of history in particular, called the "Economic Interpretation of History", "Economic Determinism", and "Historic Materialism". While it is true that economic factors have been neglected by historians in the past, it is also true that economic factors cannot be made to explain everything. However, the layman is far too prone to err by neglecting economic influences. It was Mark Twain who said that "There were reasons and reasons and then there were real reasons". The real reasons are usually the economic reasons. Economic determinism means that the things we do, the thoughts we think, and the laws we make and the ethical codes we practice and preach, are determined chiefly by the way in which we make our living. That is, our economic relations. The following illustrations make this point clear: The great city with its millions of people--unknown before the industrial revolution--is an economically determined institution. It is nothing more than an industrial enterprise, and is made possible because of centralized machine production. "Wars and rumors of wars" are, and always have been, determined chiefly by economic considerations. Of course, when they are waged, all sorts of reasons, ethical, patriotic

and otherwise, are given and should be emphasized, but these are not so exclusive as they are said to be. In the last analysis, when the final arbitration boards meet to make final adjustments, economic considerations that have been in the background during the performance come to the front and final settlement is made almost solely upon the considerations of economic terms. The whole list of such common every-day terms as tariffs, duties, excises, monopolies, trusts, "swollen fortunes", "combines", etc., are all institutions that are economically determined. Interstate commerce and all the laws that pertain to trade and industry and the welfare of the workers therein are economically defined.

Even such popular movements as "The safety first movement" has at its roots the economic fact that it is a profitable educational campaign. The real reason for the "safety first movement" is economic, and the educational part of it is not much more than a by-product.

Basic economic considerations are traced on policies that have always been popularly claimed as purely generous and philanthropic. For example, our so-called "Open-door" policy toward the immigrant. We have always congratulated ourselves upon the thought that we were generous, liberal, and even solicitous of the welfare of the immigrant that we welcomed to our shores. But

and otherwise, are given no chance of discussion, but there are
not an executive or any other body in the least
when the final situation has been set to rest. It is
economic considerations that have been in the background during the
particular case to the front and final settlement is made almost
solely upon the considerations of economic terms. The whole
of each case every day seems to be filled with duties, con-
-sults, trusts, "written contracts", "conditions", etc., and all
time that the work is being done. In these matters and
all the laws that relate to trade and industry and the welfare
of the workers remain with a somewhat definite

even more particular reference to "the safety first" principle
and at the same time the economic fact that it is a principle of
national economy. The fact remains for the "safety first" move-
-ment, in economic, and the fundamental fact of it is not such
that a system.

Some economic considerations are based on political fact
and always have been. It is a fact of their own and political
economic. For example, our so-called "open-door" policy toward
the Orient. We have always maintained ourselves upon the
thought that we were a more liberal, and even abolitionist of
the welfare of the Orient that we wished to our shores. Let

just now we are not so interested in his welfare. In fact, just a few days ago Congress passed a law that for a number of years practically excludes him from our shores. The change in attitude is due to the fact that the immigrant was a necessary factor in the early development of our country. He was an economic necessity. More than that, he represented a golden stream of wealth for the United States. But since our natural resources have diminished and the labor problem has become acute, in order words, since he is no longer economically profitable, we take a change of attitude in the matter.

Just to what extent the Vocational movement is an economic one, it is very difficult to say, but very likely economic considerations determine its origin, growth, and trend more than all other considerations put together. There is a general belief abroad in the land that the movement is very closely allied to modern industrialism. The following quotations from very distinguished educational authorities show this very clearly.

"The fundamental values of the practical and vocational arts in the secondary school are to be determined, of course, in terms of their relation to the economic-vocational aim of secondary education."*

*"Principles of Secondary Education", by Iglis, p. 575.

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Just to wait until the vocational movement in an economic
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ary education."

*"The great increase in the importance of conspicuous industrial processes have invariably brought to the front questions having to do with the relationship of schooling to industrial life."

Fred Bonser says, in speaking of the vocational counsellor, "He must know the relationship between the present and the probable supply and demand, the relative wages, and the changes in methods and devices and organization affecting the workers must all be more or less at his immediate command."**

The corollary of the Vocational movement is the Vocational Guidance movement. This is almost wholly an economic study. The economic character of the Vocational Guidance movement is easily ascertained in the titles of such books as the following: "What Shall Our Boys Do for a Living?" by Charles Wingate, "Careers for Coming Men" (a collection of articles by Dallsfield Publishing Company), "What Shall I Do?" by J. S. Stoddard, and so forth.

The reaction against the educational domination of vocational education by those who conduct industry, both employers and laborers, has been so violent that it has been thought wise to take the whole subject from the hands of school men. This reaction has been due to the fact that pedagogues, as such, have not seen and have refused to see the economic phases of vocational education.

*John Dewey, in "Democracy and Education," p. 366.

**"Readings, in Vocational Guidance" p. 110.

The great interest in the importance of vocational training

and processes have naturally led to the kind of studies

leading to us with the relationship of vocational education

and

and process type, in relation to the vocational education

"He must know the relationship between the present and the possible

supply and demand, the relative value, and the change in relative

and devices and organization respecting the workers and all the work

or lack of the immediate command."

The necessity of the vocational assessment in the vocational

guidance movement. This is almost entirely an American thing. The

scientific character of the vocational guidance movement is clearly

illustrated in the titles of such books as the following: "What

shall our boys do for a living?" by Charles Kingsley, "Careers for

young men" (a collection of articles by William Brewster

Company, "What shall I do?" by E. S. Sisson, and so forth.

The reaction against the educational method in vocational

education by those who demand industry, both in the past and present

era, has led to such a point that it has been necessary also to the

whole subject from the point of view of the worker. This reaction has led

due to the fact that industries, as well, have not been the same

reference to see the scientific nature of vocational education.

"Vocational Education," in "Vocational Education," p. 115.
"Vocational Education," in "Vocational Education," p. 115.

The purport of this part of this paper is to show that, more than anything else, modern industrial society is the product of an economically determined situation in which the machine technology sets the standards of conduct. Nearly all the questions of society that focus finally in what are termed attitudes of labor and capital, are to be found and analyzed in the light of this economic framework. The purpose of this chapter is not to judge but to explain, not to blame but to understand. The inherent reason why labor has an attitude on the subject of vocational education is due to the fact that vocational education is an industrial subject, and, as such, labor cannot ignore it. It is a vital challenge that affects the laborer's economic status; whether he will accept and control it, or whether he will reject it, depends upon the amount of interest or indifference with which he views it.

The purpose of this paper is to show that, in

the present state, modern industrial society is the product of an essentially deterministic situation in which the means of production are controlled by a few individuals. It is only by a radical change in the structure of society that some freedom in what are termed activities of labor and capital, and to be found in the light of this economic framework. The purpose of this paper is not to judge but to explain, not to blame but to understand. The inherent reason why labor has an attitude on the subject of vocational education is due to the fact that vocational education is an industrial subject, and, as such, labor cannot ignore it. It is a vital influence that affects the laborer's economic welfare; whether he will accept and control it, or whether he will reject it, depends upon the amount of interest or indifference with which he views it.

CHAPTER THREE--LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

If labor unions were thoroughly in educational circles, this part of this paper might without much loss be omitted. But whatever our effort may be to disguise it, the fact remains that labor unions and labor organizations savor of a certain lack of standing, a lack of honorary status, as it were, that cannot be easily concealed. This places upon labor the necessity of having to explain its reason of being before it can enter with dignity into educational matters. Only too often has the shop teacher met this significant complaint of the solicitous parent, "I don't want my boy to be a carpenter or a blacksmith." And he or she asks that the child be excused forthwith from industrial work. It is true that education is doing much to overcome this prejudice, but the fact remains that the worthiness of such labor is still questioned. Ever since the historical epoch in which Adam and Eve were rudely ejected from the Garden of Eden and incurred the dreadful curse, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy bread," there has been felt the lack of esteem due labor. The essence of this edict was the deprivation of a life of leisure and the entrance upon a life of labor. From this event and the descriptions of the Paradise to come

If labor were more thoroughly industrialized, this part of the world might well be different. But whether our efforts are to be successful, the fact remains that labor unions and their organizations have a certain lack of character, a lack of consistency, as if with, that cannot be easily remedied. This is due to the fact that the necessity of having to obtain the means of living before it can enter with dignity into educational matters. Only too often has the shop teacher seen this situation on the plane of the politician's rant, "I don't want my boy to be a capitalist or a liberalist." In the case of the man that the call is exacted from industrial work. It is true that education is not to be made to everyone with prejudice, but the fact remains that the maintenance of such labor is still questioned. For since the industrial epoch is with us and we were really elected from the Garden of Eden and the garden has a great name, "the great of the great world" and with the year, "the great world" the loss of a great the labor. The essence of this error was the deprivation of a life of leisure and the entrance upon a life of labor. From this point and the realization of the position to pass

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it would appear that the Lord has looked upon the lot of the toiler as being the most inviting the day he quits it. The laborer is the emancipated, or to be more exact, he is on the way to emancipation. He carries with him the legends of servitude. The Greeks fixed the notion for us that knowing is more worthy than doing. The labor that had to be done was the work of the slave. Being the work of the slave it became as disreputable as the slave himself.

Perhaps the most real cause of the feeling that labor is somewhat dishonorable is the economic fact that labor is subject to the dictates of another, and hence indicates the weakness of subjection to a master. It shows a lack of independence, is therefore inferior and unworthy of man as a free being. Labor is the antithesis of leisure. Leisure means the disposal of your own time in the manner that you choose. Labor means that your own time is at the disposal of another. Apropos of this same thought, Veblin says,*

"The archaic distinction between the base and the honorable in the manner of a man's life retains much of its ancient force even today. So much so that there are few of the better class who are not possessed of an instinctive repugnance for the vulgar forms of labor."

It is needless to argue the fallacy of this situation; it is self-evident to all who stop for a moment to reflect. When educators discard the influence of leisure class ideals, and be-

*Theory of the Leisure Class, p. 37.

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collier as being the best thing that has befallen him.

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unworthy and that in the economic sense that labor is the

best to the distance of another, and when he looks the wear-

ness of his position to a master. It shows a lack of interest-

ness, in the laborer's interior and a lack of interest

being. Labor is the condition of interest. Interest seems to

disappear if you are in the hands of a master. Interest

means that your own time is at the disposal of another. Interest

of this same thought, Veblen says,

"The probable distinction between the man and the non-
grace in the manner of a man's life is the level of his
ancient force even today. He must be able to do the work
of the laborer and his own possession of an interest-
free reputation for the work of labor."

It is possible to regard the laborer as being interested if

is self-interest to all and then for a moment to reflect upon

education in order to increase his interest in labor, and he-

come enthused with the notion that democracy in education means a participation in education in its best sense by those who work (whether the work be mental or manual), and that socially, necessary work must connote an honor to all who participate in it, the old educational division of a liberal education for those who will live a life of leisure, and a practical education for those who will live a life of toil, will be discarded. Just to be one of the workers of the world in the sense of being a contributor to its wealth, and an asset to its welfare, it should be the function of education to conserve. It is hoped that vocational education will do much to destroy this old, persistent, and obsolete dualism. It should be the effort of those in charge of vocational education to provide a program of studies that will get brains and hands into partnership on nearly equal terms with social distinctions eliminated, with leisure a reward for all rather than a privilege for a few.

Labor organizations are a response to the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. They must be studied with reference to their causes. The fact that they are here is inevitable. We should try to understand the economic forces which brought them into existence. Two significant facts must be held firmly in mind if we are to see the shaping forces of labor unions; first, (as has been pointed out in a previous part of

this paper), the separation of the worker from his means of livelihood, and second, the great increase in the productive powers of the worker due to machine production.

During the handicraft period, labor unions as we know them did not exist, for when workers own the tools and materials of production they are not wage earners. Before a modern trade union could arise there must have preceded it an industrial group, a part of whose business it was to exploit labor for financial gain. In other words, the factory system of production is responsible for the growth, strength, and organization of labor unions.

At this point it may be asked, was not the mediaeval gild a form of labor organization? It was not essentially a labor organization. Sidney Webb in his "History of Trade Unionism" gives us a definition of a trade union which rings substantially true: "A trade union, as we understand the term, is a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving their employment." He also says, * "The powers and duties of the Mediaeval gild have been broken up and dispersed." Thurston states the essential differences between the modern labor union and the mediaeval craft guild in his "Economic and Industrial History." He says,

"The trade union consists only of wage-earners while the craft gild was made up of owners of land and capital,

*"History of Trade Unionism", p. 117.

...the report, the separation of the worker from the means of production, and second, the great increase in the productive power of the worker due to the scientific method. During the capitalist period, labor remains as it was then and not as it is now. For the worker and the tools and machines of production they are not separated. Before a modern factory could arise there must first be a social group, a part of whose business it was to exploit labor for its own gain. In other words, the factory system of production is capitalist. For the growth, strength, and organization of labor unions at this point it may be said, was not the industrial revolution of labor organization. It was not essentially a labor union as a collection of a trade union or of other organizations. It is a union: a trade union, or a workers' union, is a union and association of workers for the purpose of maintaining or improving their conditions. It is also, "the basis and source of the industrial fight has been broken up and dispersed." Several states the essential difference between the labor union and the industrial union is "economic and industrial activity." He says, "The trade union consists only of workers with the right to the same kind of work and capital."

managers and wage workers; the trade union consists of trade workers in the same occupation, not only of one town but of many towns, while the typical craft guild was usually confined to the industries of a single town; the trade unions have gained political power but slowly, while, from the first, members of gilde were influential citizens of their towns and finally became politically dominant."

It will be seen from the above that the modern labor organization bears few similar points of comparison to the mediaeval guild, which was not necessarily an organization of wage-earners, but an organization of a social group for a common purpose. It was not till the masters of the old gild became capitalists in the economic sense of the term that labor found it necessary to organize.

In regard to the second point, namely, the enormous increase in the productive capacity of the worker due to the machine, it was hardly even dreamed that the drudgery and toil of the world might be greatly mitigated due to the work of mechanical mechanisms. The possibility of a reduction of working hours from twelve, fourteen, or even sixteen hours a day to eight or ten has been made possible by machine production. Even now the English Labor Party has gone on record for a seven-hour day, and maintains that there should be a reduction of hours till all are employed. The direct object of unionism is to better the condition of the wage-earner. And this increase of betterment means a greater share of economic goods.

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employed. The chief object of machine is to better the condi-
tion of the worker. And this is the object of the modern
a greater sense of economic good.

Labor unions cannot be mentioned in any explanatory sense without speaking of their increased efficiency as expressed in the collective bargain. This is more impressively seen when compared with the individual bargain of the past. In a status of slavery there was no bargain for the individual. The slave had no rights. The rights were all on the side of the master. Even as late as 1776 Justice Chase of Maryland gave the following decision:

"Negroes are property, and no more members of the state than cattle."*

The serf was little better off. He was tied to the soil as completely as the agricultural machinery of the age, yet he had some rights. The whole range of his life was not covered as in the case of the slave. The serf was economically bound, but it was possible for him to obtain freedom in case he could manage to pay for it. This was some gain. Peonage, indentured service, apprenticeship, and contract labor are the mile posts to the evolution of a free wage-earner. They also remind him of the inefficiency of the individual bargain.

Collective bargaining means the power gained through the cooperative power of the group. The merchants of early times gained the right to bargain collectively and risk their capital

*Wilson, "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, vol. 1, p. 15.

labor which means as mentioned in our explanatory notes
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the individual's nature. This is more effectively done than col-
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every form we see no reason for the individual. The state and
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the state of 1776 Justice came of course and the following
condition:

"The state is a body, and no man is a member of the state
as a whole."

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some rights. The whole range of his life was not devoted to the
the state of the slave. The will was essentially born, but it
was possible for him to obtain freedom in case he could manage to
pay for it. -the will was some gain. In some instances service,
apprenticeship, and contract labor are the life paths to the
abolition of a free laborer. They also would aim at the
independence of the individual person.

Collective bargaining means the power gained through the
collective power of the group. The advocates of early labor
believe the right to bargain collectively and their political

in foreign trade on many occasions. The encouragement of mercantilism under the extensive charters granted by kings and queens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are cases in point. The many advantages of collective bargaining have been noted by capital long before labor awakened to its possibilities. Corporations, pools, trusts, manufacturer's associations, employer's associations, are the most gigantic, refined combinations of capital for collective bargaining purposes. The labor union is just such a combination and exists for the same purpose, that is, to enhance its own economic interests. All the interests of labor that have been mentioned and implied in this paper in some way relate to the power of collective bargaining. One may well argue that labor is free to go where it chooses and work where it pleases, but the fact remains that it must work somewhere in order to live, and the fact that the employer owns the opportunity to work gives him an immense advantage in the contract he is able to make. The spectacle of a poor, starving, unemployed shop girl driving a wage bargain with a millionaire department store representative does not connote an equality of bargaining power.

The individual bargainer is unable to hold his services from the market very long because he would starve. In knowledge of the value of his services and in his ability to refrain from working the individual is at a decided disadvantage in comparison with

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value of his services and his ability to refrain from working
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his employer. But a combination of workers in any industry may utilize the best intelligence of the group and by combination hold their services for a longer time than otherwise. The withholding of services by a labor union constitutes the right to strike. The right to strike or the right to quit work is the one fundamental right that labor possesses. If there were any method of compelling the laborer to work, the value of labor unions would not amount to much. Of course, if the laborer could be compelled to work he would no longer be a free man but a slave.

F. T. Carlton in his "History of Organized Labor" classifies three different kinds of labor unions

The common labor union in which all classes of wage-earners were associated is the first type. No distinctions were made on the basis of craft, and frequently the small employer may be a member. The organization was idealistic and humanitarian and its objects were general uplift rather than the detection of class doctrine. The leaders of this type of union made much of the fact that the interests of labor and capital are identical and that mutual sympathy and aid were the method to promote the welfare of all. Nearly all the early unions that began in the United States, beginning in 1825 and extending to and including the Knights of Labor, were of the general labor union type. In this type of union there is a lack of class consciousness and a feel-

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could be compelled to work he would no longer be a free man but
a slave.

1. The term "labor union" is "a group of organized labor" classified
into different kinds of labor unions.
The modern labor union in which all classes of wage-earners
were associated is the first type. No distinctions were made on
the basis of craft, and frequently the small employer may be a
member. The organization was industrial and non-partisan and
its objects were general, such as the reduction of hours
and wages. The history of this type of union goes back of the
fact that the interests of labor and capital are identical and
that mutual sympathy and aid were the means to promote the welfare
of all. Nearly all the early unions that began in the United
States, beginning in 1825 and extending to and including the
kinds of labor, were of the general labor union type. In this
type of union there is a lack of class consciousness and a feel-

ing of solidarity that characterizes later labor groups.

The second type of trade union is the organization of a group of workers in a given craft. Its policy is an extension of the collective bargaining principle and for the most part adheres to "A fair wage for a fair day's work." Its weapon is the strike and the boycott. The American Federation of Labor is such an organization. Thus far it takes no decided stand in politics but depends upon economic pressure for the gaining of its ends. The weakness of the craft union lies in the fact that an industry cannot be controlled by the organization of a the crafts in an industry and also the fact that machine industry has so specialized the crafts that they no longer exist in a comprehensive form. Further, crafts-unionism does not take into consideration the unskilled, which now in many industries is the greatest labor force.

The third type is the industrial union, the most recent type of all. The industrial union ignores craft lines and unites all the workers in an industry. When a strike is ordered, all the workers in the industry are ordered out regardless of their occupation. The "One big union" idea has dominated the control of many of the greatest strikes of recent years. It is based upon the notion that the solidarity of labor regardless of craft, color, or nationality. This form of union has made much headway in Europe. The Syndicalists of France and the British Labor

the of so identify that characterized lower labor groups.

The second type of labor union is the organization of a

group of workers in a plant or office. The union is an extension

of the collective bargaining principle and for the most part

adheres to "AFL's" philosophy. The slogan is "the workers for

the strike and the boycott. The American Federation of Labor

is such an organization. Thus far it takes no decision based in

politics or depends upon economic pressure for the raising of

the wage. The weakness of the craft union lies in the fact

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The third type is the industrial union, the most recent

type of all. The industrial union ignores craft lines and organizes

all the workers in an industry. Such a union is organized, all

the workers in the industry are included and regardless of craft

specialization. The "CIO" unionism has been organized the central

of many of the greatest advances of recent years. It is so co-

much the nation that the industrial union has been organized in craft

union, or national. Some time ago when the CIO was organized

to succeed. The organization is known as the United Labor

Party are examples of the newer idea of industrial unionism and a greater solidarity of the workers in an industry. In America this type of labor organization, of which the Industrial Workers of the World is a form, needless to say is very much to the bad because of its advocacy of the decrease of output, bitter antagonism of the workers against employers, and the advocacy of the practice of sabotage.

However, industrial unionism is increasing and the American Federation of Labor now takes into its organization industrial unions of this form. The United Mine Workers is an example.

Labor organizations today are the most vital, progressive, and hopeful forces in organized society. This is true because they come in closer contact with living, throbbing, pulsing industrial life. The problems of progress are the problems involved in the transformation of the present economic system of industry. The workers in mill, factory, and mine and store are in closer relation to this economic stress and strain than the more protected members of society that are exempt from the industrial process. The greatest educator in the experience of man is the machine. It is also the most exact disciplinarian. The worker subject to this discipline acquires habits of thought that are at least free from the antiquated theories of past centuries. The New Democracy of today is not the product of the sheltered and protected classes of Europe but it comes from

...the example of the new idea of industrial relations and
...the growth of the workers in industry. In America
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...The worker subject to the discipline acquired habits of thought
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...centuries. The new democracy of today is not the product of
...the workers and protected classes of workers but it comes from

the laboring masses. Perhaps the New Program of the British Labor Party is the best expression of democratic ideals that has been uttered since the opening of the war. The significance of this is that labor is interested not so much in the old questions of better hours, better pay, minimum wage, industrial and accident insurance, and social insurance, prevention of child labor, etc., but in a social re-organization of society in which labor shares in the enterprise to the fullest extent. This general feeling of social reconstruction could have come only from those who have borne the brunt of conflict in the war and the burdens of industry during its operation. The employer of today has repeated again and again his anxiety to return again to the industrial situation that preceded the war. On the other hand, organized labor is asking and demanding a greater control of industry and insists, through such enterprises as the Shop Steward's Movement, upon a greater share in the management of industry. Labor is demanding at the present time the right to assume and shoulder greater responsibilities than it ever has done in the past. Today labor's problem is the sum total industrial problem with all its social ramifications touching every phase of social and democratic ideals.

CHAPTER FOUR--THE EARLY ATTITUDE OF LABOR TOWARD EDUCATION

In order that a comprehensive understanding of labor's attitude on the subject of vocational education may be developed, it is very necessary to know what the attitude of labor in the past has been on the subject of education in general. It is the purpose of this part of the paper to show that labor's part in the educational program of America has been very much underrated.

The important role that labor took in the early development of the free public school system of America has never been given the recognition due it from educators. There will be scarcely any dissent from the statement that the most conspicuous contribution that America has made to the educational thought of the world is its absolutely free, tax-supported school system for all who perchance can afford to attend. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the FREE part of it is, more than any other factor, here because of the militant attitude of the early labor organizations of the early Nineteenth Century.

The years from 1820 to 1850 represent an "Educational Revival", or at least an intense educational awakening which makes the period one of great interest in American educational history.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF LABOR
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not only any other labor, but the labor of the millions who
took of the early labor organizations of the early nineteenth
century.

The years from 1830 to 1850 represent an "Adventurous" pe-
riod, or at least an intense educational awakening which makes
the period one of great interest in American educational history.

It is true that preceding this time there were numerous schools in the colonies and newly added states. The District schools, the Latin Grammar Schools, the Academies, and the strictly private denominational schools, most of which received municipal and state aid, served thousands of pupils, but they were not free as we now know free schools today. Tuition was required, or some privilege in the way of special recognition, or a scholarship requirement. The "Educational Revival" herein mentioned can be accounted for by the following economic changes in the mode of living of the people.

- (1) The introduction of the factory system of industry
- (2) The growth of cities made possible by this fact
- (3) The labor organizations made possible by the concentration of wage-earners.

In the early part of the Nineteenth Century the demand for an extension of suffrage became popular. The newly admitted states granted suffrage to males without the property qualifications and this forced the older states to make concessions. New York did this in 1830. The extension of the right of suffrage was very closely related to the educational demands of the period. In fact, the accomplishment of free education would have been impossible without it. The granting of suffrage to the laboring classes meant political power. This power enabled them to make demands with the possibility of securing some recognition. The extension of suffrage opened up all the powers of the political arena. With this gain labor became an important power in American

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political life. So important was the political factor in the ranks of labor that R. T. Ely says, "The birth of Workingmen's Organizations for political purposes was just as prevalent as the organization of trade unions".*

F. T. Carlton gives a summing up of the arguments that were made for and against the question of free tax-supported schools.** In the light of what we have accomplished along that line, they seem antiquated indeed. Those in favor of the free school system are as follows:

- (1) Education is necessary for the preservation of free institutions.
- (2) It prevents class distinctions.
- (3) Education tends to diminish crime.
- (4) Education reduces the amount of poverty.
- (5) It increases production.
- (6) Education is the natural right of all.

It will be noted that all of the arguments are economic in their nature except the first, which might be called humanitarian, and the last, which is a natural right hold-over from the eighteenth century. The arguments against a free, tax-supported public school system were:

- (1) An undue, intolerable increase in taxation.
- (2) Violation of the rights of the individual.
- (3) Opposition from religious sources.
- (4) It would not benefit the masses.
- (5) It would injure the private schools.

*"History of the Labor Movement in America", p. 34.

**"Economic influences on Education" (doctor's thesis), University of Wisconsin publications, p. 45.

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 regarding the arguments against a free, tax-supported public school
 system were:

- (1) An undue, inordinate increase in taxation.
- (2) Violation of the rights of the individual.
- (3) Opposing free religious worship.
- (4) It would not benefit the masses.
- (5) It would injure the private schools.

**"Economic Influences on Education" (Doctor's thesis),
 University of Wisconsin Publications, p. 25.
 *"History of the Labor Movement in America", p. 24.

The following quotations selected from this study indicate the position of labor on this new educational program.

"Indeed to conceive of a popular government devoid of a system of popular education is as difficult to conceive as a civilized society destitute of a system of industry."*

"It is to education, therefore, that we must mainly look for redress of that perverted system of society which dooms the producer to ignorance, to toil, to penury, to moral degradation, physical want, and social barbarism"***

At a meeting of a workingman's party held in New York City in November, 1829, the following resolution, which has become historic was adopted:

"Resolved, that the most grievous species of inequality is that produced by inequality in education, and that a natural system of education and guardianship which shall furnish to all the children of the land equality of instruction at public expense is the only effective remedy, for this and for almost every other species of injustice. Resolved, that all other modes of reform are, compared to this particular one, inefficient or trifling."***

The following two resolutions are especially significant for students of vocational education. The first is a resolution of the Pointers' Society of the City and County of New York:

"We are of the opinion that the state should furnish throughout the land, at public expense, state institutions

*"Farmer's and Mechanic's Journal" New York, April 7, 1831
**"Simpson, in "Manual for Workingmen", p. 214.
***"The Free Enquirer", Nov. 7, 1829.

The following conditions should be met:

1. The position of labor in the industrial process.

2. The degree of concentration of the industrial process.

3. The degree of concentration of the industrial process.

4. The degree of concentration of the industrial process.

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24. The degree of concentration of the industrial process.

where every young citizen should be maintained from youth till manhood and where each should obtain (besides the various branches of a liberal education) a complete knowledge of at least one trade or occupation by which even while completing his education he may earn a living."*

A committee on education at a workingmen's convention held in Boston, October 22, 1823, recommended a general system of education by means of Manual Labor schools "free to all at the expense of the state."

In 1830 a Mechanics, Farmers and Workingmen's party of New York which nominated Erastus Root for governor made the following resolution:

"Resolved, that a system of education more universal in its effects be established, so that no child in the Republic, however poor, should grow up without an opportunity to acquire at least a competent English education, and that the system be adapted to the condition of the poor in the city and in the country."**

The foregoing quotations are sufficient to make the fact almost obvious that the labor organizations of this period were thoroughly imbued with the notion of benefits of a free public school system. The greatest single factor in the accomplishment of these ends was the newly acquired political issues of the day and labor's demand caught the over-sensitive ear of the office-seeker. Labor also saw very plainly that if it were

*From the "Free Inquirer", Jan. 9, 1830

**From "The Craftsman", Sept. 4, 1820.

were every young citizen should be maintained from youth
till adulthood and there should be (periodic) tests
various branches of a liberal education (a complete course
of at least one or two of the following: Latin, Greek,
and a foreign language, and a course in the history of the
United States and the world.)

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tunity to acquire at least a competent reading and writing
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*From the "Free-Printer", Sept. 2, 1830
"From the 'Crested', Sept. 2, 1830.

37

to compete on equal terms with the employing class it must possess an educated membership. For economic reasons it saw this just a little more urgently and militantly than any other groups of the time of which we speak. During these years of militant agitation (1823-1837) the most urgent demand of the platform of workingmen's organizations everywhere was its educational section.

In contrast to this alignment of forces was the conservative group, which comprised chiefly the property interests of the nation. Some of the statements of these safe, sane and conservative people are amusing, interesting and educative. For example, the following from pages 59-60, ibid. "The present (New York School Law of 1849) odious school law is worse than highway robbery." Clark Rice, a wealthy citizen of Watertown, New York, defines a free school law as follows: "What is a free school law? Allow me to answer. It is in one particular a poor law. The latter is for filling the belly and covering the back at the expense of the taxpayer, the former for conferring an accomplishment--a useful one, to be sure--the driving of knowledge into the head." There can be no doubt as to the source from which this man drew his inspiration.

Free schools were called charity schools. Upon them the taxpaying interests sought to bring every epithet of contempt. It was claimed that the state had no right to compel the rich

to compare the equal laws with the unequal laws of 1902 and 1903
was an admitted contradiction. The Commission reported in 1904
that a little more equality would result from the equal laws
of the time of their enactment. During these years the
Commission (1904-1907) has not reported to the State
whatsoever regarding the Commission's work in the educational system.

In contrast to this alignment of forces was the conservative
group, which comprised chiefly the property interests of the
State. Some of the members of these clubs, clubs and com-
mittees were also members, interested and active. The groups

the following from pages 50-51, ibid. "The present New York

school law of 1907 (which would have been a more radical
reform." This law, a worthy rival of the present New York
between a first school law as follows: "That as a first school
law? Allow me to answer. It is in the particular of your law.

The latter is for filling the belly and covering the back at
the expense of the taxpayer, the former for collecting an ex-
cessive tax on the property of the State, so as to give the State
edge into the lead." - This was the result of the State's

with this man dies in frustration.

Five schools were called charity schools. One from the
property interests sought to bring every subject of concern.
It was claimed that the State had no right to control the rich

to pay for the education of the poor. It was repeated often that the children of the poor would become yet more lazy and worthless if education were to be given free of all charge. Threats were made that if any attempt were made to tax the community "resistance would be made at the point of the bayonet." In a case of this nature, individuals are not to be blamed for their beliefs, neither are they to be very much praised. It is all just one more evidence that economic considerations must be taken into account in the determination of events. Such an attitude upon the question of a free public school system was to be expected from the rich, reputable, and well-to-do. But if there had not been the strong sentiment (due to economic reasons, too) of labor for a free public school system during this epoch-making educational period, undoubtedly free public schools would not have been realized.

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that the children of the poor should become the sole charge
with the government to be taken care of all charges.
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and that "the children of the poor should be the sole charge."
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be taken into account in the determination of events. Such an
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to be expected from the law, teachers, and officials. But
if there had not been the strong sentiment that to educate the
poor, that of labor for a free public school system and that
upon-making education a public duty, the public schools
would not have been realized.

CHAPTER FIVE--THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The American Federation of Labor is the largest, most extensive and powerful organization in America. It is what one has in mind when organized labor is spoken of in general terms. It is the representative of the second type of labor organization spoken of in this paper. It is a craft organization based upon the union of skilled trades. The very influential part that labor took in the industrial situation during the progress of the war was adjusted and controlled through the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Hence it follows that the attitude of this body of the labor movement is the one that carries the most weight and prestige where attitudes count. In fact, when an attitude of labor is spoken of it is tacitly understood that it is the American Federation of Labor.

In the early part of this century, when vocational education began to assume an industrial aspect for the first time, the American Federation of Labor appointed its first committee on education. This was at its twenty-third annual convention in 1903. The work of this committee considered only the

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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ing in 1902. The work of this committee was the

form of manual training and industrial training that was under the direct control of the union labor. The committee reported that "The subject of manual training and technical education to be given by trade unions is of such a general character that this convention could not very well give any plan or policy that would apply to all unions, on account of the diversity of conditions and difference in skill required." In 1904, and again in 1905, committees were appointed but no report was ever made by either committee. In 1906 there was a revival of interest and the convention recommended that the committees already appointed make investigations into the subject of apprenticeship, trade, manual training, and technical schools. In 1907, at the Norfolk convention, the secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education addressed the convention, and the following resolution was the result: ✓

"Whereas, an organization has been formed, known as the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, having for its object the raising of the standards of education along industrial lines, and

"Whereas, some misapprehension exists as to the attitude of organized labor upon this subject, be it therefore

"Resolved, that this, the twenty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, having in mind the experience of many of our national unions with the so-called trade school, which attempted to teach a short-cut to trades and which upon some occasions was used as a weapon against the trade-union movement, do not favor any movement having

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"Whereas, an organization has been formed, known as the
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having for its object the raising of the standards of educa-
tion along industrial lines, and

"Whereas, some industrial education exists in the Unit-
ed States, and it is desirable to have such education, in its

"Resolved, That this twenty-seventh annual conven-
tion of the American Federation of Labor, having in mind the
experience of many of our members along the industrial
lines, and desiring to have a national industrial school,
and since that such conditions were not in existence
The trustees of the movement, do not favor any movement which

this ulterior object in view, and be it further resolved,

"That we do indorse any policy, or any society or association, having for its object the raising of the standard of industrial education and the teaching of the higher technique of our various industries."

The committee appointed in 1907 made its report at the 1908 convention. The following is a summary of its report. "Industrial education is necessary and inevitable for the progress of an industrial people, and there are two groups, with opposite methods, seeking antagonistic ends, now advocating industrial education in the United States. One of these groups is largely composed of anti-union employers of the country, who advocate industrial education as a special privilege under conditions that educate the student to anti-union sympathies and prepare him as a skilled worker for "scab" labor and strike-breaking purposes, thus using the children of the workers against the interests of the organized fathers and brothers in the various crafts. Organized labor has the largest personal and the highest public interest in the subject of industrial education, and should enlist the ablest and best men in behalf of the best system, under conditions that will promote the interests of the workers and the general welfare." Then followed a resolution recommending a committee of fifteen to report at the next meeting.

in 1909, the "Committee of Fifteen" made its report. It was a comprehensive study and viewed the industrial education situation

This director object to that, and he is further advised,
"That as no further action is being taken in re-
sponse to the report of the committee on the subject of the
need of industrial education and the training of the labor
force of our various industries."

The committee appointed in 1907 made its report at the 1908
convention. The following is a summary of its report. "Industrial
education is necessary and desirable in the various
occupations of the industrial people, and there are two groups, who require special
training, the scientific and the artistic. One of these groups is largely composed of
the children of the workers and the children of the workers in the various
industries of the country, who require industrial edu-
cation as a special privilege under conditions that require the
training to anti-trust competition and require that a skilled
worker for "such" labor and strike-breaking purposes, that the
children of the workers and the children of the workers in the various
industries and professions in the various crafts. Children of labor
are the largest personal and the largest public interest in the
subject of industrial education, and it is this which the report
and best way to benefit of the labor system, under conditions that
will promote the interests of the workers and the general welfare."
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report at the next meeting.

In 1909, the "Committee of Fifteen" made its report. It was
a comprehensive study and viewed the industrial education situation

from a three-fold point of view:

- (1) A thorough investigation of the need of industrial education
- (2) A statement of the extent to which needs are met by existing institutions.
- (3) As a result of such investigation, some definite suggestions for the promotion of industrial education in such manner as might serve the interests of the whole people.

President Compers clearly stated the position of the Federation. He replied to the accusation of the National Association of manufacturers, that the American Federation of Labor was in favor of true public industrial education. He also spoke in opposition to narrow specialization in the trades.

The following are some of the recommendations of the committee:

"We favor the establishment of schools in connection with the public school system, in which pupils between the ages of fourteen and sixteen may be taught the principles of the trades, not necessarily in separate buildings, but in separate schools adapted to this particular kind of education, and by competent and trained teachers.

"The course of instruction in such a school should be English, mathematics, physics, chemistry, elementary mechanics, and drawing. The shop instruction for each trade represented should be drawing, mathematics, mechanics, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining.

"In order to keep such schools in close touch with the trades, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industries, employers, and organized labor."

The committee continued till 1910, at which time the United States Department of Commerce and Labor was requested to investi-

- (1) A thorough investigation of the needs of industrial activities.
- (2) A selection of the areas to which needs are met by existing institutions.
- (3) As a result of such investigation, such definite suggestions for the creation of industrial education in such manner as might serve the interests of the whole people.

President Rogers clearly stated the position of the Education Commission in his report to the committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, that the American Federation of Labor was in a position to serve cooperation in the trades. He also spoke in regard to the public industrial education. The following are some of the recommendations of the committee:

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"We favor the establishment of schools in connection with the public school system, in which pupils between the ages of fourteen and sixteen may be taught the principles of the trades, not necessarily in separate buildings, but in separate schools adapted to this particular kind of education, and by competent and trained teachers.

"The course of instruction in such a school should be practical, vocational, business, civically, and socially, and should be drawn up by the school authorities and industrial workers representative to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of scientific, technical, and vocational education of collective bargaining.

"In order to keep such schools in close touch with the trades, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industrial, engineering, and organized labor."

The committee continued in its report, at which time the called

related development of commerce and labor was proposed to investigate

gate the subject here and abroad. It was recommending to cooperate with the Department of Commerce and Labor in seeking as much information as was possible on the subject.

At the 1911 convention, there was no report of the educational committee. However, another special committee was appointed to review the subject. It made the following recommendation before adjournment:

"Your committee recommends the continued advocacy of Labor's bill for vocational education, known as the Dolliver Bill, which as you will recall provides for educational cooperation between the State and Federal Governments and for State and Federal control and supervision of public industrial education."

The 1912 report of the Federation was, perhaps, the high-tide effort of the American Federation of Labor. This report, compiled and edited by Charles H. Winslow, contains 114 pages, and is the joint product of a committee of fifteen of the American Federation of Labor and the United States Department of Labor. The pamphlet states the problem, classifies the definitions, gives a point of view, makes recommendations, and submits conclusions. It recounts and speaks enthusiastically of the "progressive" attitude of labor toward education in general and vocational education in particular. It presents a resume of trade union schools, public trade schools, co-operative schools, apprenticeship schools, independent industrial schools, philanthropic schools, industrial education for girls, industrial education for negroes, vocational guidance, etc.

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trade union schools, public trade schools, co-operative schools,
apprenticeship schools, independent industrial schools, girls'
industrial schools, industrial education for girls, industrial
education for negroes, vocational training, etc.

Its chief recommendations are included under four captions, as follows:

- (1) A recommendation for supplementary technical education not differing much in character from the continuation school of today.
- (2) Industrial public schools for pupils between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years in which the principles of trades are taught.
- (3) Trade union schools, for example, of the type of the International Typographical Union, or the school for Carpenters and Bricklayers at Chicago, Illinois.
- (4) "We finally recommend schools under public administration, with a broad and liberal course of instruction, which shall demonstrate practical efficiency in the training of workers in the highly skilled trades." These schools shall be under the control of representatives of both employers and labor.

If one is desirous of a comprehensive survey of the vocational education problem from labor's point of view, this report furnishes it.

In 1913 the standing committee simply recommended that the Executive Council continue its activity in seeking the best interests of organized labor in the field of vocational education.

At the 1914 convention a brief report and recommendations were made indorsing the Lever Bill. It recommends that further action be left in the hands of the Executive Council.

At the 1915 convention the educational committee recommended the following, which was adopted:

"Equal attention should be given to general education and vocational studies of school children.

"That industrial education shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the industries and the industrial pursuits

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- (1) A recommendation for supplementary technical education not differing much in character from the continuation school of today.
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being taught, their history, economics, and social bearings.

"All studies must come under a united control.

"Whilst urgent for industrial education, there is evident the apprehension that industrial education may give way to an attempt on the part of the large commercial interests whereby the opportunity of the worker's children for a general education will be limited and which will tend to make the workers more submissive and dependent. To prevent this possible menace it is essential that some standard is agreed to determine whether the education fostered tends to the full development of American freedom and American Manhood and Womanhood."

At the 1915 convention, the educational committee, after reaffirming its favorable sentiment toward vocational education, sounds this warning:

"If we permit politicians to direct the energies of vocational education there is danger that it may become a mere political adjunct of the party in power."

The Educational Committee of the 1917 Convention recommended the following:

Increases in trade training, the close union of general and vocational education, vocational and pre-vocational education, when given shall be for the purposes of education only, and under no circumstances shall it be commended through the management of products for sale. In all courses of study, citizenship shall be taught more vigorously and effectively than

being trained, their interests, and social conditions.

"All studies must give weight to a national context."

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At the convention of 1918 at St. Paul, the Executive Council made a recommendation which was referred to the Committee on Education. This is among the latest utterances of the American Federation of Labor and represents most adequately its present attitude on the subject of Vocational Education.

The following are a few extracts that seem especially pertinent in portraying labor's feeling in this matter.

"We recommend that this convention approve the three model laws offered by the Executive Council, providing well-balanced representative State Boards of Education and Advisory Local Committees, and a Part Time Compulsory School Attendance Law, and we further recommend that all state and local bodies be urged to make every effort to secure the enactment of similar legislation.

"The provision of increased facilities in public and normal schools for men and women in the trades who desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects.

"The insistence that in all courses of study, and in industrial and vocational courses in particular, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; that, at least in all industrial and vocational courses, an unemasculated industrial history must be taught, which shall include an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught."

In addition to the urgent demand for a Part Time Compulsory School Attendance Law, the same Federation made recommendations on nearly every form of progressive school legislation now being considered. It made recommendations that Americanization classes

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be established, that more adequate facilities for playgrounds, for dental inspection, for junior high schools, for increase in teachers' salaries, for subnormal classes, for the extension of a free textbook system, for the security of teachers' tenure of position, for a wider use of the school plant and for "The establishment of a federal Department of Education, headed by a cabinet officer."

To cite further cases would be a needless and useless waste of space in establishing what is so obvious that even "He who runs may read." In the ranks of the American Federation of Labor there never has been opposition to any movement of an educational nature, be it cultural, practical, or otherwise. On the other hand, as has been shown in this paper, labor from its first organization has been the ardent advocate of free public education for all. This assertion is verified by every report it has ever made on the subject from the years 1819 to 1919.

It is very true that the American Federation of Labor has often taken a critical attitude on the subject and made strenuous insistence that industrial and vocational education be not controlled by selfish interests. The American Federation of Labor is an institution that represents a group with special interests the same as other groups with special interests, and seeks to control any pertinent movement that concerns it. For this reason it seeks to control the movement for vocational education. Since

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it happens to represent a working population of from 75% to 90% of the people, it is readily seen that it is a very democratic movement if the term "democracy" is to be measured in terms of numbers and a sharing in educational opportunity by all. "All the children of all the people" is a term that more nearly fits the interests of organized labor than almost any other.

To sum up the case for the American Federation of Labor the following points are made:

(1) Organized labor wants equal opportunity for both cultural and vocational education because uneducated workers are a menace to progress in every and any form. It insists that this education shall be public and free, that it is an unjustifiable discrimination to ask the young worker to pay tuition in a private school to secure the kind of an education that will permit him to take his place as a worker and as a craftsman.

(2) Organized labor wants a practical education which will serve a purpose in strengthening the economic and social position of the worker. Organized labor objects to the undue stress placed upon so-called "cultural education" and the unnecessary, invidious distinctions made between it and the odious "practical" education which, in so many cases, does not receive adequate social rating. It insists that enough cultural and scientific content be given the commercial, trade, industrial, and vocational subjects to place them upon an equal footing with other school subjects.

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training. It insists that enough cultural and scientific content
be given the commercial, trade, industrial, and vocational subjects
to place them upon a equal footing with other school subjects.

(3) Organized labor wants a form of education that is not based upon the old traditional notions of culture and class. Class demarcations have no place in a modern industrial society.

(4) Organized labor insists that vocational education shall prepare for good citizenship and that good citizenship shall be defined in terms of the ideals of the working class; that is, the creation not of dutiful, obedient, servile wage-slaves, but self-assertive, independent workers who possess the power of economic self-respect.

(5) Organized labor demands that craftsmanship be preserved and the ideal of the craftsman be cultivated. For this reason it objects to extreme specialization in industry, and the kind of a school that prepares in a few months workers for the partial trades in industry.

(6) Invariably, organized labor is opposed to private influences in education in any and all forms.

(7) In schools of the cooperative or continuation type in which both employers and laborers are concerned, local boards comprising representatives of both labor and employers should be in control.

(8) Organized labor demands that school pupils should not be shunted off into the vocations at too early an age. This warning has been given in many of its reports. For example, in the 1912 report it is declared, 'There is no doubt that the first eight years

- (1) Organized labor wants a form of education that is not based upon the old traditional notions of classes and grades. Class organizations have no place in a modern industrial society.
- (2) Organized labor wants a form of education that will prepare the good citizenship and that good citizenship will be defined in terms of the needs of the working class; that is, the creation not of doctors, engineers, service men-slaves, but self-assertive, independent workers who possess the power of economic self-respect.
- (3) Organized labor desires that craftsmanship be preserved and the level of the craftsman be maintained. For this reason it objects to extreme specialization in industry, and the kind of a school that prepares in a few months workers for the physical trades in industry.
- (4) Inversely, organized labor is opposed to private influence in education in any and all forms.
- (5) In schools of the cooperative or combination type in which both employers and learners are concerned, local control and training representatives of both labor and employers should be in control.
- (6) Organized labor demands that school pupils should not be slanted off into the vocational or too early an age. This warning has been given in many of its reports. For example, in the 1915 report it is declared, "There is no doubt that the first three years

of the school work should be cultural in its nature, because of the fact that the boy's occupational bent is not developed and his likes and dislikes are subject to change."

(9) Organized labor demands efficient trade and technically trained teachers, not only with education, and masters of their craft, but in the sentiments of organized labor and that for which it stands.

(10) Organized labor insists that vocational education be given chiefly for its educational value. It should be "construction for instruction" rather than "instruction for construction". "There must be the minimum of production and the maximum of education."

(11) Finally, organized labor demands that the human element must be recognized in the vocational education process. Boys and girls must be educated as human beings and not as automatic mechanisms. This means that vocational educational courses must be rich in related material concerning the trade. In the strictest sense of the word it must be vocational education with the education left in. This warning is well-phrased in an address of President Gompers in which he says,

"Our movement in advocating industrial education protests most emphatically against the elimination from our public school system of any line of learning now taught. Vocational education must be supplementary to and in connection with our public system. That for which our movement stands will tend to make better workers of our future citizens and better citizens of our future workers."

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"Our movement in advocating industrial education protests most emphatically against the elimination from our public school system of any line of learning now termed vocational education. It is our conviction that the elimination of vocational education will lead to less better workers of our future citizens and better citizens of our future workers."

CHAPTER SIX--SOME OBJECTIONS TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FROM LABOR'S POINT OF VIEW

The subject matter contained in the following pages does not represent a majority report of organized labor by any means, however, many of the individual members of organized labor believe in varying degrees much of the material of the following pages.

The following discussion relates more closely to the facts of economic theory than does much of the argument of the American Federation of Labor, hence economic students may find more educational significance in this analysis than in the more conservative attitude of the American Federation of Labor. Students of labor problems and labor groups that seek for a larger responsibility in the production of economic goods will find here a viewpoint more in consonance with social reconstruction than that given heretofore in this paper.

Before taking up the thread of reasoning that begins this chapter a return must be made to the chapter on the Economic Framework of Society, in which it was pointed out that in the progress of the industrial revolution the worker lost control of the essentials that made his economic independence possible; that the ownership of life's necessities that once in the handicraft stage of production made him more or less independent had passed

CHAPTER SIX--SOME OBSERVATIONS ON VOCATIONAL
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Before taking up the subject of vocational education in this
chapter a point must be made as to the chapter in the book
"Economic of Society," in which it was pointed out that the
development of the industrial revolution has never lost control of
the economic and social conditions of the people; that
the ownership of the state's necessities rest once in the hands of
large of property and are not of less importance and power

into the hands of a small group in a position to dictate terms upon which the worker shall have access to his means of life; that the worker has remaining his labor power, and in the protection of that lies his economic salvation. Succinctly, it is this situation that must be realized to be at the bottom of nearly all labor's problems.

It should be remembered, too, that the life of the average wage-earner is not an enviable one. It is so distasteful, in fact, that nearly every wage-earner only looks forward to the day when he can leave it permanently. No greater misfortune can befall one who is in possession of economic security than to be compelled to return to the uncertainty and meagre income of a mere wage-earner, and compete again in the labor market for a job unless he or she is possessed of a special skill that is in immediate demand.

When industries are new ^{and} ~~are~~ natural resources are undeveloped, the opportunity is apparently open for the industrious and efficient to escape the wage-earner's burdens, and, for a time at least, go into the more invigorating and stimulating chance at business. In fact, a generation or so ago it was a badge of inferiority to remain a wage-earner all one's life. But however distasteful the situation becomes, the wage-earner must recognize the fact that it is opportunity that enables him to rise, and that

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...convinced to return to the uncertainty and economic security of a
...wage-earner, and perhaps even in the labor market for a
...for which he is in possession of a special skill that is in
...immediate demand.

When laborers are not in control resources are available
...and, the opportunity is especially open for the unemployed and
...difficult to change the wage-earner's position, and for a time
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...of business. In fact, a situation in which it was a matter of
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opportunity in a modern industrial system does not even knock the proverbially "once at every man's door" as it was thought to in the past. In other words, the status of the wage-earner is becoming more and more fixed. The following describes the situation admirably; though it may be a little over-drawn, the figures and presentation are essentially correct.*

"The maximum amount of income which the workingman may earn is limited. To be sure, there is always a chance to rise out of the ranks of the workers and become a manager or a capitalist. The existence of this chance to rise has never been questioned, though its mathematical boundaries are not always understood. Consider, for example, one of the greatest single industries in the United States, the "railroad industry, employing nearly a million and three-quarters of men. What are the possibilities of advancement in this industry, as shown by the statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

"There were, in 1910, 5,476 general officers directing the activities of the million and three-quarters of employees. Therefore, in the business life of the general officer and in the business life of the employee, each employee should have one chance in three hundred to become a general officer at some time during his life, provided that the employees live as long as the general officers, and provided further that all the general officers are drawn from the ranks of the employees. Neither of these assumptions is correct, because, in the first place, insurance tables indicate that the life of the general officer is longer than the life of the average workman; and, in the second place, the general officers are not always drawn from the ranks. Leaving these two considerations out of account, it is apparent that the mathematical probability of the average railroad employee becoming a general manager is about one-third of one per cent.

"Supposing that your term of service is twenty years,

*"Financing a Wage-earner's Family," by Scotearing.

opportunities in a certain industrial system and that the
the responsibility of the system is to be held by the
to in the past. In other words, the system is the responsibility
is becoming more and more clear. The following description of
situation is given; however, it may be a little over-
figures and percentages are approximately correct.

The industrial system of the United States is
very much diversified. As far as the number of plants is concerned
to the fact that the number of plants is increasing and that
labor or a capitalist. The existence of this system is
rise has never been questioned, though the industrial
foundations are not always understood. However, the ex-
angle, one of the greatest of the industrial system is the unit-
of interest, the industrial industry, especially in the
million and three-quarters of the population. This is the result of
level of development in the industry, as well as the
situation of the industry in the United States.

There are, in 1910, 2,475 general offices of
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applicable. However, in the industrial life of the
and in the industrial life of the country, each
million and three-quarters of the population is
a general office at some time during the year, and
that the industrial life is not the general office,
and a general office will be found in the industrial
from the fact of the industrial. However, the
industrial is covered, because, in the industrial,
between the industrial and the life of the general
office is found in the life of the general office,
and, in the general office, the general office is not
only found in the industrial. However, the industrial
of the industrial, it is important that the industrial
of the industrial of the general office is not
a general office is not the industrial of the industrial.

Therefore, the industrial life of the industrial is
the industrial life of the industrial.

the chances are one to one that during that time you will be injured, and one to six that you will be killed: so that the chance of your being injured is three hundred times as great, and of your being killed is fifty times as great, as it your chance of becoming a general officer in the company which is employing you."

In other words, modern industry tends to keep the worker in his place. Machine tenders are not hired for the purpose of becoming superintendents, but to remain machine workers, because it is more profitable for them to remain as such. This tendency is noted in the effort of employers to reduce the labor turnover. The reduction of the labor turnover to a minimum means that the industry has become static and the workers fixed in their positions with a minimum chance to rise. The significance of this is that economic emancipation for the wage-earner does not lie in the opportunity to escape the wage-system, but in making more tolerable, acceptable, and inviting the lot of the wage-earner.

What is the answer of Vocational Education to this situation? It depends upon the trend of the Vocational movement. Vocational education in Germany, where it was the most perfect expression of an educational system, tended to make more secure the status of the worker. The severest criticism that can well be uttered against the German system is the fact that, early in the elementary grades, it enlisted the rank and file of the working people into an industrialism from which it was impossible for

the contract was not to be binding until the day of the
be signed, and one of the things you will be asked to
that the choice of your own lawyer is your own choice
as great, and of your own mind, and of your own
all it your choice of lawyer is your own choice, and
company which is employing you."

In other words, modern industry tends to treat the worker

in his place. Modern industry is not interested in the worker

of working under conditions, but to remain under conditions, because

it is not profitable for them to remain as such. The worker

of it is not in the interest of employer to reduce the labor force

ever. The reduction of the labor force is a business means

that the industry has become well and the workers listed in

their positions with a minimum number of them. The industry

of this is that generally the industry has a minimum number of

not lie in the opportunity to waste the worker's time, but in

making more machines, machines, and machines, and the list of the

ways.

That is the answer of Venturian's answer to this question

that it would be a law of the industry to reduce the

condition of the worker in industry, there is not the least

interest of an industrial system, rather to reduce the

the power of the worker. The worker's condition is not

be improved, but the worker's condition is the least, and

the industry knows, it is not in the interest of the worker

the public into an industrial system from which it was taken in 1917

the industrially trained worker to escape. The German Continuation school meant a continuation as a poor wage-earner for the German worker. "Whether we meet the same fate in America depends upon whether vocational education is directed in the interests of democracy or in the interests of the commercially dominant regime. It may be that special training, due to vocational education, will enhance the opportunity of those specially trained. But if vocational education becomes general the special cases will not be such a vital consideration.

A second very pertinent economic consideration that thrusts itself into the vocational education field for consideration is the whole tendency of the reduction of individual skill due to the industrial revolution. In the age of handicraft production, the skilled worker set the pace in industry. The production of economic goods depended upon the training of the workers, which was provided for by an adequate apprenticeship system. It was during this stage of industry that Gibbons speaks of the "Golden Age of Labor" during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."* It was a golden age for labor, not because labor or society in general was far advanced or possessed much that we value highly today, but because labor was secure in what it did possess, namely, its craft.

*"Industrial history of England, p. 79/

the industrial revolution. The German system
of vocational training is a good example of the
German system. Whether to test the time late in history or
from whether vocational education is discussed in the history
of democracy or in the history of the industrial revolution
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was provided for by an elaborate apprenticeship system. It was
during this time of industry that citizens made of the laborer
the "laborer" rather than the "craftsman" and "artisan" mentality.
It was a change not for itself, but because labor or society in
general had been advanced or possessed such skills as was highly
valued, but because labor was scarce so that it did possess, espe-

13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The most significant event for labor in the whole industrial revolution has been the loss of the craft or the diminished value of individual skill. With the invention of the machine, there passed into the machine the skill once contained in the hand of the worker. This single fact accounts, more than all others, for the breaking down of the apprenticeship system of industry. With the elimination of the craft there passed the necessity for the apprentice with his long and continuous training. In a word, the machine industry means that the various kinds of skill that the trained trades-man practices in an art are separated, reduced, and simplified till the process no longer represents a craft, but a series of simple, special operations. This is so characteristic of modern industry that the wage norm is established in terms of the unskilled in many cases. The following illustrates this trend:

"Large as is the proportion that unskilled labor forms of the total labor force in the iron and steel industry, steel experts have noted the fact that the tendency of recent years has been steadily toward the reduction of the number of highly skilled men employed and the establishment of the general wage on the basis of common or unskilled labor. Nor is this tendency likely to diminish, since each year sees a wider use of mechanical appliances which unskilled labor can easily be trained to handle."*

The dominance of handicraftism has passed, and to the economist at least it has gone forever. The world will not likely

*Senate Document No. 301, Summary of the Wages and Hours of Labor in the Iron and Steel Industry.

retrace its steps to a recrudescence of hand production. Machine production means refinement of function and more perfect control; and while there must always be a number of highly skilled operators to set the pace for the machine, yet this group does not constitute the rank and file of the workers in industry.

The third economic consideration which is closely related to the above and, in fact, is a part of it, is the recently developed practice of scientific management. Scientific management, if it means anything at all to labor, must forecast a dismal, dark and hopeless prospect for labor organizations based on craft control.

The following shows the import of scientific management for labor, organized or unorganized;*

"Scientific management at its best, furthers the modern tendency toward the specialization of the workers.

"The inherent tendency of scientific management to specialization is buttressed, broadened in its scope, and perpetuated by the progressive gathering up and systematizing in the hands of the employers of all the traditional craft knowledge in the possession of the workers. With this information in hand, and functional foremanship to direct its use, scientific management claims to have no need of craftsmen . . . And as this body of systematized knowledge in the hands of the employer grows, it is enabled to broaden the scope of its operation, to attack and specialize new operations and new industries so that the tendency is to reduce to more and more simple operations, and more and more workers to the positions of narrow specialists."

*Prof. A. F. Hoxie's report in the Manely Report of the Industrial Relations Commission.

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Scientific management expresses itself in at least three ways of importance to labor:

- (1) It eliminates the skill of the worker.
- (2) It increases the production of goods.
- (3) It replaces men by mechanisms.

What reply has Vocational Education to these tendencies?

For labor, the elimination of the skill of the worker means the end of his power over his craft. Of course it should be noted that skill can never be entirely depleted, but if the major part of it can be done away with in the industrial process the tendency of labor specialization will be toward an unskilled basis. This does not portend a hopeful future for organized labor, as in the history of the labor movement, the greatest obstacle to labor organization has been the unskilled worker. In no other way can scientific management be so efficient in its power to break down the solidarity of the organized crafts. Whether vocational education has any significance here depends upon whether it constitutes an increase of skill, or an increase of economic knowledge pertaining to the production and distribution of economic goods. An increase in the number of skilled workers will not be a beneficial contribution to organized labor unless there is a corresponding demand from industry for them. But if these skilled workers are taught to desire a larger share in industry, and therefore to assume greater responsibilities and make greater demands for social betterment, they may become

Scientific management is held in at least three

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- (1) It eliminates the skill of the worker.
- (2) It introduces the system of piece work.
- (3) It replaces man by machinery.

What really has vocational education to look for?

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But if there are no workers and hence no demand, a larger share

in industry, and therefore to assume greater responsibilities

and more greater demands for social adjustment, they may become

a valuable asset to any organization of labor.

The second consideration, namely, the increased production of goods, brings immediately into the field of discussion, how shall these goods be shared? Should all the benefits of the increase go to labor, or shall it go to the employer, or shall both share equitably? This phase relates to the social side of the case, and one of the reasons of organized labor is to protect its interest here. Any considerable increase in the economic production of goods means that these goods have to be disposed of, either consumed by those who reap the surplus, or sold in foreign markets; or a reduction has to be made in the number of workers who produce these goods. Over-production is not a new term in the economic world but it signifies a calamity for labor. It means that the foreign markets have not absorbed the surplus and that the workers have not been paid enough to repurchase the surplus, and the result is a business depression.

It is quite difficult to see just how an increase in the productive powers of the workers is going to offer release in this situation. Vocational education means better business organization and increased production, but increased production is at the heart of the trouble. Vocational knowledge--if it is a knowledge of industry--will do good provided it reaches the real problems of labor on its organized basis for better hours, better pay, and better educational opportunity. Such a condition can be solved

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only by the workers sharing more fully in the industrial process.

The third consideration, namely, the replacement of men by mechanisms, brings to view the full significance of machine industry and the factory system. This is a viewpoint only too much neglected by the promoters of vocational education. A needle in the hand of an operator, subject to the operator's will, skill, and control, is a tool, but when it passes into a mechanism and operates independently of the skill of the operator then it is a machine in the economic sense of the word. The ordinary jack-plane, to which so much attention has been paid in manual training annals, is a tool in the best sense of the term; but when this same cutting bit leaves the hand of the operator and forms a series of bits rotated by mechanical power, then it is that the craft virtue of the tool is eliminated. It must be quite evident to the student of machine technique that in a great measure this is just what has taken place in most of the highly specialized industries of the world at the present time. The tendency of machine production is to bring every part of the process under "rule of thumb" control. In factories that turn out standard utilities, such as typewriters, watches, shoes, textiles, nails, screws, bolts, automobiles, farm machinery, and tools of many varieties, the substitution of mechanisms for men has been so complete that by far the greater part of the work is done by the unskilled, or at least

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-tion of mechanism for man has been so complete that by the
-transfer part of the work is done by the machine, or at least

partially skilled, worker. The most convincing evidence of this fact was presented to us during the late war when it was found quite possible to utilize both young and old, male and female, vocationally trained or untrained, in the industries of the country and at the same time do it economically and profitably from the standpoint of production of economic goods. In the shops of England it was found advisable to use untrained female help to the extent, in some cases, of from 60% to 80% of the workers. Such a situation was made possible only by the prevalence of machine industry.

Another interesting sidelight on this same phase of the question is in the special training schools for riveters, steam fitters, lathe hands, and many special operations that required only a few weeks' preparation. This was made possible by the fact that mechanisms had so largely displaced the ancient handicrafts.

All classes interested in the subject of vocational education see in it, along with whatever other content it may possess, the common attributes of economic safety, independence, and well-being. Its purpose is too frequently summed up in the phrase, "Learn a trade, for when you have learned a trade you have something more valuable than money; your money you may lose, but your trade you always keep." This sentiment, while it is not wholly

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thing more valuable than money; you cannot get any more, but your
trade you always keep.' This sentiment, while it is not wholly

obsolete, is so much so that it hardly applies with the peculiar force it once possessed. It rather implies an economic condition in which the prevailing mode of production is that of the handicrafts, dependent upon the individual skill of the worker. Also, a situation in which the opportunity for transition from worker to master, and finally to entrepreneur, is the rod for the thrifty and enterprising. Twentieth century industrialism has placed a different aspect on this situation, namely, that economic safety, independence, and well-being lies not so much in an education that protects the craft, as in an organization of labor, that has for its object the securing of a larger share of the fruits of industrial cooperation.

Another angle of the vocational education proposal is, what relation will it sustain in the "creative impulse" in industrial life.. It is quite evident that the mass production of goods has lost much of its original impulse to create. Participation in machine production is not made for the "joy of work." With the coming of the machine and the loss of the individual initiative due to personal tasks, there has come a corresponding loss of interest in the tasks. This is due chiefly to the fact that formerly the worker knew a whole job and now he knows only a small part of it. No one has put this issue better than Herman Schneider, Dean of the College of Engineering, University of Cincinnati, who says,

"The situation then sifts down to this: Energizing work is decreasing, enervating work is increasing. We are rapidly dividing mankind into a staff of mental workers and an army of purely physical workers. The physical workers are becoming more and more automatic, with the sure result that their minds are becoming more and more lethargic. The work itself is not character-building; on the contrary, it is repressive, and, when self-expression comes, it is hardly energizing mentally."*

The answer of the advocate of vocational education is that this is a prolific field for amelioration by vocational education; that, if a scientific and artistic content be embodied in the training of the worker, he will more willingly undergo the discipline of the machine because he will see more intelligently and vividly the relation he bears to the whole industrial process. The validity of this assumption is open to the most drastic criticism. Probably the truth lies nearer in the statement that the less energizing the job, the less intelligent the worker ought to be. Perhaps nothing is so deadening and soul-killing, as the realization of a worker that he possesses capacity far in excess of the work to which he is attached. The greatest calamity that can befall a worker in an industry is to be demoted from a director of enterprise to that of a process worker. In other words, if the increased education is not to function, interest ceases for the worker.

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*"Education for Industrial Workers."

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It may now be asked whether vocational education will re-or-

ganize industry with the purpose of eliminating the enervating positions. It can hardly be expected that this will result from the general practice of vocational education. It will rather accent than retard the present tendency toward machine specialization. It can hardly be expected that there will ever be an appreciable return to the handicrafts. This was the object and also the failure of the Arts and Crafts Movement during the nineties of the last century. The Arts and Crafts Movement in education had little influence on industry because it did not sense the significance of machine technique and modern industrialism upon which it was based. Industrial and vocational education took its place because it was more in consonance with present day production of economic goods.

The function of vocational education in such a situation will not be in the immediate advantage of better adaptation of the worker to the machine but rather in an emphasis of the thirty-fourth clause of the recent Report of the Committee on Education of the New York State Federation of Labor, which is as follows:

"We recommend that courses of study be organized in history, civics, labor, health and compensation laws, and economics, under the guidance of the State Department of Education, for if labor is to intelligently exercise its fullest political power, the members of unions and other wage-earners should have exact and scientific knowledge of the subjects mentioned."

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"The recommendations...
...history, civics, labor, health and conservation laws, and...
...education, under the guidance of the State Department of...
...Education, for it is to be...
...highest political... the members of unions and other...
...workers... the exact and scientific knowledge of...
...the subjects mentioned."

Another phase of the vocational education movement that greatly interests all classes of labor is the relation of vocational education to poverty. Poverty is the especial characteristic of those who do the world's work; and since vocational education is offered in so many instances for the relief of the poverty-stricken rather than for the elevation of their souls, it is very pertinent, indeed, to determine just how much validity there is in the assumption.

Marshall says:

"It is poverty in the sense of economic insufficiency, its wide extent, its assumed necessity, its tragic consequence, that forms the real problem. There are great bodies of people in the city and in the country who from birth have less than enough food, clothing, and shelter, who from childhood must toil long and hard to secure even that insufficient amount; who can benefit but little from the world's advance in material comfort and in spiritual beauty because their bodies are undernourished, their minds overstrained, and their souls deadened by the bitter struggle with want. These are the real poor of every community--the masses--not lacking in industry and thrift, yet never really able to earn enough for a decent existence, and toiling in the constant fear that even these bare necessities may fail."*

The existence of poverty need not be argued in this paper. Studies have been made running into many volumes that prove its existence. Wherever any survey such as the Pittsburgh Survey of the Russell Sage Foundation of the lives of the working classes

*"Principles of Economics," p. 2 and 3.

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The existence of poverty need not be argued in this paper.
Studies have been made running into many volumes that prove its
existence. However any survey such as the Pittsburgh Survey of
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is made, poverty is found to be the cancerous growth at the root of many of the evils, if not the most of them, in the worker's budget of ills.

As Marshall notes, poverty is in the main not due to lack of perennial thrift or enterprise. In fact, in the slum regions, where hours of labor are the most hard and grinding, the prevalence of poverty is the most conspicuous. It seems as though those who are the most industrious are the most heavily afflicted with it. In fact, a class that can secure a large measure of leisure is far more likely to be economically independent than the more heavily burdened toilers.

Probably the verdict of most students of the poverty problem would give as its cause chiefly that it is an incident of the modern industrial states. At least where the machine has set the pace and machine production has become the prevailing mode of production, there will be found in the most acute form the worst cases of poverty. Poverty is a concomitant of large industrial centers, and incongruent as it may seem, in these same industrial centers there is amassed the huge fortunes of the time.

Poverty does not exist because there is a dearth of economic goods and not enough to go around. In fact, the workers' industrial capacity has increased many fold with the increased use of machine technique. Surplus wealth has increased at the most satis-

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rare and where production has become the prevailing mode of pro-
duction, there will be found in the most acute form the worst
cases of poverty. Poverty is a concomitant of the industrial
state, and in proportion as it has been, in these same industrial
countries there is a marked increase in the number of the poor.
Poverty does not exist because there is a scarcity of economic
goods and not enough to go around. In fact, the workers' income
total capacity has increased many fold with the increased use of
modern techniques. But the wealth has increased at the most exor-

factory rate. In fact, it has forced into prominence the question of world markets, and, in the case of the last year, the problem of the world's domination.

Hollander, in summing up his little book on "The Abolition of Poverty", concludes that "The three great supply sources of wealth are:

- (1) The underpaid.
- (2) The unemployed.
- (3) The unemployable.

"Chronic underpayment arises from the failure to substitute collective for individual bargaining in wage contracting, or from excessive gains of enterprisers, or from social undervaluation of product.

"Unemployment, understood as the involuntary idleness of competent workmen, is the result of cyclical depression, of seasonal fluctuation, and of the disposition of modern employers to keep on hand a reserve fund of unemployed labor which is available in seasons of exceptional activity.

"Finally, for the residuum of unemployables, due to industrial accident, sickness or old age, a comprehensive system of social insurance must form the main line of attack."

Essentially, too, unemployment is due to the fact that there are more persons seeking employment than there are positions. This is due to the fact that in a large measure, as has been pointed out in this paper, there has been a substitution made of mechanisms for men.

For the underpaid, vocational education must offer not more efficient workmen skilled in the technique of their profession, but rather intelligently directed courses in labor organization. The reply to underpayment is a solidly organized labor group for

theory that, in fact, it was based upon a certain number of
lines of work, which, in the case of the last year, the pro-
cess of the world's development.

However, in order to give a more complete picture of
of activity, we should like to give a more complete picture of
which are:

- (1) The individual.
- (2) The group.
- (3) The organization.

"The individual is the unit of activity, and it is in the
of the individual that we find the basis of all activity.
The group is the unit of activity, and it is in the group
of the group that we find the basis of all activity.
The organization is the unit of activity, and it is in the
of the organization that we find the basis of all activity."

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Essentially, too, development is due to the fact that
the more persons receive employment then more are produced. This
is due to the fact that in a large factory, as has been pointed out
in this paper, there has been a substitution of machinery for
labor.

For the individual, the individual is the unit of activity, and it is in the
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The group is the unit of activity, and it is in the group
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of the organization that we find the basis of all activity."

the purpose of protecting its own interests.

For the unemployed due to lack of skill it must furnish special short unit courses in the skilled crafts to meet the needs of industry. It is here that vocational education can function the most efficiently. For the unemployed who are out of work due to the fact that their services are not required in industry, vocational education must again enrich its content and face the economic situation that a decrease in the number of working hours will provide employment for an increased number of workers, and the question becomes again one of labor organization.

For the unemployable due to industrial accident, sickness and old age, vocational education may recover some of them but its work in this field must remain quite confined. Of course, in the case of accident much can be done, such as is being done by the Government in the rehabilitation of wounded soldiers. But labor's interest lies more in the direction of social insurance than in education for special tasks.

The significance of a situation in which unemployment is due to the fact that there are more workers than there are positions in which mechanisms have been substituted for men, may also indicate that the cultivation of foreign trade has not been carried on or organized. This opens up a new field for the vocational educator of the most highly specialized and technical

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sitions in which mechanics have been substituted for men, may

also indicate that the cultivation of foreign trade has not been

carried on or organized. This opens up a new field for the vo-

cabational educator of the most highly specialized and technical

type. A disposal of surplus goods in the foreign markets of the world means an increase in the demands for workers, and hence a relief for unemployment. It should be noted here, however, that other nations are in the same business with the same objects in view, and also that peoples soon learn the art of production for themselves, and then the foreign market relief ceases somewhat.

To conclude the problem of poverty, if vocational education is going to function to any appreciable extent it must include courses in labor problems, economics, and social studies, for relief from poverty lies more in this direction than in offering more and diversified shop courses, though these should be no means be neglected.

Finally, if the past and present demands of labor have any significance at all it is the fact that there shall not be eliminated from educational courses the essential subjects deemed necessary to a general education, which is necessary for the laborer to function as a citizen. If the demands of labor have meant anything in the past they have meant just exactly this. The interest of labor has been far more militant for general education than it ever has for vocational education, and labor has in no uncertain terms voiced its protest against any movement to rob education of its intellectual or cultural content. It is somewhat in this spirit that Samuel Gompers enlightens us with the following:

"Organized labor has opposed and will oppose some enterprises which have been undertaken in the name of industrial

... A ... of ... in the ... of the ...
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education ; . . . With regard to such enterprises where they are instituted by employers with a single eye to the profits of such employers, organized labor is from Missouri."

It should be born constantly in mind that there is no phase of education in which organized labor is not interested and upon which it has no attitude. A perusal of the Committee Reports during the last year on the subject of education indicates attitudes favorable to every form of democratic education proposed during the last few years. From an increase in kindergartens to a Minister of Education in the President's Cabinet, in fact the whole gamut of educational reformation has been passed upon by organized labor.

association; . . . also refers to those who are not
are interested in education with a special eye to the
of new educators, especially those in the field."

It should be born constantly in mind that the purpose
of education in which are placed is not interested in
what it has to attain. A general of the Committee reports sur-
ing the last year on the subject of education indicates attitudes
favorable to every form of democratic education proposed during the
last few years. From an increase in kindergarten to a Minister of
Education in the President's Cabinet, in fact the whole trend of
educational reform has been toward more by organized labor.

CHAPTER SEVEN--RECOMMENDED SCHOOL CURRICULUM

In making the following recommendations, the writer of this paper has seen no reasons for proposing an educational program for labor that differs in its prime essentials from an educational curriculum for any other class in a democratic state. It is true that education should be differentiated not in terms of classes, but on the basis of individual capacity. Opportunity should be provided upon equal terms for the exercise of this capacity to its fullest extent. Excessive poverty should not be a handicap to this opportunity, neither should prodigious wealth.

Education should be evaluated in terms of man's relation to his environment. In fact, education is nothing else but a reaction to this environment. Education, then, must be considered valuable to the extent that it articulates with the environment in which we live. Latin was practical for a Roman; Chinese is valuable for a Chinaman, but are these languages valuable for an American? Functional knowledge can be determined for classes and occupations where there is a common experience for that class and occupation. The business of education should be to approximate these needs as nearly as possible.

To evaluate knowledge for the individual would require an

acquaintance with the role he is to perform and the relation he is to sustain in his environment. This for most people is not definitely determinable. To ascertain this information one must know the profession followed, the place in which one lived, and numerous other details, such as marriage, children and special interests.

With this practical interpretation of education in view, it necessarily becomes imperative that some sort of a classification of knowledge be made to meet the most frequently recurring exigencies of life. For labor this means a classification of knowledge based upon the economic life of the workingclass. For, as has been stated at previous times in this paper, it is from these economic institutions that labor receives its inspiration. The economic relations of an individual are his social relations. Some knowledge may fall outside the economic classification, but not an appreciable amount. Education requires that there run through it well-defined, or at least quite clearly defined, constants. In economic terms these constants are the three "fundamental social processes of Production, Distribution, and Consumption."*

Productional knowledge treats of the science of the production of wealth. The evolution of man from a "pain economy" to a status of "pleasure economy" is the transition from a condition in which poverty was explained by the "niggardliness of nature" to a

*"The Education of Tomorrow", by Arland Weeks.

situated in which we enjoy a social surplus. Naturally, it is to be expected that around the fundamental work of the production of economic goods there is to be found an extensive fund of accumulated knowledge. All the occupations related to the extraction, transference, and the transformation of economic goods are to be classified as Productional Knowledge. All the knowledge relating to the arts, crafts, and sciences, from the most simple operation to the most complex mechanical formula, are one and all to be included in Productional Knowledge. All forms of useful work on the farm, in the mines, in the mills, etc., every worker from the lowest to the highest grade are contributors to this form of knowledge.

Distributional Knowledge is included in a study and application of the economic and social sciences with increased efficiency in production; there inevitably arises the question of sharing the product. This form of knowledge is of equal or even of more importance than Productional Knowledge, for unless in some manner the wealth produced by the workers in industry is snared, starvation and death result. The enormous contrast in the possession of wealth is not due to the fact that these "takers of wealth" possess greater productional efficiency, but greater distributional power. The Greek slaves, and in fact the skilled working producers of all ancient and Mediaeval times, were expert in productional knowledge, but they were ignorant as to Distributional Knowledge.

... which we call a social science. ...
... the fundamental work of the production
... of economic goods is to be found in economic laws of so-
... with the necessary laws related to the exten-
... and the production of economic goods are
... as a scientific or theoretical knowledge. All the knowledge
... to the arts, sciences, and sciences, and the same single
... to the most complex and social sciences, the law and all
... in be included in theoretical knowledge. All forms of useful
... in the mind, in the skills, etc., every worker
... the lowest to the highest stages the contributors to this form
... of knowledge.

Distributional knowledge is included in a study and applica-
... of the economic and social sciences with increased efficiency
... in production; these inevitably arises the question of making the
... product. This form of knowledge is of equal or even of more impor-
... than theoretical knowledge, for unless in some manner the
... which produced by the workers in industry is shared, distribution
... and social justice. The economic conflict in the possession of wealth
... is not due to the fact that some "owners of wealth" possess greater
... theoretical efficiency, but greater distributional power. The
... class slaves, and in fact the wretched condition of all an-
... and industrial life, which is the result of distributional knowledge,
... but they are ignorant as to distributional knowledge.

There always has existed in the social order a class of persons that may be termed the "getters of wealth". Those who follow this profession are seldom efficient producers. Trusts, pools, combines, employers' and manufacturers' associations on the one hand, and labor organizations on the other, are expressions and manifestations of Distributional Knowledge. Surely vocational education must include in its curriculum an ample share of this form of knowledge, for the subject matter of this field of education from labor's viewpoint has been sorely neglected. The production of economic goods has been more nearly solved than have the problems of an equitable distribution of these same goods.

Consumptional Knowledge has to do with all the occupations that treat of the use of leisure time.

It might be noted that this states one of organized labor's most fundamental aims, that is, the secure possession of a greater amount of free time.

Consumption Knowledge is the knowledge that really makes life worth while. It is the knowledge that distinguishes the person of refinement. It does not mean in any sense of the word the aping of the customs and employments of a wealthy leisure class, but to know the "rational, satisfying use of wealth". It means a relief from the humdrum monotony of the "work conscience" of the slave who thinks that a life is to be voted the most successful that included the greatest amount of toil.

There always has existed in our world a class of per-
sons that may be termed the "holders of wealth". These are the
the profession are called "businessmen". Lawyers, doctors,
engineers, and agriculturists, associations in the one
hand, and labor organizations on the other, are organizations and
embodiments of distributive knowledge. Society is organized in
such a way that in its various parts it is made up of
of knowledge, for the subject matter of this field of education
has never been only a subject. The profession
of economic knowledge has been more nearly a subject than the other
parts of an economic organization of these same goods.
Generalized knowledge has to do with all the occupations
that part of the way of labor life.
It might be noted that this is the case of organized labor's
and intellectual life, that is, the main possession of a greater
amount of the life.
Constitutional knowledge is the knowledge that really means
the work of life. It is the knowledge that distinguishes the per-
son of intelligence. It is not found in any sense of the word the
spirit of the culture and employment of a really intelligent class,
but to have the "rational, satisfying use of wealth". It means a
value from the highest necessity of the "work of the world" or the
value who thinks that a life is to be lived the most successful that
includes the greatest amount of life.

It means an appreciation of wholesome play and recreation, and in addition a knowledge of much of the best that has been thought, said, and done in the world. Much of the subject matter included in the classical high school or college fills this requirement, but the mistake must not be made of excluding the other two forms of knowledge, productional, and distributional. In a democracy, an education must include a liberal evaluation of these three forms of knowledge. They should be ranked as constants in all the years of the secondary school training.

The following is an outline of subjects that should be included under these forms of knowledge:

Productional Knowledge

- (1) Language (vernacular)
- (2) Applied Mathematics
- (3) Elements of Mechanics
- (4) Agriculture
- (5) The General Sciences
- (6) The Various Shop Trades
- (7) Mechanical Drawing and Designing

Distributional Knowledge

- (1) Current Events
- (2) Elementary Economics
- (3) Economic History
- (4) Political Parties

It seems an organization of knowledge, and therefore,

and in addition a knowledge of such of the best that has been
thought, said, and done in the world. Each of the subjects
included in the classical curriculum of colleges will find
treatment, but the subjects that are not included in the
other two forms of knowledge, practical, and historical.

In a university, an education that includes a liberal education
of these three forms of knowledge. They should be treated as con-
comitant in all the years of the secondary school training.

The following is an outline of subjects that should be in-
cluded under these forms of knowledge:

Practical knowledge

- (1) Languages (vernacular)
- (2) Applied mathematics
- (3) Elements of Mechanics
- (4) Agriculture
- (5) The Social Sciences
- (6) The various shop trades
- (7) Technical training and designing

Historical knowledge

- (1) Current Events
- (2) Elementary Economics
- (3) Economic History
- (4) Political Parties

- (5) Government
- (6) Labor Organizations
- (7) Money
- (8) Insurance
- (9) Investment
- (10) Banking
- (11) Wages
- (12) Applied Ethics

Consumptional Knowledge

- (1) Literature
- (2) History
- (3) Music
- (4) Art
- (5) Languages (foreign)
- (6) Sciences
- (7) Recreations
- (8) Ethics (social usages and relations)

In final conclusion, if organized labor is to profit by the Federal Grants for Vocational Education, it must see that schools organized under said Board shall include not only the type of productional education represented by a trade school and its closely allied science and drawing, but also,--which is of more importance--an education liberal in its quantity of Distributional and Consump-

(3) Government

(4) Law of Administration

(5) Army

(6) Insurance

(7) Investment

(8) Banking

(9) Taxes

(10) Applied Science

Commercial Subjects

(1) Literature

(2) History

(3) Music

(4) Art

(5) Languages (Foreign)

(6) Science

(7) Agriculture

(8) Other Social Sciences and Relations

In final examination, if organized labor is to profit of the
social science for vocational education, it must use the social
sciences which have been and will include not only the type of pro-
fessional education represented by a trade school and its closely
related sciences and drawing, but also, which is of more importance--
an education liberal in its principle of distribution and consump-

tional Knowledge. Further, this education must not be administered by leisure-class, academic servants of "business interests" but by workers in the industries with a social vision and the ideals and ethics of Organized Labor.

THE END

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THE END

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