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THE
FORTY-SIXTH YEARBOOK

OF THE
NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY
OF EDUCATION

PART II
EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Prepared by the Society's Committee

JOHN E. ANDERSON, FRANK N. FREEMAN, BESS GOODYKOONTZ,
HELEN HEFFERNAN, N. SEARLE LIGHT (*Chairman*),
WORTH McCLURE, AND RUTH UPDEGRAFF

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The outline for the present yearbook was first prepared by the chairman of the yearbook committee at the request of the Board of Directors. At the meeting of October 21, 1944, in the course of a general discussion of types of yearbooks that might properly be developed for publication by the Society, the members of the Board were found to be in agreement on the question of the timeliness of a yearbook dealing with recent movements relating to the care and training of children younger than the traditional school-entering age. Accordingly, it was decided to seek advice concerning the appropriate contents and organization of a yearbook in this area. The request for such assistance was submitted to Mr. Light in view of his work as President of the National Association for Nursery Education. The suggested outline presented by Mr. Light was considered at the meeting of the Board in June, 1945, and approved with provision for review by a special committee consisting of Mr. Light, Miss Goodykoontz, and Mr. Stoddard. Following the meeting of this committee in September, 1945, the yearbook committee was organized under the chairmanship of Mr. Light. The preparation of the volume has been carried on in spite of many discouraging experiences, these involving interruptions to the undertakings of committee members themselves as a result of illness in some instances and of the claiming of other members for governmental services abroad. The editor vouches for the devoted interest and effort of "available" members of the committee at all stages of the exacting task of completing this volume for publication in 1947.

Among the noteworthy contributions of this volume are an enlightening interpretation of the sociological backgrounds of primary education and of the results of scientific studies of child development, the review of progress and present practices in the application of new knowledge to the developing procedures for institutional training in early childhood, and the description of facilities and resources needed for effective implementation of an organized system of education to serve the varying needs of all classes of children prior to their enrolment in the elementary school. It is not inappropriate in this connection to note the fact that the Society has repeatedly undertaken to stimulate professional interest in the educational needs of very young children. In 1907 and again in 1908, Part II of the yearbook was devoted to the consideration of kindergarten training for preschool children; the Twenty-eighth Yearbook, *Preschool and Parental Education*, and Part II of the Thirty-eighth Yearbook, *Child*

Development and the Curriculum, were widely recognized as distinctive contributions to the literature of this field; and the two volumes of the Forty-fourth Yearbook, *American Education in the Post-war Period*, gave significant emphasis to the need of substantial expansion of educational opportunities on behalf of children of nursery-school and kindergarten age.

NELSON B. HENRY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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Early childhood education emerges from the tests of depression and war into peacemaking and the atomic age with perhaps fewer challenges to its basic principles, goals, and practices than any other level of education. The requirements for social adequacy and individual competence in an age of struggle to achieve a world brotherhood of man before new forces unlocked by science shall destroy man himself are singularly identical with the ends toward which early childhood education has been slowly moving.

In this new age, education in the exercise of freedom is imperative. Beginning in its simplest forms as soon as the child is capable of making a choice and of feeling responsibility for the outcomes of that choice, education in freedom must increase under intelligent guidance throughout the school years until the child shall have become a mature adult. It is only by appropriate education that acceptance of responsibility and self-reliance can be attained, and the only appropriate education consists of opportunities to make a choice between various courses of action and to accept responsibility for that choice and its outcomes. The child learns both from his successes and from his failures, and he learns, especially, to know and to accept himself as well as others.

Choice in courses of action implies choice in goals and that, in turn, implies an opportunity to consider the implications of learnings; and that, itself, can be a rewarding experience for children. Children should learn to set goals for themselves, goals which they can reasonably expect to achieve, goals they can measure as achieved, goals that are worth while. It is not merely that such goals furnish strong motivation but that ability to set them and to hold themselves to them is of life-long value, especially if it becomes a habitual practice.

Inherent in this process is the development of self-discipline. It is only by increasingly effective discipline of self that the child, then the youth, and then the adult can learn to accept responsibility for his actions. External discipline imposed by the school has its ultimate purpose beyond the maintenance of order and safety—the purpose of developing self-disciplined individuals. That it is not generally so conceived or administered is quite apparent. The educational purpose of school discipline is too frequently sacrificed to the practical demands of the immediate. Discipline is something essential in order to educate. We have yet to accept in practice the concept that discipline is an inseparable factor of education in democratic living.

Children are not born with the ability to use freedom wisely. They have to learn what freedom means and what it entails for one who would have it and keep it. They have to learn self-discipline. They have to learn to subordinate their own interests to the good of the group and, thereby, learn something of their obligations in a democratic society. Children have to learn “to think for themselves but to act for the group,” and, as they do so, they gain in understanding of present-day associational living.

In any educational program of this order, children will be confronted with a succession of situations which present problems, sometimes simple, but inevitably of growing complexity as they penetrate further and further into life activities about them. This is bound to happen because the learnings under consideration here are not to be had from books. They come only from real experience in association with others in and about the school and in the community, and they can be assured, even then, only when there is understanding guidance which assists them in interpreting their experiences. The reading of books and other materials may illuminate and enrich their experiences and may help in the solution of problems, but it is no substitute for them. Skill in attacking a real problem, knowledge of sources and how to use them, skill in organizing materials, and the ability to come to a decision are not the least of the values to be gained from this program.

The programming of worth-while experiences to further and guide development into effective citizenship in this atomic age is no simple matter, but it is of the greatest importance. Any discussion of this problem in this introductory chapter would be quite out of place. Its importance in the period immediately ahead does need to be stressed and not overlooked in the long list of urgent tasks for education.

Along with concern for the social and intellectual development of the child should go concern for his emotional development. Perhaps

the words "mature adult" suggest emotional stability to more people more often than any other personality characteristic. Certainly the emotional development of the child is of the greatest importance to him and to society, and yet, educationally, little is known about it and still less is done about it. That children have emotions and that they express them vigorously when free to do so, nobody will deny. Possibly nobody will deny that, in general, the tendency in schools has been to suppress expressions of emotion. In some quarters, any real expression of emotion is not good form. To be sure, expressions of hostility and aggression have recently attracted much attention, with marked differences in opinion resulting. Are acts of aggression or expressions of hostility ever acceptable? If so, when? Under what conditions? Within what limits? Here is a field of active controversy. Must the incorporation of positive programs of emotional development in the schools await still further research, or is there is a sufficient basis in the vast literature of this field for going further than outlining measures for the prevention, control, or cure of certain emotional responses commonly considered to be behavior problems? It may be that teachers and psychologists should pool their resources in a concerted attack on this problem. A beginning on a program of emotional development is what is needed now.

Significant to the emotional well-being of the child has been the recent trend in medicine away from adult-imposed schedules and routines to programs largely regulated by the child. Here is recognition of individual differences in infancy and encouragement to similar trends in education at higher age levels. One of the causes of emotional insecurity in the child is a sense of unmet personal needs. Correspondingly, security comes to the child when his needs are met. This is the justification for the steps early childhood education has taken in recent years to give the child a feeling that he is wanted, to provide expressions of affection for him, and to satisfy other basic needs of the child.

While much of what has been written here may seem somewhat remote from early childhood education and more the concern of education at later stages, it is all pertinent. The beginnings are of the greatest importance; they are the business of early childhood education and have, in many ways, been accepted as such. Practice has, however, lagged far behind, partly because of administrative hindrances, partly because of inadequately trained teachers, but not because of public opinion. Public opinion has, in general, supported changes in recognition of children as persons, each with his own potentialities and characteristics.

The problems of early childhood education are those of improving practices which utilize more fully the fruits of research upon children in a variety of fields. A vast amount of research is already available, and more becomes available every year. This yearbook opens with a consideration of the social scene and the pressures upon the individual child, upon selected groups of children, and those that impinge upon all children. Implications for education, and for curriculum-making in particular, are numerous. As the social picture changes, the implications change; and curriculum changes should follow if they do not anticipate social changes. With curriculum changes should come changes in organization, in administrative procedures, in school plant and equipment, in teacher education, and in record-making and reporting—for these are the means of making teaching effective.

From psychology, from child development centers and from medicine, notably pediatrics and child psychiatry, the flow of research materials upon young children increases rapidly. This flow of reports of research presents a problem of synthesis for educational purposes. Is this the exclusive function of education, or is it a problem of cooperation and articulation? In this yearbook, examinations of research reports on a few selected problems of educational guidance are presented. Among the problems discussed is that of making research in child development more useful to teachers. A suggested remedy is collaboration of research personnel and teachers in planning, conducting, reporting, and evaluating research studies. One of the advantages of the suggested procedure is that it would be one step toward a synthesis of educational and child development research on the operational level.

But this sort of approach is not enough. No teacher or parent today can keep abreast of publications in his field. Worse than that, both are frequently the victims of garbled and distorted versions of reports. Some way must be found for synthesizing the results of research, for selecting that which is of importance to those interested in guiding the development of children, and for making the results available quickly and in an authoritative form.

This is to suggest, also, that research teams should be more generally used in planning and conducting research on projects which have potential values for education. The presence of a qualified teacher on the research team would tend to enhance the educational value of projects.

The team technique is a logical outcome of a situation in which research on any phase of life is more and more dependent upon re-

search on other phases. The biologist, studying the problems of cell growth in the body, associates with himself the chemist and physicist for the sake of their knowledge of the cell, the molecule, and the atom.

While the research specialist, following the pattern of the natural sciences, attempts to isolate a phase of child behavior for study, the teaching concept of the child is that of a living organism capable of thinking and willing, an organism that acts and reacts as a unit. Anything that happens to the child affects the organism as a whole. Guidance of the development of children to maturity is a function of education exercised chiefly by the teacher and parent. Research in child development must have improvement in child guidance as one of its objectives, if not its chief objective. It would seem to follow that the qualified teacher should play an important role in many child development research projects at all stages.

Curriculum-making is, quite evidently, becoming a more and more difficult problem even with the very young child. If it ever was simple, it certainly is not so now. It was for this reason that this yearbook is devoted chiefly to that field with its implications for organization, administration, teacher education, and other phases of the educational program. It is in no sense a teacher's handbook. It is addressed, rather, to leaders in the field of education and research as a critical interpretation with a restrained projection into the future.

CHAPTER II

YOUNG CHILDREN AT THE TURN OF THIS ERA

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FAR HORIZONS AND HOME-FRONT EFFECTS

This is a period of awesome change. Within the span of a few years all earth-bound means of protection of man and nations from invasion by aggressive forces and ideas have been swept aside. We now quiver with consternation as we discover ourselves as world neighbors bereft of sheltering national boundaries and compelled to chisel out an enduring peace. We cannot beg for time to catch our breath and unify our home front; we cannot ask for a cessation of international communication until we educate ourselves for more adequate understanding; we cannot nullify these last years with their devastating effects and "go back to normal times." No, we must face the todays and the tomorrows and summon our intellectual and moral resources to aid in building a world solidarity, free from the threat of momentary destruction.

How do such considerations relate to young children? Our obvious answer is to indicate the importance of educating them so that they are able to take hold of affairs in judicious manner once their turn comes, assuming with all the hope our hearts can hold that affairs can be righted so their turn will come. But, like the present complexity of world affairs, our ideas on how to meet the needs of young children have become more involved and complex. This is readily appreciated when one takes the time to consider how these changes which have put a whole world in such terrifying flux leave their mark upon the day-to-day life of children. It is the intention of the committee who planned this yearbook to contribute to this essential area of understanding. Although the yearbook may appeal primarily to the leaders in the field of education of young children, it is of real importance to those in the field of public school education and to welfare and service groups working closely with the family.

CHILD LIFE UPROOTED AND UNROOTED

These first postwar years are characterized by a pervasive uneasiness that reaches right into the family hearth—for those who have even the semblance of a family hearth. Fear of atom power far outweighs anticipation of its constructive use. An uneasiness—a “what if?” feeling—is reflected in the minds of most adults. This uneasiness, even if scarcely articulated, is felt by children. Until nations in their new eye-to-eye relationship have worked out a sufficiently broad common denominator of agreement upon which to project international confidence, this uncertainty with its accompanying check on a confident home atmosphere is bound to continue.

In later chapters the importance of a steady home and community life to the child's well-being is emphasized. Yet, how few children will be fortunate enough to grow from birth through age six in the same home, with mother-father-children as the family unit. The high rate of mobility induced by the war, the great shortage of houses, the shift in industry from wartime to peacetime production, and the increase in deferred travel immediately following a slackening of wartime travel restrictions have pulled out the familiar props from the lives of millions of young children and whisked them about too rapidly for them to feel familiar with faces, places, and customs they meet. At the very time when they should have been sending down their roots in a simply-structured family culture into which they were born, they were being shifted about, and, for many, this may have created a lack of steadiness which basic roots in steady experience supply. Claudia Lewis's study,¹ reported in *Children of the Cumberland*, bears significantly on this point.

In still another way the present world scene registers its impact at the child's door. As people from different lands and cultural backgrounds come face to face and as they pool ideas, new customs and ideas may filter into family discussion and affect family life. Even adults feel as if they had been bombarded following a discussion in a mixed-culture group and may wish for time to assimilate the effects while remaining on an even keel. To the young child even graver effects may follow. He may not retain his emotional poise because, to him, these new or different ideas spell conflict. The oft-repeated report of a child's confusion and lingering disturbance which follows his transfer from a home or agency with one type of authority to a home or agency practicing another type is evidence of the way in which

¹ Claudia Lewis, *Children of the Cumberland*. New York: Columbia University Press.

a child meets differences of views and customs. Some of the refugees who entered the United States these past years found it necessary to establish nursery schools under their own direction in New York City to ease young children into our culture with its concept of discipline so different from their formal, adult-imposed control of behavior.

CHILD LIFE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

The problem of economic security for all had not yet been solved when World War II befell us. Not only has the need and the difficulty of meeting that need been intensified by the war but it has also been magnified to include facing our own families' economic adequacy while, at the same time, helping to share in plans to aid other nations to do likewise. The resolution of the tug of war between labor and industry has not been faced from a basic approach. The palliatives of increase in wages, reduction of hours, and improvement of working conditions seem to be losing even their temporary effectiveness. Factors essential to a creative role of the worker in industry must be faced if that large number of citizens are to achieve happiness and have heart in their work.

While this struggle persists, families are in process of attempting to improve their lot by finding more favorable employment or by pushing against the low economic wage scale and, obviously, by expressing overtly or subtly their worry about the family welfare in the future. The still too-widely accepted view of the inevitability of depressions, on the one hand, and the wilful rejection, in other quarters, of the concept of national economic planning for family economic welfare naturally contribute to a feeling of impending "bad luck," and even disaster, within families at this time. The young child is, no doubt, frequently aware that today's requests better not be heeded because "we don't know what lies ahead." To a young child this may cause qualms of immediate and dire threats, the more fearful, perhaps, because they are vague or unnamed.

Another and direct effect of this uncertain aspect in our economic life has been its imprint upon child-care institutions and agencies. The withdrawal of federal funds from child care on March 1, 1946, threw many homes, agencies, and entire communities into a great disturbance. The dislocation created in family and community life, in general, high-lighted not only the need for better economic planning but also the tenuous quality of young child life through failing to meet this great social need in our rapidly shifting times. A brief but succinct report of how some communities sprang into action to offset

the withdrawal of federal funds from child-care groups was reported by the National Committee on Group Care of Children.² If communities, so aroused, continue to work on this problem, lasting and widespread good results might be developed.

THE SHIFT IN RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILD WELFARE

Emerging at this time is the question regarding the status of private social welfare. Because many social, privately financed agencies have had programs of health, education, and shelter for children from birth to school age, a shift in the affairs of these groups will add to the general state of flux already impinging upon child life. Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, in a meeting with the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, stated that the trend toward public social welfare was genuine but that this did not imply government control of the work of the agencies which accept financial aid from the federal funds.³

The fluctuation of attitude toward grants to private agencies and the growing demands for services for young children seem to spell out clearly the public's moral responsibility to extend financial aid to children wherever the need exists. The wide divergence of financial ability between states and within states tends to indicate need for federal finance. Public responsibility to supplement private interest was recommended by James Brown in a paper read before the Child Welfare Planning Committee of the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago.⁴

The degree to which the trend toward public support of such essential work is planned and financed by the public depends upon the future course of national and international affairs. If the trend to reject national planning as it bears on family welfare grows, the public financing of welfare will doubtless not develop and the fate of young children will fluctuate with privately financed budgets; if, to the contrary, the reverse occurs, the outgrowth will be a steady, emerging growth in procedure of community planning for the total well-being of children which will be reflected in the quality and adequacy of health, education, and welfare services.

² *Community Planning on Group Care of Children*. Bulletin No. 2 of the National Committee on Group Care of Children, January, 1946. New York: National Committee on Group Care of Children.

³ Reported in *New York Times*, October 25, 1946, p. 30.

⁴ James Brown, *The Future of Private Child Caring Agencies*. Reprinted by the Citizens' Committee on Children of New York, Inc.

FIRST YEARS AND THEIR BASIC PRIORITIES

The war years have greatly reinforced the recognition of the first six years of life as the personality and behavioral-building years of life. The implications of this concept, as expressed by one authority, are:

That the way in which children come to terms with the problems and life tasks which they begin at birth to face, and the reactions they develop, constitute the process by which their personality is developed and their mental health is jeopardized or secured.

That the same problems or life tasks in successive forms and settings confront the individual all through his life and that the way he learns to meet them in infancy and the preschool years sets the patterns with which he will meet them in adolescence, in adult living, in involution, and in senescence.⁵

Much evidence is being gathered now in the study of the severe breakdowns of veterans. Off-the-record and preliminary reports substantiate the foregoing statement of the mental hygienists. Also with the war came a vigorous impetus to enlighten the public on basic understandings in the field of mental hygiene. Current commercial magazines, newspapers, and radio programs have done much to acquaint the public with the need for a deeper understanding of human behavior and also of the importance of the experience of the early years of life. Parent groups have delved deeper into the study of children's behavior and the implications for family, school, and community life.

One emerging result is the increased respect and demand for group experience for children beginning at three years of age. Present life with its tempo, hazards, and complexities is compelling the parent in the urban community to become overprotective out of fear. The child who is old enough to stretch his exploration to new neighborhood places and new neighborhood faces is inhibited because neighborhoods and neighbors no longer are familiar as they once were. Therefore, for a child to grow socially and with increasing independence in meeting daily life situations, protective group experience must be provided. This, the nursery school purposes to offer. Viewed from this function, the nursery school becomes essential for all children who, because of living in too congested areas or, as in the case of the rural child, in too isolated areas, do not have the freedom to get about unencumbered by constant adult supervision.

⁵"Co-ordinating Mental-Hygiene Work for Children," *The Child*, p. 183. U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Vol. 9, No. 12. Washington: Government Printing Office.

The need for group experience for younger children as a supplement or substitute for the mother will vary to some degree with the affairs of our nation and world. An increase in the standard of living for workers will reduce the number of women now at work who must supplement the family income. If our economy assures continuous employment, many women, now at work to help the family save enough for lean years, will relax their fear of the lean years and remain at home with young children.

However, as polls have indicated, a shift in attitude on the part of women has taken place in the last decade or so, and child-rearing and homemaking as a dual role seems to be desired by a growing percentage of women without reference to financial need. This is, doubtlessly, a normal part of the process of developing a status for women consistent with the political, social, and spiritual aspirations of our time. This full status, to be articulate, demands that women's influence be brought to bear on the direction society takes and on the enduring values toward which this direction is consciously bent. Women will, therefore, need to plan their lives so as to feel secure and fit in carrying out their mission in a wider scope of civic life while continuing to carry on family responsibilities.

The importance of family stability, not only for children but for the adults themselves is a matter of wide concern. Therefore, the dual or multiple role of women may make demands hitherto unprobed. The variety of services for family supplementation has grown in the past two decades. Some glaring omissions, such as homes for convalescent children of working mothers, seem far removed from the next steps in new projects. Whatever form the emerging status of women takes, a proper regard for the right nurture of young children will have to be assured.

YOUNG CHILDREN AND THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM .

The natural outgrowth of this awareness of the importance of group experience is already discernible in the demand for publicly supported nursery schools, permissive state aid for younger children, state certification for nursery-school teachers and in the attempt to get federal aid for schools which would include nursery schools. The reasons for publicly financed nursery schools have been clearly articulated. The beginnings now are in order. Again, the promise of growth in this need is tied up with the future economic affairs of our nation. Would that all parents, educators, and citizens always kept clearly in mind this relationship of the needs of children with our national economic outlook.

Fundamental issues are met as soon as consideration is given to a continuous and consistent program for children from the three-year-age level into elementary school. From observation of private schools with programs for children of two or three years of age through twelve or older, a dichotomy clearly marked between the *play* years and *formal learning* years is obvious. Part of this is the result of the break in emphasis at the five-year age of most of the research in the field of child development. Longitudinal research from birth through later years is costly and difficult to achieve. Research in the age period from six through twelve years has concerned itself chiefly with learning in the skills, especially in the field of learning to read. These differences may account for the sharp contrast in general point of view reflected in existing programs beginning with the young children and extending into grade school. It is hoped that the research needed in relation to this older age group will be carried on in the immediate future. Other striking differences between these two age groups include the ends for which programs are developed, the language with which the work is described, and, of course, teacher preparation. Therefore, as stated in a later chapter, much needs to be done to educate teachers, principals, and supervisors for a consistent, longitudinal understanding of the guidance of children.

Other adjustments, too, must be anticipated. Among the many impressive facts about trends in the guidance and care of young children, perhaps none is so striking as the fact that large, sweeping events of the country have had almost an immediate effect upon children and their home life as well as upon the institutions for young children. Part of this close relationship between the sociology of the times and young children could not have been averted. However, part of it arose out of the acceptance of the function of such institutions as day nurseries and child-care centers to plan and to carry out programs to fit the essential needs of children. Consequently there exists a minimum of lag between what the young child needs and what the institutions, according to their lights, do for him.

This responsive quality meets an abrupt difference as soon as one considers public and private school programs for older children. For years these systems have operated on schedules which remained fairly constant within a given locality and were also almost uniform throughout the nation. While in the nursery school the doors opened at the hour when the largest number of families would best be served, the doors of the public school open at "a stated time" for rural children, commuters' children, and early or late workers' children alike,

even in communities where considerable homogeneity of family schedule prevailed.

This example is typical of a condition which came into being over the hundred years our schools have developed. Its significance lies not within the specific desirableness or lack of it but rather in the general factor of remoteness from family-life needs and, therefore, children's needs which has resulted. During the war years a great dent was made in this remoteness when schools offered *extended services through before- and after-school programs* to provide supervision of school-age children before and after regular school hours while mothers were at work. The pervasive effect of such services will do much to ease the adjustment between the so-called *preschool* and the *school-age* groups.

The degree to which a forthright attempt is made by the lay and professional public to develop school programs for all the group-ready children depends upon the wider forces which challenge the interest and the aspirations of our land in these times. If we achieve a climate of security in enduring peace rather than continue the fear of atomic destruction, if we devise a far-reaching economic well-being rather than accept the threat of collapse, and if all other essential needs to daily living flow from such basic assurances, then human life will be viewed in its position of proper value and the children's day of appropriate care will follow.

CONCLUSION

The important issues of our time have their effects upon child life. The deep undercurrents of fear intensified by an atomic age, the growing uncertainties of work, the difficulty of meeting basic family needs, the panorama of mixed cultural ideas passing as if in review before our eyes—all these, sometimes subtly but rather surely, affect the well-being of children.

Major shifts in our national life may turn events in the direction of a more favorable outlook for meeting the essential needs of young children, or they may exert an influence in the opposite direction. The fact that young children develop with greater security if they spend their early years in a steady family life and in a stable neighborhood adds considerable weight to the widespread concern over the effects on the youngest children of the high mobility of life during the war years and first postwar years.

The succeeding chapters will add content to the major areas under consideration. The best this yearbook can do is to point the direction.

It is the hope that during these first postwar years progress will be gained toward a new educational outlook for young children through research and experience with programs and through broad social experimentation in the national and international process of living as neighbors in this new age.

CHAPTER III

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOCIAL SCENE FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN

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THE CHILD POPULATION TO BE EDUCATED

About two million babies are born in the United States each year. Education is concerned with the ways in which these children grow into the democratic society into which they are born, the ways in which the complexities of this society shape their individual personalities, and the difficulties or problems they encounter in becoming acceptable and happy members of this society. Education is also concerned with the question of whether the cultural experiences of the present will prepare the children to solve such problems of the future as the prevention of war, the elimination of interracial conflict, and the amelioration of physical and mental disorders produced by the strains of modern life.

Economic Factors in Child Development

While the standard of living of our children is favorable in comparison with that of children of many other nations, statistics show that before the war nearly two-thirds of the children in urban areas were living in families whose income was less than the equivalent of \$1,260 a year for a family of four, the minimum income needed for a "maintenance standard of living." Rural families, with lower incomes, have more children. As we shall see later, this probably does not mean deprivation with respect to the personality development of the child, thanks to the realism and richness of farm life, but it means educational and cultural deprivation in many of the poorer areas.

The decade of the thirties, with its prolonged depression, gave many millions of children the experience of living for a shorter or longer period in homes in which normal conditions of living could not be maintained. In the early months of 1934 eight million families, containing more than eleven million children, were receiving relief or wages from the public works program. Even late in 1940 approximately seven million children belonged in families that were receiving aid. In addition, many families that were trying to avoid being put on relief were getting along on even less than those who received relief. Translated into concepts of the values of adequate housing, play space and equipment, privacy, food, clothing, books, and educational stimulation at home, the conditions noted mean that a large number of children of this generation have made their start in inadequate environments. Translated into attitudes toward one's future, confidence regarding the place one can make for himself, the opportunity one may have to make a contribution, we should expect to find much doubt in the minds of young people who remember the depression which preceded the artificially exaggerated activity of the war years. We do not know to what extent depression inadequacies lie back of psychoneurotic failures in the war or of the eager response to the special opportunities offered by the war. We do know that inadequate schools in depressed areas result in lessened competence for the children who attend them.

The Problem of Minority Groups

About one-third of the children in our culture belong to minority groups. These include approximately 4,000,000 Negro children, over 1,000,000 Jewish children, 140,000 Indians, 15,000 Chinese, 56,000 Japanese, 600,000 Mexican children, and about 8,000,000 other children who were either born abroad or have foreign-born or mixed parents.

Social and psychological studies of these children are limited to a few excellent studies of Negroes and the familiar studies of racial prejudice. The experience of growing up as a member of a minority group, Jewish, Chinese, or Mexican, remains to be effectively documented. Studies are badly needed to show what lies back of tense interracial attitudes in some children and friendly co-operative feelings among others. There is evidence that some minority-group children are taught in their families to be suspicious or fearful of majority-group children, just as some majority-group children are taught to reject Jews, Negroes, or Mexicans. But some families in all social

groups and some schools teach respect for and understanding of children of different backgrounds.¹ That interracial attitudes are not solely the result of direct teaching is documented by studies illustrating how resentment and antagonism within families of a minority group can become attached to that minority group as a class. Psychological and economic factors underlying family insecurity lay a foundation for interracial conflict.

Other minority groups include 250,000 children in institutions for dependent children or in foster-family homes and some 23,000 children in state schools for delinquents. Some 365,000 children are crippled, and many of these have special problems of socialization. An unknown number of mentally subnormal and retarded children need training and special help in growing into the social world of their day. Studies reported from many sources, such as clinics and university centers as well as studies like Klineberg's (19), give evidence that dull children are often dull because of lack of wholesome mental and emotional stimulation. It is probable that we do not need to have as many dull children as we have, just as we are not predestined to have the number of delinquents which our society now produces. In particular, the evidence now seems very clear that institutional life during infancy and preschool years—in hospitals, orphanages, and the like—can be seriously retarding, so severe are the effects upon the intellectual and emotional development of the young child. We are not saying that this is *necessary*; several studies have shown that children who are retarded as a result of lack of stimulation can improve in a better environment. We do not know the exact overlapping of these groups, but there is no doubt that economic handicaps and minority-group membership overlap considerably and that the combination of the two often means marginal relation to the community, with consequent attenuation of constructive experience in the process of growing into the culture.

While we cannot interpolate all the points in the scale of cultural opportunities, we can get some idea of the range from the following comparison. In a suburban district in New York, children are growing up in a village of about 7,000 population in an area of one square mile. In this community, 68.3 per cent of the men and women over 25 years of age have had four years of high school; 82 per cent of the men have managerial, professional, or commercial jobs; and 27.4 per cent of the homes are owned by the occupants. The village supports

¹ Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, Bureau of Intercultural Relations. (In process of preparation.)

a school which provides training in sports, social dancing, art, music, and science as well as the usual elementary and secondary curriculum taught by experienced and exceptionally well-trained teachers. Four churches, active Boy Scout and Girl Scout programs, summer recreation school, and evening "open house" parties at the high school are part of the provision the community makes for young people. At the other end of the scale we might consider the Negro children studied by Charles Johnson (17) or by Dollard and Davis (6), some of whom were in schools taught by teachers who had not completed or had not even gone to high school and whose parents were comparably uneducated and lived where community facilities were woefully lacking. We need not, of course, go so far for this contrasting example. At a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the privileged community mentioned, we could find the Harlem and East Side sections of New York where children, crowded into small apartments, have often only the resources of the streets for out-of-school activities.

These contrasts have been noted in order to make clear that the pattern of socialization often taken for granted as typically or universally American—preschool years in a loving and comfortable home, followed by learning how "to be a good sport," "to take it on the chin," "to hold your own with the best," "to do your part" in a well-equipped school and neighborhood—is probably experienced by less than half of the children in our society.

Family Instability

Divorces, prolonged illness of one parent, or death, alcoholism, and emotional stress are hazards to family life which are by no means confined to economically insecure groups. In one upper middle-class group of one hundred and thirty nursery-school children, about 20 per cent had experienced a broken home for a period of six months or more before the age of five. In some cases the condition was due to prolonged illness, such as tuberculosis or a nervous breakdown; in others, to deaths or divorces. Where relatives can contribute a sense of protection and stability, such experiences may not greatly alter the smooth rhythm of the child's social maturing, but when a child is constantly uprooted and feels the ground to be shaky under his feet, character traits of withdrawal, scattered behavior and thinking, or aggression may mark his social development.

While general economic and social facts about society are easily accessible, their impact on children is little known. The presumably definitive and comprehensive *Manual of Child Psychology* (5), pub-

lished in the spring of 1946, shows how complete and shocking is the lack of data in respect to organized and substantial knowledge of the social scene as it impinges on the development of young children. Chapters on development of behavior, physical growth, maturation, learning, and mental growth proceed to their conclusions as if it made no difference at all what sort of culture or social scene provides the context for the child's physical and mental growth. Only when we look at Mead's summary of research on primitive children (23) do we realize how great is the need of comparable studies of cultural factors in the growth of our own children—in the development of basic physical skills, ways of thinking, emotional patterns, character, or potentialities as citizens of a democracy.

These earliest basic experiences may appear to be very remote from the concerns of teachers and other educators, but clinical and experimental data alike agree that the earliest learnings by muscles and nervous system go far toward establishing the direction of development of the personality. Now that we have been asked to write a chapter about an area in which there is almost no research we shall have to go ahead on the basis of the piecemeal material now available and project a hypothetical pattern of answers which will have to be verified by the research of others. We shall draw heavily on data from records at the Fels Research Institute, where Leah Levinger worked for three years, and from records at the Sarah Lawrence College Nursery School, conducted by Lois B. Murphy and co-workers.²

RURAL CHILDREN

One of the gravest deficiencies of existing child-development data, and especially of the data from clinical studies, is the neglect of the early experience of farm children who make up such a large proportion of our child population. Certain useful studies have been re-

²This material was gathered from two main sources. Mrs. Murphy's experience has been chiefly in Westchester County and New York City, in various research programs comprising middle-class and upper-middle nursery schools, war workers' day nurseries, and a Hebrew Nursery school. Miss Levinger's experience has been in southern Ohio at the Samuel S. Fels Research Institute, conducting a longitudinal, child-development study, with cases drawn from the surrounding cities, towns, villages, and rural districts representing a range of socioeconomic groups. While the Fels material has been freely drawn upon, the interpretations are those of the present authors, not of the Fels Institute. The bibliography does not attempt to give a definitive survey of all the relevant material that has come out during the last few years but to list those works which have the most immediate implication for this problem. The *Survey Graphic* has been rich in descriptive material for depression and war years.

ported of the moral attitudes of farm children from different religious environments, of the amount of time per day the farm mother spends with the child as compared with the urban mother, and of breast feeding in rural and urban groups, but we lack comprehensive, step-by-step pictures of the meaning of a farm environment for the growing child. Many of the generalizations made about children in America may be found invalid for farm children when we have a fuller knowledge of rural life. The research at Fels Institute offers a few suggestions, but data from prosperous or even marginal southern Ohio farms should not be applied to southern tenant farms, large western ranches, the changing world of the migratory fruit workers, or other subcultural divisions of rural America.

No one debates the premise that we live in a highly materialistic society where the making, ownership, and protection of "things" is of high importance. Children everywhere are expected to build and to "make something" even when they play in the mud. "I'll show you how to make a pie," the grown-up suggests to the two-year-old who is merely messing around instead of "doing something." "Respect for objects" is taught the child through the emphasis on order and on knowing that he must not touch certain objects. Thus, schools have placed a balancing emphasis on equipment which the child himself may handle. Very often in farm families, however, there is not the same proportional valuation put upon neatness and orderliness; the child's movements are inhibited more often because of danger. Inside the house the warnings are not against disarranging bric-a-brac but against being burned at the open stove. In the farm yard and barns the limitations are imposed in terms of the heavy, sharp tools, pitchforks, and threatening animals. The cause and effect of a child's activities are likely to be much clearer in the farm setting. If a city child leaves open a forbidden door, arbitrary punishment may follow. If a farm child leaves open a gate, he sees the young turkeys head for the highway, and this direct experience puts meaning into the punishment that follows. Inhibitions that stem from concrete things doubtless have a different meaning from those that stem from mere words spoken by people; not only are the "do's" and "do not's" much easier for the young child to grasp in the natural-consequence setting but it is likely that there is not the same kind of tension as that which comes from violating the arbitrary orders of older members of the family. The process of gaining clarity about objective dangers may stimulate more self-confidence than the process of constant yielding to adult demands.

Toilet training and sex education for farm and urban children is often such a different experience as to be noncomparable, with much more freedom of observation and less mystery or taboo on the farm.

Age and Status Relationships among Farm Children

Age and status appear to be more closely related for farm children. With the city child there is a series of recognized steps in the process of growing up, of which the sharpest is going to school; but there are also such stages as being big enough to cross streets alone and to stay out until later hours. For the young farm child there are much more varied and concrete bases of an awareness of what being "big" means, as when he sees the older children of the family going about their chores. While the goals are much clearer, there is at the same time less pressure toward them, less of the "when you know how to behave we'll let you" and more of the "you will when you're big enough." To reach the coveted maturity is an inevitable event beyond the child's control. As a rule, farm families make an abrupt transition from the "he's too little," when the child remains a house boy, to "he's big enough," at which time he is given both the run of the farm and the corresponding responsibilities. We know what a disturbing, even at times traumatic, experience the transition from preschool life to first grade can be. For farm children, when this is accompanied by a sudden change of status at home, it is likely to be an even more difficult experience to absorb. A comparative study of ages at which emotional problems appear might well be made; perhaps it would reveal that early school age is a relatively more difficult period for farm children because of this factor. However, it is equally possible that both the clarity and the cultural universality of this status change make for less rather than more severity, except in the deviate cases of physical or emotional immaturity.

Basic Early Experiences of Farm Children

In consideration of any of these factors it must be kept in mind that the weight of no one childhood experience can be measured without recognition of the weight of all the others. This is especially striking when we try to sort out the factors in the first fifteen months of the child's life. Among farm children early toilet training is often casual and delayed. Coupled with this is the farm families' usual attitude that the child is a little animal who is to be fed and let alone to grow, rather than to be stimulated and trained for specific skills. The combination of the pressure of farm work on the mother and the

physical dangers of the farm environment often mean that the baby is left far more on the sidelines. However, this relatively minor position of the baby is balanced by two highly important factors, the greater frequency of breast feeding and the more frequent participation of older children in his care and play. In regard to the former, studies of breast feeding (7) have shown the importance of this factor in the child's emotional development, and the fact of breast feeding up through the first year may more than compensate for the lack of other cuddling and stimulation. In regard to the latter, the larger family on the farm and the general lack of worry about germs and contamination may mean that the baby is much earlier socialized and initiated into the child world. The older children, not inhibited by commands of "wash your hands before touching the baby" and "don't get the baby too excited," are often more demonstrative in their affection toward the infant, while his relatively minor role in the family may often serve as a safeguard against the common sibling rivalry in urban families. It may be that these influences make later adjustments to group experiences easier for farm children.

Another characteristic of farm families is to accept each child as a unique being. Certain family stereotypes are common, with one child known as the "shy one," another as "the house boy," another as the "real farmer." These stereotypes are often set up at an early age, because of a real or fancied resemblance to some older cousin or other relative, and serve to exaggerate whatever real differences there are among the children. While in some cases they may result in cutting the child off from certain developments of which he is capable, they may also produce a kind of freedom. Since it is accepted without qualification that Dicky is the shy one, he is under no pressure to learn to behave correctly before strangers; and since Wayne is the "farm boy," his speech retardation brings forth no censure. The farm families tend to have much less need than the more sophisticated, urban families to produce "well-rounded" children, and because of these tolerance idiosyncracies, as long as the children fit recognizable stereotypes, individual differences seem to have much more leeway. Two important questions would have to be explored further before we could have any idea whether this early stereotyping is, as a whole, constructive or destructive in its effects on individual development: (1) Is each stereotype actually accepted with equal value by the parents? (2) What happens to the child who is placed in either an inaccurate or a limiting stereotype?

The Young Farm Child at School

Early entrance into school is infrequent for farm children and there is relatively little research on the way they respond to this situation. The Fels Institute maintains an observational school for both rural and urban children which the children attend for a period of one month twice yearly. While such a period does not yield fully comparable data for the two groups, certain suggestive group generalizations are possible. On first coming to school the young farm child is more at a loss than the urban child, partly because much of the physical setting is new to him. The indoor plumbing, a multitude of toys, and child-sized furniture are more often strange experiences for him, through which he has tentatively to feel his way. Further, although he may be more used to older children and babies, the large crowd of his own age is often too much for him. Some farm children, overwhelmed by the crowd, have been observed to withdraw into a corner for a longer period and with greater intensity of feeling than the average newcomer; others, especially those coming to school for the first time at the age of four or five, will be exceptionally assertive and overstimulated by their peers. In other children there is seldom such a sharp distinction between indoor and outdoor behavior during the first days at school. Whether the farm child is physically adept or not, he tends, in the greater space and familiarity of the playground, to be much freer than within the school building. A child who, indoors, will shrink back or reveal his confusion by running amuck may play outdoors with far more readiness and ease. The shift from home to school in terms of the social situation is also considerably greater for the farm child. More detailed studies will be necessary in order to see under what conditions the shift is most difficult and how much the early experiences discussed give the child the kind of basic security that carries him through this difficulty. The situation at Fels Institute did not permit consecutive attendance for two or three years so we do not know how long these differences would have remained in evidence.

Small-Town Children

A child from a middle-class home in a midwest town of 1,000 to 10,000 population grows up in a setting that is in some ways as dissimilar to an eastern suburban community of the same size as it is to a large city. Many of these differences first influence the child in the second year of life when he has acquired independent motility. Many of the same constraints impinge upon him as upon the eastern

suburban or city child; he is confined for long periods to the high chair, the potty, or the play pen; the house is filled with many objects that are "naughty" to touch. Except in the abnormally neat household, there usually are some free areas where the child is allowed to putter and mess or to explore. There may be a large porch where furniture and toys are piled in no particular order or a part of the yard that is not landscaped where the child can play as he wishes. Often in the learning period there is considerable confusion on the child's part as to which are the areas where he may do as he pleases, but once the distinction is made it is likely that he is better able to accept the restrictions within the house because of these free areas than is the child who lacks such places. The value of this lack of restriction must, of course, be seen in a context of other factors—whether, for example, the child is supervised or let alone here during his play and how much leeway he is allowed in getting dirty, tearing clothes, or breaking toys. These restrictions and taboos on handling things affect not only the child's attitude toward objects but his concept of himself and his feelings about his own impulses. Patterns of inhibited behavior, such as shyness and difficulty in handling objects or in contact experiences with people or compulsive patterns of behavior, may be related to these early taboos.

SOCIALIZATION IN YOUNG CHILDREN

Advocates of school for children under six have made a strong case for the importance of preschool group experience, since the present-day small family leaves the preschool child isolated without companions of his own age. However, this situation does not generally exist in small communities. When a small-town child is past three, or in some cases earlier, if he is exceptionally active or has an older sibling, he may become a member of the neighborhood group. The group is usually limited to the child's block, because of the street-crossing taboo, and it is a matter of luck whether it consists of one or of a dozen other children in the age group from three to six. Little study has been made of these preschool-age gangs, although they play an important role in the development of many children. Since preschool studies (26) have shown that greater opportunities for sympathetic behavior exist within mixed-age groups than in like-age groups, it is probable that within these informal groups some training in sympathy, helping, and sharing occurs. Further, while in even the "freest" school situation adult direction is an ever-present factor, roaming, random collecting, and aimless, repetitive play may have a much

larger place within these little gangs, thus laying the foundations for the private, inner societies of school-age children.

Achievement Pressures

Recent studies have laid great stress upon the premature pressures for achievement which either the school or the home places on the child. While there is ample evidence of this, it is important not to lose sight of another source of pressure, that from slightly older children. This pressure may come from siblings or from the preschool gang, especially as it interacts with school-age children, in communities where preschoolers are hangers-on to older groups. The striving of four- and five-year-olds to do things beyond their ability can often be traced directly to such causes. The pressure from other children has probably quite a different meaning for the child than the adult pressure. To understand this problem it will be necessary to distinguish between the various pressures which make children "competitive" by considering separately those motivations that are competitive in terms of a goal and those that arise simply from rivalry in terms of doing better than others. It is also desirable to distinguish those arising from the desire of the growing organism to gain new skills and powers as a part of its own self-actualization from those expressing the secondary desire of the child in our competitive culture to win approval by showing to the outside world what he can do in terms of their group objectives.

But even without exact knowledge, the recognition that by the time the child starts the first grade he recognizes certain goals and expectations which he has derived from the family, from slightly older children, and from his own desires should help the teachers to realize that neither they nor the parents are the only sources of achievement pressures.

Standards of Behavior

In describing their babies the Ohio mothers, perhaps like most other American mothers, frequently employ the term, "He's a good baby"—not meaning morally good but "good" in the sense of causing little trouble, being placid, a ready eater, a sound sleeper, and a non-crier. Many of the same standards of goodness apply to the toddler. We have discussed the severe training required to keep him "good," that is, nondestructive, obedient, not too mobile, not fussy or rude in the presence of strangers. Such standards of goodness are often counter to the child's own motor development. Another requirement

is that he should be "kind" and "thoughtful." As one parent put it, "I can't stand a mean or ungrateful child," a requirement which is premature in terms of the child's emotional and intellectual readiness to comprehend the feelings of others. But another difficulty exists from the child's point of view. He is expected to be good but not too good; that is, the desire for a good child tends to run counter to the desire for the kind of child one can proudly display before neighbors. If the child is too quiet and subdued, that characteristic becomes a liability in the situations where he is expected to show off before strangers. The "bashful" child is as unwanted as the "forward" one, and he may meet alternately the reproaches, "Will you pipe down!" and "Everyone talks but you, Jimmy." For a boy these ambiguities are particularly puzzling; he receives, along with the girl, intensive training against messiness and aggression, but, if it is fully effective and he becomes overtly meticulous or nonaggressive, then he is considered a "sissy" and fails to meet the requirements for a "real boy." The middle western stereotypes of proper sex roles and behavior extend down to the child of two, a fact that is too often forgotten in the nursery-school society where sex differences are minimized. Mead (24) has pointed out that the training of boys for a masculine pattern is in itself colored by the ambivalences of women who are in charge of the principal training; and this inconsistency of attitude is accentuated by the fact that the time of training for sex roles coincides with the time of training for conforming behavior that goes so counter to it.

Parental standards in some groups are influenced by developmental norms derived from medical and psychological books. We have already noted the high degree of tolerance that exists for individual differences within farm families where a child is accepted as "puny," "shy," or "coming along slowly" rather than being prodded to keep up with other children. This tolerance is not so characteristic of either college or noncollege subculture in an urban community. The difference between the college and noncollege group is in terms of what norms, and how many norms, they are concerned with and with what methods they use to bring the child up to these norms. The college-trained (and more sophisticated) parent tends to be concerned with the over-all development and wants an "advanced" and "adjusted" child in every area, while the noncollege (and less sophisticated) parent is concerned with the child's development only in certain delimited areas of speech, toilet training, and so on. The greater the degree of sophistication on the part of the families and the

greater their awareness of current psychological concepts of personality as a whole, the more pervasive will be the pressures on the child for acceleration. This is observable when mothers call for their children after school. More precise clinical data are needed on the effects of these differing acceleratory attitudes upon the child. We have ample evidence that early training for neatness can produce the desired results; but little is known about what happens to motor development or creative activity under acceleration. There is a possibility that a high degree of adult interest and stimulation in these areas may make the child feel that these pressures are part of the adult world rather than his own and so operate to stifle rather than to stimulate him. Good teachers of young children have always defended the child's right to satisfaction at his own level of development, and children need this defense as much as ever, especially in groups where parents are eager to have their children "advance" as rapidly as possible.

The influence of the Gesell (11) findings is widespread. Many parents who are not readers have been drawn into the fringes of the norm-conscious group through *Parents' Magazine* and other periodicals, newspaper articles, movie shorts, radio programs, or through conversation with their friends. However, the norms may be glibly memorized without much or any understanding of the range of normal variation. If "the book" says a certain behavioral item appears on the average of 15 months but with a range from 12 to 18 months, each mother expects her child to manifest the behavior at the stroke of 12, and the child's failure to manifest such behavior at 15 months, at the latest, is a source of alarm. Norms can be very useful where they lead to an acceptance of growth stages; they defeat their purpose when they are used to add fuel to the fires of competition.

Father's Relation to Young Child

The almost complete absence of the father from the child's early experiences is often lamented by observers of city children. It is, however, inadvisable to make generalizations on a national scale. Actual time spent in the father's presence is much greater in small midwest towns than in suburban-commuting families; in some cases the father comes home for lunch and in most cases is home for the child's evening. The time is even greater in farm families. The cultural stereotypes do not permit the father to have much share in the physical care of the child, but he is encouraged to participate in the child's play. In many homes the expected thing is for the mother to take care of the child and cuddle him and for the father to rough-house with

him, do things with him, make things for him. Even for a child under one year this is an important environmental factor and becomes increasingly so during the preschool years, probably more typically for boys than for girls. During gardening, while cleaning the car, or when puttering around the workshop, the young child is often permitted to be a spectator, and in the frequent cases where these activities are not done under pressure (as the mother's housekeeping often is) the three- or four-year-old may be allowed fuller participation with his father than with his mother.

Clinical studies have often pointed out the jealousy that exists on the father's part toward the relationship between mother and child; of perhaps equal importance is the jealousy that so frequently exists on the mother's part toward the relationship between the father and child. With the modern taboo against harsh physical punishment for young children, which has become accepted by a good portion of middle-class families, the father is seldom called in to administer punishment until the child reaches school age. Then, when the supreme threat, "Wait till I tell your father!" is employed, it falls upon a child who has in his past life known his father as the figure of uncontaminated fun and play, while the mother with her milder punishments has been the nagging and inhibiting figure as well as the nurturing one. In considering a child's later response to authority, this factor must be taken into account, and his interpersonal relationships must be seen in the light of his earlier experiences of parental rivalry for his affection.

Impacts of the War

The sudden influx of southern and other rural families into the industrial cities created severe dissensions. In letters to the local newspapers or in conversation these people were contemptuously dubbed "hill people" or "trailer-camp people," and everything from civic untidiness to delinquency was blamed on them. In a southern Ohio town a school principal remarked regretfully that their policy of race segregation meant that her white school had to take the newcomer's children and that "rightfully they belong with the colored; they're just as ignorant and unteachable." The school-age children of both the old residents and the newcomers were well aware of this chasm. While in some schools it resulted in organized fights, more often there was a simple exclusion policy. The group tension was less obvious for the preschool child. The Horowitz (13) studies have pointed out that the child's recognition and acceptance of Negro-White differences develop gradually and that for the child to learn to differentiate between

people of the same color is a more difficult process. The school-age children were quick in noting that the newcomers "talk funny" and accepted the adult generalization that they were dirty or bad. The younger children made sporadic attempts to follow along in this discrimination but did so only with considerable confusion. The confusion was increased because the taboos were not consistent. One could play with a southern child in the street but could not bring him home or could play with him in one's own yard but not go over to his because of the danger of "catching something."

To date, no comprehensive studies have been published on the problem of the increased interracial tension during the war as it affects the young child, nor do we have any way of estimating how widespread the impact has been or how deep will be the effect. Some work on Japanese children in a relocation center and in a western town emphasizes the wide variations in the effects of war on the anxiety, aggressiveness, and family-centeredness of different children.

One of the greatest changes in American life during the war was the change in the role of women with the huge number entering industry. While only a comparatively small number entered the armed forces, the amount of publicity they received accentuated the idea that women were sharing men's work. With this change in the adult world, it would be worth knowing how much the sex-role identification of little girls was affected, as revealed by their play and their expressed expectations for the future. For this purpose it would be necessary to have precise data from nursery schools whose populations were heavily drawn from the war workers. In the groups observed in the midwest only a fraction came from such families, and for this group it was striking how little the changes in adult life affected the girls. The traditional "house" play continued, where the father went to work and the mother stayed home to take care of the babies and to keep house. In several years of nursery school observation no instances have been noted of girls playing a game of going off to work.

Another change brought by the war was the altered character of the family group, where families had to "double up" or where the mother and young children went to live with the grandparents when the father entered the army. For some children the grandmother assumed even greater importance when the mother went to visit the father in camp, leaving the children in her care. Small-sample clinical studies have shown both the desirable and undesirable role of the grandmother in early childhood experience. Increased role of the grandmother points the need of further studies. How much, for ex-

ample, in middle-class families, has the grandmother's influence served to counteract the parent-education movement? Or to what extent has it brought about some basic confusions and inconsistencies in the child's life as he was reared under two sets of codes, either simultaneously or at alternate times? Grandmothers have expressed the feeling of helplessness, "I could make him mind, the way I made my own children, but she says that's the wrong thing to do." What does it mean for the young child to be under the care of an adult who is uncertain as to what method to use? It seems probable that some of the uncertainty would deeply affect the child and that his doubts of the stability of adult authority and his sensitivity to ambiguities might carry over to school life.

Radio, Movies and Comics

Research on the effects of radio, movies, and comics has been largely confined to older children who can be shown to have larger vocabularies as a result of these contemporary influences, to be stimulated to delinquent behavior, or to derive important release from emotional conflicts. For younger children we can only refer to common observation of children learning to read through the stimulus of the comics, being lulled to sleep by the radio, and being subjected to questionable types of emotional stimulation at the movies. Anxious parents and teachers who think all comics and all radio programs are concerned with gangsters overlook the universal satisfactions of animal stories, family experiences, or adventure stories that make up a large proportion of both, as well as the amount of interesting and important information which children pick up. The problem for parents and teachers alike is one of selection and enjoyment with the children of comics, radio programs, and movies adapted to the age level of the child. For the average child who enjoys both active undertakings of his own devising and the passive interest which accompanies radio entertainment, there is little harm and much that is sound for the child. In a few instances where children rely on ready-made stimulation to the exclusion of play or constructive exercises, they may postpone an effort to cope with reality.

Urban and Suburban Patterns

Back of these patterns which reflect the currently changing social scene are others of more stability for our culture, some of which are also important in shaping the pattern of development of American children. For example, the reactions of young children to American

ways of idolizing the baby may be affected by the fact that we live in a culture fairly well educated to contraceptives. At least, it is clear that this fact has emphasized the importance of the question whether the child was wanted, planned for, and joyously accepted or was an accident and a cause of annoyance and frustration at the start. Our society forbids infanticide but cannot prevent the early distortions recorded in the literature of social work as characteristic of the personality of some unwanted or rejected children. Where children are an economic asset, as when they provide hands to work the farm, they are guaranteed a kind of acceptance which the child of the slums, an economic liability rather than asset, cannot always enjoy. Many city children live in box-like apartments or houses with little or no land, trees, or gardens. Many of them have no pets or experiences with animals, no direct contact with the economic world in which fathers and mothers make a living and from which food, clothes, and home equipment come by unknown paths.

The limited space of the city affects the child's early motor development; he often spends long periods of time in crib, playpen, or carriage. The baby carriage is a vehicle which stimulates the child in a gently soothing way, accustoming him from the beginning to rhythmic motion and inducing sensory satisfaction of a passive sort. It permits easy vision of the surrounding world, the child being pushed by the mother so that he does not see her but looks at the world in front of him; and if his mother gives him his airing while she does her shopping, this world consists of other children with their mothers out shopping and with the walls and shop windows of the stores or with the streets or park roads along the way. Children who are visually excited often clamor to get out of their carriages to crawl or toddle around so they can explore for themselves. Despite the necessity for much confinement, each stage of motor development—sitting, standing, walking—is greeted with much praise and enthusiasm by adults. Many babies get satisfaction and great stimulus to motor achievement at the same time that they are frustrated in basic physiological ways—by abrupt or too early weaning, by overrigid training schedules which attempt to force toilet-training regardless of the child's own rhythm and readiness.

Even more confining than carriages and even more detached from their mothers are the playpens and kiddie-coop cribs in which children are kept safe from dangerous objects. Energetic one-year-olds have been known to break the bars of the playpen "cage" and get out by their own efforts; and almost any child makes attempts to get free

as soon as his skill permits. The important points here are the various experiences of visual contact with the world, being inclosed and limited in motor activity, being protected from discovering danger by trial and error, being restricted to the small amount of contact with the mother's body as compared to the babies described by Mead (24) and other students of primitive society.

The stimulus to become acquainted with the outside world visually, as against early weaning from the mother's body and frequent experience of prolonged confinement, may be related to the preschool child's pleasure in motor skills, to his desire to escape from the fence surrounding his preschool play yard, and to his "extroverted" attitude of interest in materials and the world outside himself. It is possible that excessively early weaning from the mother's body may also involve strain, if not shock, and be related to the anxiety that the child feels at the further separation involved in being left at the school.

Many children with backgrounds like this grow up to be very normal, according to our cultural standards, but some may be withdrawn and even retarded. We have records of numerous instances where children who have been excessively confined to cribs, buggies, or playpens, with the result that they have received an inadequate amount of visual, motor, or social stimulation, have actually failed to develop adequately. It is possible that these experiences of excessive confinement are most damaging when they are only one aspect of a total experience of neglect, such as lack of affectionate and reciprocal relationship during infancy with a responsive mother or nurse. This seems especially likely since normal children have often had long periods of confinement alternated with affectionate and gay, stimulating care by the mother or nurse. The significance for preschool education is that children of fairly normal parents should not be labeled defective or hopelessly retarded without a careful analysis of the details of the cultural situation to determine how barren or how stimulating it was.

The fact that babies are left alone and in confinement so much of the time in our culture may be related to their continuing need for passive sensory satisfactions of a variety of sorts, just as thumb-sucking is a specific need which probably results from the practice of early weaning and of bottle-feeding with its inadequate sucking time. Swings and slides, are characteristic favorites in our culture, prolonging some aspects of the passive sensory stimulation started by the rocking of the baby carriage. We are not suggesting that there is anything undesirable in this, although it may be related to future

passive satisfiers, such as the radio and the movies. In general, achievement or construction is "work," related to adulthood, while "fun" consists of relaxation, infantile passivities, and sensory satisfactions which are enjoyed with little or no effort. On the other hand, some aspects of preschool education, with or without an explicit analysis of the cultural trend, encourage the regarding of construction and creation as fun, not just work, or as work which is fun.

Backgrounds of Aggressiveness

Preschool children themselves give us a picture of cultural experiences as felt by them through their use of toys and play. Plenty of research has established the frequency of negativism with a peak at two and one-half or three years and of aggressive behavior increasing up to age four in the nursery schools in which it has been studied. The child's side of the picture, through play technique sessions, shows retaliative attitudes toward adult authority, along with anxiety or rivalry toward younger siblings. Isaacs (16) has analyzed some of the sources of aggression on the basis of her English data, but we need to have comparable material from other cultures in order to evaluate both the American and English pictures.

For America we can suggest the following: babies are rather commonly glamorized, adored, welcomed, and fussed over, the more so in families which expect only one or two, in which each one is a triumphant achievement, often realized only after years of waiting. Each item of normal development from smiling to walking is greeted with excitement and an appreciation which builds the infant's ego and gives him a strong sense of his importance and central position in the family. The specific encouragement of motor achievement stimulates his extroverted, outgoing impulses with an effect that often lasts a lifetime. At the same time it encourages him to expect that his world is an oyster to open for his own delectation; and when he starts that "into-onto-under" exploring that goes with motor security at two years, he is hardly prepared for the avalanche of "no's" which descends upon him. He has every right to expect that he will be allowed to use his arms and legs, now that they can really do things. But everything he attempts, as he now undertakes to do the things he has watched others do from his playpen, crib, or carriage—put things into drawers, take them out, take things off tables—is forbidden. In many families the number of "no's" is many times as great as the number of sharing, agreeing, and approving comments on the actions of young children. It does not need a very elaborate frustration-aggression hypoth-

esis to visualize the feelings of the child who is exposed to this sequence or to guess why the peak of negativism and aggression or "brattishness" develops. When we add to this the child's normal need to get facts straight in this complex world and the adult's frequent annoyance with the child's persistent questions, we see that many children are exposed to frustration in the verbal area equal to that appearing in the motor area.

There are many different patterns of child response to basic culture. These are the result of the enormous variations in maternal feeling toward children, the ease with which different mothers can give a child physical contact and security as well as social and verbal companionship, the degree of tenseness with which the early motor explorations are shaped by the prohibiting mother, and the degree of urgency of the individual child himself. Children are very likely to resort to self and bodily satisfactions in this period of frequent prohibitions and disapprovals, and the frequency of body play in preschool children may be not so much an expression of "normal" curiosity as the effort of a child with strong drives to find substitutes where so many prohibitions exist.

The struggle with authority has its roots in the basic sequences of our methods of adult handling of children and appears as a backdrop against which individual variations in aggressiveness, autoeroticism, or withdrawal, can be seen.

Early School Experience

School in this context appears as a situation affording opportunities for varied types of active and passive motor experience, extending the patterns of satisfaction and achievement built into the infant before he comes to school: a situation containing numerous sibling-substitutes on whom he may project much of the feeling accumulated in his own home-sibling situation; a situation containing, instead of one adult with whom he is intimately concerned, one or more adults, more neutral in feeling though clear in their authoritarian role, in relation to whom he can work out his feelings about authority. His earlier needs for sensory satisfaction have sometimes been neglected but now are increasingly allowed for in the provision of finger-paints, clay, mud, and other materials.

School also becomes a place in which there is an opportunity to correct some of the distortions which may have developed from excessively rigid feeding and toilet-training, excessively cold or excessively sentimental handling by mothers, and excessive competition with a sibling.

We do not have enough comparisons of nursery-school with non-nursery-school children to know to what extent early school life itself presents more problems to many children than they can handle. The high incidence of aggressive behavior in the early school period may be very threatening to some children who might have developed more serenely in a less hectic atmosphere. While some schools do extend the child's resources beyond those of the average home, they also remove certain types of experience: sitting on laps, enjoying the undivided attention of one devoted adult, exploring the fascinating newnesses and variations of culinary processes in the kitchen or the day-to-day happenings in the neighborhood. They may thus tend to limit the child emotionally and to stereotype his development more than we have admitted. Granted the security of the familiar, it is not in any sense proven that exposure to standard materials (such as blocks, five days a week, with an opportunity to make innumerable variations on the general theme of station, tracks, and skyscrapers) is the most constructive experience for the child of kindergarten age. An extension of materials the child handles to include some variety in textures, colors, and degrees of mobility would do no harm and might be a very important advantage, especially to children of superior potentialities.

The parents' attitude is sometimes confused about school. They are uncertain whether to regard the teacher as a glorified nursemaid and the school's routines as mere rituals to keep the children amused or whether to think of the teacher as an "expert" and the routines as models which they as parents should try to emulate. As increasing numbers of children under six attend school, further investigation will be needed to ascertain the parental attitudes in different cultural groups and to learn how they affect the child's school experience. Meanwhile, it is important for teachers to be sensitive to childhood confusions which are due to conflicts between rules and freedoms of the home and those at school. These are confusions which can be greatly decreased if the teacher will help the child to accept the differences.

ASSUMPTIONS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Schools themselves are generally well aware of the fact that groups for young children meet a need in a culture in which families are small, where there are few child-centered homes or homes even partially equipped for children, and where the lack of materials and of other children means a lack of normal outlet for activity and emotional needs at the "puppy" stage where tumbling, chasing, "bopping," pulling, and pushing are natural.

They are also well aware that the increase in life expectancy, the use of contraceptives, the decrease in birth rate among middle and upper classes mean less experiences with children on the part of mothers, many of whom come to the major task of their lives without preparatory orientation and with little accessible guidance. Schools for very young children have been close to parent education, even to the extent of using books with titles like *Parents and Children Go to School*, with the implication that the school is not only a place for the child to have an opportunity for experiences he needs but also a place for mothers to learn what children need, how they can be handled, and what to expect of normal children. It is sometimes also recognized that, in a culture which has increasingly emphasized objectivity and scientific procedures and which is often dominated by very detached experts, mothers themselves need emotional education, need actually to learn how to love young children and to be spontaneous and understanding with them. They learn to recognize that their own fears for the child may be projected in overprotection or other tension and to understand their irritations and resentment of the child's nuisance tactics.

Actually, much as this philosophy makes sense, it is founded on a variety of assumptions which have, for the most part, gone untested by research of any sort. For example, there is very little evidence that "love" in the romantic sense in which our western civilization uses the term is indispensable to healthy childhood growth, granted that something which might be called "belonging to a group" and probably close, warm contact are characteristic of wholesome development in any culture.

Hartoch has defined three groups of children seen in a day nursery for children of working mothers—loved, unloved, and pseudo-loved. She finds that, among the unloved children, some may become very disorganized and hostile but that others may satisfy their drives in strong relations with the world of nature, a real independence which the loved children may not attain. "Pseudo-loved" children have the hardest time to develop a strong inner self. We do not know whether the difficulties children experience from too much moving are really the result of the place-changes or the result of the disturbed feelings of the adults who are irritable over so many changes. For the time being, the best we can do is to go ahead, shaping our educational patterns to the guesses we can make, but it is important that most of our assumptions be tested as rapidly as possible.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOCIAL SCENE FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION ²

Especially because of wartime and postwar instabilities and crowded living, young children need certain things which have always been emphasized: a dependable pattern of life which will give them a chance to know what comes next and to feel at home with places, people, and routines; equipment and activities suited to their growing legs, their need to build and to make believe; a design for living suited to their rhythms of playing, resting, eating, and eliminating. In addition, education for young children often needs to make more room for the following:

Richer Experiences. City children, as we have said, living in confined apartments need to see, feel, and touch grass, animals, and flowers. Watching a turtle creep across a table can elicit delighted squeals from the children. A sweet-potato plant, putting out more and more leaves, is enthralling. Even a walk in a city park is important to the children.

For the past several years some parents, especially fathers, have found it difficult to take vacations with their children, and the very young children need leisurely, explorative trips that may or may not have "educational value" in the school sense. Older children, from the age of four on, also need varied opportunities to become acquainted with the world in which they live. Trips to grocery stores, dairies, buildings under construction, ferries, docks, railroad stations, freight yards, lumber yards, fire and police stations, chicken or dairy farms, as well as zoo, park, brook, or lake help to expand their experience. Young children generally like to go back to the same place repeatedly—one trip is not enough. Trips are apt to be most successful when arrangements are made ahead of time with the adults who are to explain how things work. Often such trips mean happy experiences with kind, interested adults who are happy to have the contact with small children. Trips are important for farm children as well as town children. The farm children need especially to visit the school which they will later attend and the stores and other buildings in the town where their future school is located.

Contacts with Children of Different Ages. In small urban communities the only child or the child of a small family can find playmates of various ages on the "block." In the larger cities children of the lower-income groups play unsupervised on the busy city streets all day—very often subject to aggression from older, "tougher kids"

² We are indebted to many preschool workers, especially Mary H. Frank, for help on these suggestions.

but, nevertheless, getting their play patterns and language from older children. The child from a middle-class home who comes to school may be a child who has had no contact with other children. He goes home very often with a nurse or maid, if his mother is working, to play alone in his own room with only the companionship of the adult who may be busy preparing his five o'clock supper.

It would be a good thing to let these children have more and easier access to other and younger groups—not just a short visit but a morning of play in a “family group” made up of children of different age groups. This would also break down the sometimes awful barrier of the yard, roof, or schoolroom—making it a larger world which the child can explore. Many children spend a great deal of time looking over the fence at the other group, and some rebel at not being allowed to open the gate to the next yard. It might be very valuable to let them explore all the corners of their world when the confined spaces at home are made small and more rigid with prohibitions on the living room, mother's room, and other areas.

Flexibility in Routines. Many parents these days are anxious about toilet-training, regular meals, daily sunshine, and so on. This has meant pretty stiff routines where the child is trotted to the bathroom or to the table where he performs or doesn't perform, according to the degree of passivity or activity with which he accepts the routine. Very often it has been observed in school that the child who stays dry all day and who avoids soiling his hands or clothing in play will balk at the ten o'clock bathroom routine and say, “I don't need to” or “I can wash my hands myself.” Perhaps these children need to feel that they have some autonomous control over their own bodies. Such children respond with almost noticeable gratitude to such answers as, “Well, you tell me when you *need* to go to the bathroom and we'll go” or “When you're ready, you could wash your hands for dinner.”

Dr. Milton Senn and Dr. Benjamin Spock have also advocated similar flexibility regarding eating and sleeping where the needs, even of children of the same age, vary widely. The body itself can go far in determining its own needs. Forced eating and forced sleeping often lead to resistance to food and rest or to bad habits.

An accepting attitude toward each child's physical and emotional needs, his growth patterns, and his personality are first steps toward putting him at ease, relieving tension, and helping him to grow.

Farm Children. Children of rural areas, who have had rich experiences with animals, digging, exploring, and the like, may still have had little or no contact with other children, little or no use of wheel

toys and other large equipment for children. A "circulating library" of toys and equipment loaned for specific periods to each farm home might help the farm child to feel less strange and unpractised in town arts when he later comes to school with town children. Farm mothers might, with a little help from a county educational consultant, arrange to alternate responsibility for a small group of children. It would take only four to six mothers, each giving one morning or afternoon a week in rotation, to provide several periods of group experience per week. This would help many children to feel less strange in the larger group life of school later on.

Spontaneity. We would like to stress over and over again that, in all the activities of the school, the teacher should recognize the importance of doing what the child enjoys most or wants to do now, doing it for the moment and for the sheer joy of that moment. Children all over the country have felt the tension of war. "Don't take too much butter, it's hard to get," "Don't annoy that soldier who is sleeping in the seat across the way," "Don't bother me now, I'm trying to get a little rest"—all are things that make a child feel frustrated because they are meaningless to him at a time when he wants to explore. He ought to be able to mess with water, clay, and mud—not just keep it on a clean board. He needs to smear paint on the floor, to play silly games and to giggle, to make tents out of the blankets, to use the table for boats, or to make soup out of his ice cream without being told that "it isn't the thing to do."

Adults Who Are Human. During the war years when so many mothers were working, young children often had too little affection, too little mother-child cuddling, too little conversation and play. Some children need this from teachers, even in the first grade, and giving it to those who need it seldom creates any problem for those who do not need it.

Mothers of many children are baffled by their own performance in that they try to be calm and unruffled with their children, that they try to hide anger and upset, and that sometimes they just can't help themselves and "let out" at the child. Indeed, the child must be even more baffled when he expects serenity and gets a spanking or expects anger and gets the response, "We really need a rest now." It is important to be steady and mature with the child, but it is important also to let him feel that you are a person with emotion and response, that some days you are cross or tired, that the teacher, too, has feelings. He is a sensitive observer, and we can't be sure that he isn't irritated by a constantly serene teacher who is as placid when he bites his neighbor as when he is sleeping. Of course, a mature adult will not

direct her violent temper toward a child, but she cannot face a child all day with an unruffled exterior without creating the same tensions which pseudo-love and lack of love must create.

Men. Unfortunately, during the war years many children have been temporarily or permanently deprived of associations with their fathers. This needed contact with a man should be provided for through a substitute, such as a grandfather, a big brother, or a high-school or a grade-school boy who likes children. If teachers can accept the minor disruptions of routines caused by the presence of people unfamiliar with their schools, they will find enormous compensation in the good experiences which boys and men can give young children.

Release and Control of Aggression. The irregularities of life, lack of affection, and frustration of wartime and postwar living may leave young children with accumulated tension which comes out in hitting, biting, getting mad too easily, or other forms of "aggression." All the things mentioned above should help to relieve this tension. In general, the more satisfactions the child has the less he will feel the need for aggressive outbursts. But some children need special help—explicit friendly reminders of limits, such as "You can't play with the group if you hit or bite"—and varied opportunities for release. Clay to mold, cardboard or heavy paper to cut, a workbench for sawing and pounding, a linoleum-walled smearing-room where finger paint or cold cream can even be thrown at the wall, miniature life toys with which one can play out one's feelings of rebellion and hate against grown-ups, all these can give legitimate release to the child with "mean feelings bottled up inside." Coupled with special responsibility, special appreciation for good days or a good play time, release can be a first step toward happier adjustment to the group.

Time To Be Alone. Children who are slow to make use of the materials and to associate with other children in the group may need opportunities to play alone in a quiet room or in a protected corner of the playroom.

Special Help. Children with severe problems which do not respond to nursery-school life within a few months may need psychiatric help, for which parents generally have to be prepared by slow stages, except in the rare cases where they are clearly aware of the child's problem and understand how a child psychiatrist can help.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

Teachers are usually the first to recognize that their efforts are of little avail unless they are supported by community interest. Parents

and teachers will multiply the returns from their efforts if they work on the social scene as well as with the child. Community responsibility for the care of young children, giving special consideration to dependents and children of working mothers, and for recreational facilities and guidance, giving special consideration to delinquent areas, is a tangible and readily attainable goal. Preparation of parents for care of young children can well begin in elementary school, giving all growing young people a chance to understand gradually the needs of little children and infants. Opportunities to play with or to be cared for by older boys are often excellent father-substitutes.

Early school foundations for friendly interracial attitudes will be more enduring in a community where equality of work, of housing, and of social opportunities is a reality.

Basic to these and other aspects of the development of the child is the fundamental quality of human relations in the community in which he grows up. A child, physically and emotionally satisfied in infancy, realistically and affectionately introduced to the necessary conformities of social life, having plenty of opportunity for normal, childlike exploration and activity, growing in a world where friendliness toward people of other groups is general, is not likely to be delinquent, dull, or hostile. The prescription is simple, yet it involves basic thinking and planning in relation to almost every phase of our culture—the kinds of apartments, houses, and yards we live in; the time-schedules we obey; the relative values put upon family living and fun as compared to achievement, salaries, or social climbing; and our willingness to give young children what they need instead of being too concerned about saving money.

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CHAPTER IV

RECENT HISTORY AND PRESENT STATUS OF EDUCATION FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

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PROGRESS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN RECENT DECADES Numerical Growth in School Programs

Now and then, in the complicated affairs of men, the factors in a situation arrange themselves in such a way as to accelerate the development of some service or institution so that it makes a generation's normal growth in a few short years. This has happened in the development of educational services for young children over the past dozen years. Nursery schools had a slow start, and a relatively late start, in this country. Available records show only three nursery schools in existence by 1920; twenty-five had been established by 1924, one of them in a public school.¹ During the next few years colleges and universities pioneered in nursery schools for laboratory purposes and numbers of private schools were begun. By 1928² there were reports from eighty-nine nursery schools, seventeen of them in public schools. In all, they served approximately 2,000 children. By 1930 the number of nursery schools reporting to the Office of Education trebled, the increase coming mostly in college and university laboratories and in private schools.³

¹ Mary Dabney Davis, *Nursery Schools: Their Development and Current Practices in the United States*, p. 25. United States Office of Education Bulletin No. 9, 1932. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933.

² Mary Dabney Davis, *Kindergarten-Primary Education*, p. 40. United States Office of Education Bulletin No. 30, 1940. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930.

³ Mary Dabney Davis, *Schools for Children under Six*. United States Office of Education Bulletin. (In process of preparation).

This slow but steady development might have continued its snail-like pace if social and economic conditions had continued the same. A degree of popular interest had developed in educational provisions for young children of two, three, and four years of age which justified the establishment of private nursery schools. Furthermore, the broadened programs in homemaking education were providing child-study courses with observation and participation in nursery-school laboratories as an accepted part of such study. Provisions for young children in public schools, however, were not increasing noticeably. Even kindergartens slowed their pace soon after 1930, after sixty years of gaining acceptance as a public school service. To be sure, they had grown rapidly, from an enrolment of 15,000 in 1888 to 130,000 in 1900, to 725,000 in 1930. Then the gains ceased, and by 1934 the enrolment had dropped to 600,000. Depression years took a heavy toll of both public and private kindergartens.

But these same depression years, together with the war period following them, brought about two major changes: First, through the federally supported relief program in which unemployed adults were given work in nursery schools for the children of needy and unemployed parents, the attention of the general public was first drawn to the desirability of school services for children below kindergarten age. Second, since these nursery schools were established by administrative order "under the control of the public school systems," the public came rather quickly to accept and feel pride in the fact that the public school could and should provide for children of all ages.

A decade later the wartime program of federally aided nursery schools served to broaden the acceptance of these two principles. Here again an upheaval in our national economy, this time war-induced, called for workers to man the production lines. So great was the need that women by the thousands left their homes and joined the labor force. Extended school services for the children of these workers, both for the young children and for those of school age, were necessary to secure and keep these workers. Thus, again, a national economic emergency furthered the extension of school services for children of two, three, four, and even five years of age.

The numbers so served have been impressive. More than 1,900 emergency nursery schools were reported to the Works Progress Administration in 1934-35, enrolling approximately 75,000 children.⁴ With improvement in the general economic situation, the number of

⁴*Emergency Nursery Schools during the Second year, 1934-35.* Report prepared and published by the National Advisory Committee on Emergency Nursery Schools.

centers and the enrolments decreased until, in 1942, there were 944 nursery schools remaining, with an enrolment of 38,735. Since the program plans of the extended school services were already under way, many of these remaining emergency schools became the nucleus of the program for the new child-care center established for the children of war workers. In October, 1943, there were 1,180 nursery-school centers, enrolling 32,409 children. By March, 1945, the number had increased to 1,481, with an enrolment of 51,229, and there were 18,150 other nursery-school children in centers which included both preschool and school-age children. From this point on, centers closed out, gradually, at first, and then rapidly up to March, 1946, the date of withdrawal of federal funds.

A situation conducive to such rapid development of a relatively new program naturally encouraged and accelerated the rate of growth in institutions of older status. Other types of nursery schools increased to a reported total of 965, as shown in Table I.

TABLE I.—NUMBER OF NURSERY SCHOOLS, 1923-1945

Type of Nursery School	1928	1930	1936	1942	1945
Original types	89 ^a	203 ^b	285 ^b	965 ^b	.....
Emergency W.P.A.....	.....	.....	1,900 ^c	944 ^d	.....
Extended School Services .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,481 ^e

^a Davis, *op. cit.*, Bulletin No. 30, 1930, p. 40.

^b Davis, *Schools for Children under Six, op. cit.* The number given for 1942 includes kindergartens in those private schools in which nursery schools and kindergartens are frequently overlapping or indistinguishable.

^c *Emergency Nursery Schools during the Second Year, 1934-35, op. cit.*

^d Davis, *Schools for Children under Six, op. cit.*

^e Hearings before Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, 1st Session on H.R. 8187 and H.R. 8278, p. 9.

Similar gains were made by public kindergartens which reversed the trend and gained a hundred thousand in enrolment from 1934 to 1944, almost reaching the high point they had achieved in 1930, as shown in Table II.

TABLE II.—KINDERGARTEN ENROLMENTS, 1888 TO 1944^a

Type of Kindergarten	1888	1900	1930	1934	1940	1944
Public	15,145	131,657	723,443	601,775	594,647	700,377 ^b
Private	16,082	93,737	54,456	37,506 ^c	50,621	.....
Total.....	31,227	225,394	777,899	639,281	645,268	.....

^a United States Office of Education, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1939-40*. Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938-40. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942.

^b Estimate, from *Statistics of State School Systems, 1943-44*. United States Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1943-44. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946.

^c United States Office of Education, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1932-34*. Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1932-34. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937.

Altogether the two emergency periods, with their inevitable strains on children, had, nevertheless, dramatized their needs and required an extension of services for them beyond what might have been expected under normal circumstances.

Legal Status of Educational Services for Young Children

State Laws. The war years, particularly, saw major changes in state legislation relating to the provisions of schools for young children. During the years 1942 to 1945, sixteen states lowered or adjusted the school-admission age to provide for children below six; thirteen states passed permissive laws for the establishment of nursery schools, four of them for the emergency only; ten states gave authority to local school districts to use their local funds for nursery schools; nine states authorized the use of state funds for kindergartens and one additional state authorized the use of state funds for supervision of kindergartens; five states provided state funds for emergency "child-care programs," that is, for children 2 to 14 years of age; thirteen states authorized the acceptance of federal funds, usually with specific child-care programs in mind.⁵ Probably no similar period had ever seen so much legislative action related to schools for young children.

There is frequently a sort of progression in the action taken by states over a period of years. First, the state gives local districts authority to establish kindergartens, and usually to use their own local funds to support them (all but one state have done this); second, the state authorizes local districts to use state funds for kindergartens (twenty-nine states have done this); third, the state authorizes local districts to establish nursery schools and to use their own local funds for them (ten states have done this); and fourth, the state authorizes local districts to use state funds for nursery schools or other similar programs for children below kindergarten age (six states have done this).

In addition, states may, and frequently do, establish standards or locate authority for the establishment of standards. Such standards usually relate to qualifications of teachers, either by providing specifically for teachers of kindergarten and nursery school (eight states provide certification for nursery-school teachers) or by including them under general certification provisions. In a number of states the health or welfare department is authorized to establish standards of

⁵ "State Legislative Action for Young Children," *School Life*, XXVIII (January, 1946), 30.

safety, sanitation, and the like. One other step, which so far has been taken by only three states, is that of requiring state registration of private schools for young children. New York has had such a law since 1939; Louisiana's board of education adopted a plan for accrediting private kindergartens and nursery schools in 1945 which enables these schools to be approved under state standards and registered by the state department of education; New Jersey passed a law in 1946 requiring every private nonsectarian child-care center, day nursery, nursery school, and boarding school in which tuition is charged to secure a certificate of approval before July 1, 1947, from the commissioner of education.

Federal Legislation. With the termination of grants by the Federal Works Agency in March, 1946, no federal agency had funds to allot for such services. Federal aid for schools for young children has been the object of numerous bills over a long period. The Pepper Bill, to provide federal funds to encourage the establishment of kindergartens, first introduced in June, 1942, has been reintroduced in successive sessions of Congress. More recently federal aid was sought for child-care centers during the war period through the Thomas Bill, introduced in May, 1943. Its purpose was to provide funds in an orderly way through state departments of education and welfare—for the development of extended school services (including nursery schools) through education agencies and for other types of child-care services through welfare agencies. As the withdrawal of federal aid was announced in the fall of 1945, the Doyle Bill was introduced to meet the immediate emergency, caused by the closing of the war-time child-care services, by channeling funds to state educational and welfare agencies. None of these bills has been passed. General federal-aid bills have sometimes specifically mentioned kindergartens and nursery schools as services for which federal funds could be spent if the bills were passed. At other times they have not been mentioned, but it has been assumed that states and local school systems would be at liberty to spend their federal allotments for any educational services for which they could use their own funds.

In this field, as in other separate aspects of education, the question arises as to whether "general aid" or "specific aid" is more apt to be granted and as to which would be better if granted. There are persons who feel that the educational welfare of the nation's young children is so important, and still in the developmental stage, that it should be guaranteed generously and quickly by federal grants for nursery schools and kindergartens—that we cannot run the risk of

states and local communities not having the necessary funds for this relatively new service. There are other persons who feel that the principle of maintaining the states' autonomy and individuality through general, unspecified grants is of such critical nature that it must be preserved even at the risk of failing to serve another generation or two of children.

Current Organization of Early Childhood Education

Neither kindergartens nor nursery schools had their initial impetus in public schools. Early kindergartens, established as private or philanthropic institutions, were slow in being accepted, not as a desirable adjunct to a school system but as the essential beginning unit in a school organization. In fact, since not more than one in every five of our five-year-olds now attends kindergarten, it may be doubted that the concept is yet thoroughly accepted. Nevertheless, where kindergartens do exist under boards of education, they are almost universally a part of the elementary-school organization, coming within the responsibilities of the elementary-school principal and the general elementary-school supervisor or director.

Nursery schools have had a similar history in becoming a part of the public school system. Up to 1930, nursery schools were gaining popularity among the colleges, primarily as research centers for the study of child development and as laboratories for the training of child psychologists and teachers of home economics. They were, as yet, comparatively unknown in public schools. By 1942, according to a study⁶ of existing facilities for children under six, 965 nursery schools reporting were distributed as follows: 622 private or tuition schools; 122 in colleges or universities; 156 philanthropic institutions (such as kindergarten associations in certain large cities, neighborhood houses, and settlements); 35 special schools, in connection with hospitals or for special groups, such as crippled children; and 30 in public schools. Among the latter are the nursery schools established to provide observation and practice for homemaking education. Such nursery schools are almost always part of a high-school organization, used in training programs for secondary-school students and adults.

The emergency-relief nursery schools did not change the situation much. The regulations required that each one be sponsored by a public school, but they also required local sponsoring committees of representatives of public service organizations, which committees sometimes served almost as separate policy-making boards or committees.

⁶Davis, *Schools for Children under Six*, *op. cit.*

Also, since the program was developed to provide as much employment as possible, the nursery schools usually had their own full complement of teachers, supervisors, and custodial workers. All these factors militated against the adoption of emergency nursery schools as functional units of the elementary school. When they lapsed as relief services, they seldom left a unit ready to continue as an integral part of an elementary-school organization.

Nursery schools, established as a part of extended school services during the war, had a different experience and a different outcome. Organized from the beginning by school officials as a logical extension downward of the primary school, they were in most instances an accepted part of that school unit. With the discontinuance of federal funds at the close of the emergency, a surprising number of units continued on public, private, and tuition funds.⁷ Four states made appropriations to assist local communities: California appropriated three and a half million dollars to continue the centers until March, 1947, and specifically directed that any California child, not just the children of working mothers, was eligible; New York made two million dollars available for one-third of the cost of operating selected centers, the community to provide one-third, and the balance to be made up by fees; Washington asked the state superintendent of public instruction to spend a half million dollars to continue nursery schools and play centers; Massachusetts passed a bill authorizing the reimbursement of municipalities for salary expense up to 40 per cent, or \$15,000 annually, for child-care services.

In numerous communities the child-care centers continued either as a part of regular school service with school funds or as a co-operative enterprise with financial support from some public service agency or organization. For example, Cleveland kept twenty-two centers at public expense; the Detroit city council provided funds to the board of education to continue twenty-five centers; Milwaukee, through fees and subscriptions, continued three centers under sponsorship of the board of education and a citizens' committee; the Philadelphia city council granted funds to the board of education to continue the centers; in Schenectady the centers were financed by funds from the city council, a state grant, and fees; in Atlanta the board of education supervised and the Junior Chamber of Commerce financed the centers. Throughout the country, communities have clung to their child-care centers, pooling all available resources from public funds, fees, and contributions of public service groups. In most cases, those which con-

⁷ "Extended School Services Continue," *School Life*, XXVIII (July, 1946), 8-9.

tinued did so as a part of the public elementary schools. It now appears that, for the first time, nursery schools operating as the beginning unit in the public elementary school will soon outnumber all other types of nursery schools.

Status of Public Opinion on Nursery Schools and Kindergartens

Education moves forward only as fast as citizens are enlightened and ready to change or add new services to the public school system. The schools in our country are one of the great institutions established by the people. They mirror advances and changes as the public makes known its wishes and takes action to support them.

Although great strides were made toward having kindergartens and nursery schools become an integral part of public education during the last twenty years, figures previously quoted indicate that this educational privilege is one which is at present enjoyed by relatively few children under six years of age. The public was concerned, therefore, when federal funds, made available for these services during the war emergency, were terminated, thus curtailing in many communities the child-care services which people had come rapidly to accept. This situation served to stimulate parents and citizen groups to think about ways and means of giving more children the opportunity for school before they turned six. It also precipitated much argument.

Opposition to Educational Services for Young Children. Those opposed to nursery schools and kindergartens at public expense raised certain objections. These arguments should be examined for validity.

1. *Are children at two, three, four, and five years ready for formal education?*

Abundant evidence is available from research findings on human development to show that a child's earliest years are by far the most important in shaping personality characteristics which will fit or unfit him for a well-adjusted life. By the time the child reaches school at five or six his education has made considerable headway. His speech, health, social adjustments, habits, and attitudes are so far advanced that the efforts of the school are, in large measure, conditioned by his earlier experiences. With the policy of "hands off" until six, the child's haphazard education at home often leaves him unable to make the most of the later educational opportunities which are offered. It is a tragedy that through neglect, through ignorance, and through public apathy, the potentialities of many children for reaching their fullest development is impaired and thwarted.

2. Do not young children need a home environment for their best development?

Every child needs a home which can give him the best climate for growing—a home with affection, security, a feeling of belonging and of personal worth. Unfortunately many homes are unable to supply all these ingredients in the environment necessary for the happiness and stability of the child. The modern nursery school and kindergarten has been established, therefore, to supplement the home but not to replace it; to strengthen the relationships between parents and children but not to assume the parents' responsibilities; and to bring to parents scientific information regarding the needs of children but not to lessen their role in guiding their child's development.

Research reveals that young children benefit greatly if they have other children of nearly the same age to play with. The child in the average family of today does not have the benefit of the give and take implicit in the life of the larger families of a former day. Nursery schools and kindergartens, therefore, provide the group living that was once found in the home and so furnish a situation in which desirable personality development may take place. Even if home is a happy, satisfying place, it has been found that children who have had educational experiences outside their home are much farther advanced in social responsibility, motor co-ordination, health habits, and adaptability to new situations than those who do not have them. Parents recognize the benefits of early childhood education and urge the establishment of nursery schools and kindergartens.

3. Does not public assumption of responsibility for young children deprive parents of their responsibility and of the benefits they would receive from the total care of their children?

Even the best and most fortunate homes cannot provide all the services children need for their fullest and best development. The care of children is a much harder task for the modern urban mother than it formerly was. Limited space, environmental hazards, lack of young companions, all contribute in our family life today to the child's greater dependence on the mother. It is a great physical and psychological strain for both child and mother to spend the whole twenty-four hours of every day together. The release of this strain, for even a few hours each day which nursery school or kindergarten provides, has been found beneficial to both child and mother. Instead of taking responsibility away from the home and encouraging the mother to shirk, the respite offered by nursery schools and kindergartens more

often has been found to increase the parent's desire to fulfil his obligations with more competence.

Opportunities are provided in nursery schools and kindergartens for parents to observe and to participate in the program. At such times a parent sees his own child in a new and objective way as a member of a group. The parent has a chance to talk with the teacher, to get professional help on problems, and to observe newer methods of work with children. In every sense, parents as well as children are members of the school. Parents are thus helped to build the kind of relationships with children which both need in order to maintain the home as a base for strong emotional ties and comfortable living. It is the quality of the time spent together rather than the amount of time that brings essential values to each. On this ground, there is a sound basis for the public assuming some responsibility for conserving and enriching family life through an investment in education.

4. Are the costs of nursery school and kindergarten prohibitive?

Any extension of the educational program for children under six is bound to raise the question, what will it cost? How do the costs of these services compare with those of education at other levels? It would be impossible and impractical to answer these questions in round numbers. Figures available include so many variables that it is difficult to compare operating costs in different school systems. When these services are offered under an administrative set-up apart from the school system, operating costs are higher. School administrators point out that nursery-school and kindergarten programs may be expected to cost more than other levels of elementary education because more services are included and more individual attention is required. However, on an hour-for-hour basis nursery schools have not been found more costly than other educational services serving small groups and requiring expert guidance.

5. Are not children in groups subject to serious health hazards?

Parents are sometimes reluctant to place a young child in a nursery-school or kindergarten group because they fear the child will contract illness when exposed to a group of children. It is now well established by the American Academy of Pediatrics that groups of young children in properly supervised nursery schools and kindergartens enjoy good health and can be kept about as free from disease as children of similar ages who are cared for in their homes. If daily health inspection of children is practiced in nursery schools and kindergartens,

and if children are excluded who are ill or might be a menace to others, attendance at these groups is not likely to increase the danger of contracting an illness.

Some parents assume, too, that the likelihood of an accident is greater when a young child is removed from parental observation and control. Statistics show that by far the greatest number of accidents among young children occur when children are not supervised. The record of well-organized nursery schools is far better than the accident record for young children not in a supervised school. Physicians who are well informed about child development and protection welcome nursery schools and kindergartens because they not only offer many advantages for the growing child but also assure better opportunities for health supervision and greater safeguards against accidents.⁸

6. *Isn't care of young children a welfare function which should be exercised by welfare agencies?*

If the modern concept of child development is accepted—that human growth is a continuous learning process—then it is no longer possible to distinguish between a service which gives “care” to young children and another which “educates” them. It is impossible to give attention to a child’s physical, mental, emotional, and social growth as if they were separate aspects of growing. On this premise, then, the environment is the key to the child’s well-being, and every person with whom he comes in contact affects his feeling, thinking, and acting.

Any program which a community offers young children should be planned to provide adequately for the needs of children. Their education is the major concern. Therefore, professionally trained personnel who understand and can apply the principles of child development should be required to staff the service. Other specialized services will also be needed, such as health, nutrition, and family counseling, but these should be integrated with the program to give the fullest benefits to the child and his family. Nursery schools and kindergartens in public schools have demonstrated in practical ways how a community may bring together services from various community agencies to serve children.

Public Support for Educational Services for Young Children. The public has become aroused over the age-old subject, how to rear children. The matter is so important an issue it can be found on the agenda of many organizations. Statements have been issued by a number of organized groups asking for an extension of educational

⁸ American Academy of Pediatrics, *Benefits of a Good Nursery School.* (Statement prepared for the National Association for Nursery Education.)

services for children under six, publicly supported and with attendance open to all children. Recommendations made by many groups—school administrators, professional and service groups, organized labor, parents, and citizens groups—propose an extension of education downward.

a) *School officials and educational organizations.* The Educational Policies Commission proposes "that the educational services be extended downward and that these extended services be closely integrated with the rest of the program of public education."⁹

The Committee for Part II of the Forty-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education says:

Educational services should be extended downward to provide for the three-to-five-year-old children. . . . Boards of education should by law be required to provide school opportunities for all five-year-old children who apply for admission, and they should be permitted to provide at public expense for all three- and four-year-old children whose parents wish them to attend and who will themselves participate in a parent-education program¹⁰

The Research Division of the National Education Association reports findings based on recommendations "found in hundreds of professional books, bulletins, and magazine articles on the local, state, and national aspects of education. These reflect the soundest and most practical of current ideas concerning probable trends in public education."¹¹ Its recommendations with respect to children from the ages of three through five are:

School attendance at these ages should not be required. For children whose parents or guardians wish them to attend, however, the schools should provide suitable care and training during such hours as the needs of the children demand, except in attendance areas where the numbers of these children are too small or the distances they would have to travel are too great to make such school provisions practicable.¹²

The Public Opinion Poll of the *Nation's Schools* sent a questionnaire to five hundred school administrators asking them to indicate

⁹ *Educational Services for Young Children.* Washington: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, and the American Association of School Administrators, 1945.

¹⁰ "A Program for Reconstruction of Education," *American Education in the Postwar Period: Structural Reorganization*, p. 297. Forty-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

¹¹ *Proposals for Public Education in Postwar America*, p. 43. Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. XXII, No. 2. Washington: Research Division of the National Education Association, 1944.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

which school services they expected to expand in the postwar years. The poll (August, 1945) revealed that school officials thought nursery schools and kindergartens would probably be among the school services to receive support necessary for their early expansion. Another public opinion poll, in this case for the general population of Minnesota, showed 48 per cent in favor of including nursery schools as a regular part of the public schools, 44 per cent opposed, and 8 per cent with no opinion.

In *The Next Decade in Education*, Official Report of Regional Conference, 1946, of the American Association of School Administrators, Superintendent Howard W. Pillsbury emphasizes another service of nursery schools:

Not only is the nursery school important for its direct effect on the pre-school child. It is also a most valuable laboratory for parent education. It is one of the paradoxes of American education that, despite our recognition of the home as next to the school—the community's most important educational institution—we do very little to prepare young people to become efficient parents. Many of our states today require at least a four-year professional course for teaching in the school, but for the teaching in the home no preparation is considered necessary. We proceed apparently on the assumption that by some strange alchemy the mere process of parenthood endows the individual with all the wisdom, patience, and understanding necessary for the most complex and difficult job we know—the guidance of the physical, mental, social, and spiritual development of the young child.

b) *Other professional and public service groups.* Many professional and citizens' groups are taking responsibility for arousing public opinion on what is happening to children born during the war.

Representatives of nine national organizations¹³ at a conference in September, 1945, prompted by the announcement of the termination of federal funds for child-care centers and the need for long-term planning for children, presented to President Truman a series of recommendations including the following:

We restate our interest in and approval of federal aid to free tax-supported public schools based upon the principles of equalization, a maximum of local control, and provision for nursery schools and kindergartens.

We see the need for and recommend the prompt enactment of additional legislation to provide adequate health, welfare, and educational services to all children.

¹³ Organizations included the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation; the American Association of University Women; American Home Economics Association; Association for Childhood Education; General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Association for Nursery Education; National Congress of Parents and Teachers; and the National Education Association.

The American Academy of Pediatrics has taken the following stand on early childhood education:

Physicians who are well informed on the care and supervision of children welcome an institution such as the nursery school, which not only offers many advantages for the growing child but also assures better opportunities for health supervision and greater safeguards against accidents.

This group, comprising 1,500 physicians specializing in the care of children, indorses the types of nursery school recommended by the National Association for Nursery Education.¹⁴

In a statement concerning women in the postwar period, "the War Manpower Commission Woman's Advisory Committee (April, 1945) recommended the expansion of child-care facilities and services, including nursery schools for preschool children and after-school programs for the older children." With respect to the value of these services the Committee states:

Analyses presented by the best child-care experts have shown that a nursery-school program, with flexible hours, adjusted to the needs of different children and different home situations, is of great social benefit to the child and of immeasurable help to the mother regardless of the circumstances of the family. Especially for the working mother, nursery schools are basic to her peace of mind and to the welfare of her child.

c) *Organized labor.* In their national conventions and publications, labor groups have reported their support of extending educational services for young children. The annual convention of the Congress of Woman's Auxiliaries of the C.I.O. reported:

Members of the C.W.A., acting together with the C.I.O., as citizens responsible for making government serve the general welfare, decided to take leadership in pressing for greatly expanded programs for our children.

Establishment of a permanent program of day care for all children needing it, whether or not their mothers work outside the home; such a program to provide all types of services, such as nurseries and nursery schools, extended school services, foster family care, counseling services for mothers, parental guidance and education, to be operated through public educational, health, and welfare agencies, and to be financed wherever needed by federal funds.

The Commission on Educational Reconstruction of the American Federation of Teachers of the A. F. of L., at a meeting of the Commission (December, 1945), were unanimous in the opinion that federal funds should be provided permanently to support nursery schools.

¹⁴ National Association for Nursery Education, *Some Ways of Distinguishing a Good Nursery School, 1942*. Distribution center, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

The International Labor Conference, which convened in November, 1945, in Paris, France, recommended that "preschool education should be accessible to all children without being compulsory as soon as possible and as far as practicable."

d) *Parent groups.* In many large cities, such as Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, and Washington, to mention a few, parents on their own initiative organized active committees to salvage child-care programs established during the war emergency. These groups effectively made known their wishes that educational programs for young children be provided, and they are continuing to work for an extension of services for all children. Not only locally but on the state level, representative parent groups are organized to work for legislation which will assure these educational services for young children.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST TWENTY YEARS WHICH HAVE INFLUENCED THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

In 1929 the National Society for the Study of Education gave a full report in its Twenty-eighth Yearbook, *Preschool and Parental Education*, of the history of the child-study movement, both in this country and abroad. Some of the results observable at that time were described, including the establishment of research institutes, the development of child-study and parent-education groups, the organization of nursery schools both for the education of young children and for service in the preparation of various professional groups. It was a report of the *beginning*, so far as this country was concerned, of a movement which has had profound significance both in the establishment of institutions to carry out its principles and on general educational practice. Some of the developments over the past twenty years will be reviewed to show how and why the numerical growth in services for young children reported in a previous section has come about.

Popularization of Research in Child Development

The Twenty-eighth Yearbook was able to report a noteworthy body of research in such areas as physical and motor development of young children, intellectual, emotional, and social development, children's activities such as play, art, and language experiences, and others. Since that time the research has continued unabated and has broken down many of the problems which concerned administrators and teachers of nursery schools. At the same time numerous means have been developed of popularizing the findings through the press, the radio, motion pictures, comic strips and cartoon series, lectures,

and study groups. Syndicated columns on children's problems are found in daily papers and in rural weeklies. Popular magazines of all types apparently cater to a considerable appetite for information about the things which concern children and their parents. Radio series have been produced by research institutes and parent-education groups as well as by commercial sponsors.

Altogether the general public has a continuous course in child development. Probably not all of the information or advice is well founded. The major effect, however, on the public mind is a conviction that children behave as they do for certain discoverable reasons; that there are good ways and bad ways of dealing with children; that it is possible to secure desirable behavior by providing the needed conditions. One of the desirable conditions commonly accepted is that of an opportunity to play and work with other children under proper conditions and supervision. This conviction has led to a desire and an increased demand for supervised play groups and nursery schools.

Slowing Down of the Kindergarten Movement

The first kindergarten in this country was established in Wisconsin in 1856; the first free public kindergarten was opened in Boston in 1870. Kindergartens were established by public schools in three cities in that decade, in thirty cities in the next decade, and by 1888 public schools enrolled 15,145 kindergarten children. Private kindergartens at that time enrolled 16,082. As has been shown,¹⁵ public kindergarten enrolments skyrocketed to nearly three-quarters of a million by 1930, but at that point the gains stopped. Depression years gave them no comfort, and by 1934 they had sunk to approximately 600,000 at which point they stayed until the increased birth rates of the war years, the need for child-care services, and the widespread establishment of nursery schools to serve the younger brothers and sisters brought additional kindergarten children into the schools.

What the factors were, other than financial depression which cut short the further growth of kindergartens, is a matter for speculation. It is possible that its relative separatism from primary grades in its early years did not give the kindergarten the understanding and support it needed for stability and further promotion. There is a question also as to whether its sometimes formal curriculum and inflexible standards may not have failed to serve the needs of children of today and were, therefore, unconvincing, both to parents and to professional

¹⁵ See Table II, page 46.

persons. With an apparent resumption of increases in enrolments, there is a real challenge before persons responsible for early childhood education to consider seriously the formulation of programs appropriate to current conditions.

Emergency Programs of Education for Young Children

Since 1930 two national emergencies, one the financial depression and the other the war period, have been responsible for the development of special educational programs for children, with numerical results on nursery-school enrolments as described in a previous section. There were other results, as may be seen.

On October 23, 1933, the administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration sent to all state emergency relief administrations an authorization to provide work-relief wages for qualified and unemployed teachers and other workers on relief who were needed to organize and conduct nursery schools under the control of the public school systems. This was done at the recommendation of the U. S. Commissioner of Education who thereafter formulated and promulgated to state school officials the policies to govern the organization and conduct of emergency nursery schools. From the beginning the program was actively sponsored by the F.E.R.A. and the Office of Education had the continuous assistance in their co-operative project of three professional organizations concerned with the education of young children—the National Association for Nursery Education, the Association for Childhood Education, and the National Council of Parent Education. Within three months at least thirty states had organized or had plans for emergency nursery schools. Under the leadership of a member of the Office of Education staff who was assigned to direct the program, standards were developed for staffing and equipping the nursery schools and for training persons, and suggestions were made for the inauguration of state and local advisory committees. By June, 1934, the program had grown so rapidly that it was decided to provide state supervisors for the different emergency-education programs, of which the Emergency Nursery Schools were the sixth. The supervisors were to be selected jointly by the state relief administrators and the state superintendents of public instruction, they were to work out of the offices of the state superintendents, and the expenses of salary and travel were to be paid out of F.E.R.A. funds. In making the announcement, the administrator said, "It is my desire that the emergency educational program covering various phases of adult education and nursery schools

shall be so administered in the states as to build toward a permanent and integral part of the regularly established public school programs." Such supervision, and local supervision subsequently authorized, greatly aided the development and improvement of the service.

About this time the F.E.R.A. organized an "educational division," which soon had its counterparts in the state relief administrations. Thereafter, though federal and state educational agencies continued to sponsor the program, they soon ceased to have direct responsibility for or relationship to the emergency nursery schools. By 1942, when the nursery schools were ordered closed, few of them were taken over by local school systems. In many cases they left the double impression that nursery schools were good things for the economically underprivileged but that they were a service which local schools could not undertake without federal aid.

As the emergency nursery schools were closing, the clouds of war were gathering. By November, 1942, the Selective Service Act had been passed, and the country was deep in its war-production program, calling for more and ever more workers. From January, 1941, to January, 1944, the number of employed women increased by approximately four million, many of them the mothers of young children. In August, 1942, the War Manpower Commission issued a directive instructing the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to present plans for the development and co-ordination of federal programs for the care of children of working mothers. Very soon thereafter the President made \$400,000 of emergency funds available for transmittal to the U. S. Office of Education and the U. S. Children's Bureau to assist the states in establishing needed services. By June, 1943, thirty-nine states had developed plans for extended school services to be developed under state and local educational agencies, and thirty states had similar plans for child-welfare programs to be administered by welfare agencies. These state allotments provided 222 positions in state governments, among them state supervisors for extended school services, which included both nursery schools for young children and before- and after-school programs for children of school age. One of the supervisor's functions was the stimulation of state and local committees for the study of community needs and the development of program plans.

By May, 1943, a federal bill,¹⁸ the Thomas Bill, had been introduced and passed by the Senate to provide funds to assist the states to establish and maintain child-care services for the children of em-

¹⁸ S. 1130, 78th Congress, 1st Session.

ployed women, nursery schools through state and local departments of education, and other child-care services through welfare agencies. It appeared that in the emergency there would not be piecemeal legislation but, rather, comprehensive provision for children, embracing educational, welfare, and health services. During the year, however, the Federal Works Agency (to which the Community Service Program of W.P.A. had been transferred) announced that it had begun to make grants for nursery schools for the children of employed women. This administrative decision was later supported by amendment to the Lanham Act, after hearings before the House Committee on Buildings and Grounds. On this ground, the House of Representatives refused to hold hearings on the Thomas Bill to provide both educational and welfare services to young children. Up to March, 1946, when the grants were discontinued, F.W.A. dealt directly with local school systems as had been done by F.E.R.A. and its successor, W.P.A. Due to the fact, however, that the states had developed their plans before grants were begun, and also because of an amendment to the Lanham Act requiring review by education officials of all school projects which were to be aided by federal grants, the extended school service nursery schools developed in most cases as integral parts of public school systems; funds were handled by school officials; initial plans were frequently, if not always, developed jointly by state and local school officials; established projects came under the supervision of state and local school supervisors, and standards for training, certificating, and paying teachers were established by them.

Besides being of immediate service to many thousands of preschool-age children, these two emergency programs have helped to crystallize some opinions, now rather generally held. First, there is widespread agreement that nursery schools are not limited in value to only underprivileged children but that most children can profit from the experiences provided by good nursery schools. Second, there is fairly common acceptance of the point of view that such services as have been provided are *educational* services, that what goes on in a good nursery school is the sort of curriculum that is appropriate to the learning activities of boys and girls of two, three, or four years of age. A nursery school is, therefore, not an institution for "day care," a term generally used by social workers to denote care of children outside their own homes. The availability of nursery schools may lessen the need for "day care" agencies, but a good nursery school is an educational institution, not an agency primarily for physical care. As such, it is appropriately a responsibility of public education and

should be provided in the same way as are school facilities for other groups. For this to be accepted by school administrators and school boards, as it now is in many places, is an important milestone. Third, there is a somewhat vague but nevertheless determined opinion that the federal government has a stake in services for young children. Either because nursery schools are relatively new and there is a feeling that the federal government should help to establish new programs, or because they have in the past cost more per pupil than other education programs, or because the federal government has already given funds for the health and medical care of young children—whatever the reason—the opinion persists that the federal government could appropriately and should give aid to the states in promoting these services. One point of view apparently gaining ground is that funds so spent would be an acceptable and a typically American substitute for family allowances.

Decreasing Birth Rate

The United States, in common with most other major countries, experienced a steadily declining birth rate up until 1940.

TABLE III.—NUMBER OF BIRTHS PER THOUSAND OF POPULATION AT VARIOUS PERIODS FROM 1871 TO 1945

Year or Period	Number of Births	Year or Period	Number of Births
1871-75	37.0*	1935	16.8
1891-95	30.8*	1940	17.9
1912	26.4*	1941	18.9
1915	25.1	1942	20.9
1920	23.7	1943	21.5
1925	21.5	1944	20.2
1930	18.9	1945	19.8

* Estimated, *Journal of American Statistical Association*, XX (1925), 318.

The social consequences of this declining birthrate have long been of serious concern to sociologists. A population which does not reproduce itself and which, in addition, participates periodically in expensive wars is headed for national suicide. In recent years the decrease in child population has been a matter of common observation and comment. Smaller families, greater demand for small houses, many families without children, fewer children in the schools and churches—all these observable results have brought a consciousness of the serious fact of birth-rate decline.

This situation has the effect on families and on the general public of encouraging better care of children. As something of value be-

comes scarcer, it becomes more precious. In this case the decrease in numbers of young children has led to insistent demands for better health care of mothers and children; more attention to sanitation, housing, and safety regulations affecting children; better professional training for those persons who are in some way to serve children's needs. There is a strong and insistent feeling that whatever children need, that must be had—at public expense if necessary. This public opinion has supported the increasing demand for nursery schools and other educational services for young children.

Schools for Young Children in Other Countries

Advances made in educational provisions for young children in other countries have also had their effect upon the movement in this country. Reports of governmental information services issued during the war have described emergency school services for children below traditional school entrance ages and have featured legislation favorable to permanent nursery-school and kindergarten programs. Public concern for the protection and guidance of young children is also apparent in the newsletters issued by professional groups of teachers and by organizations sponsoring both privately and publicly financed schools. Increased birth rates, changed standards of living, the necessary employment of women outside the home, and a growing understanding of the effects of environment upon both normal and handicapped children are emphasizing the value and importance of schools for young children.

Brief notices of problems and of revived efforts to supply children's needs are gradually coming from the "occupied" countries. From Denmark, Holland, Czechoslovakia, and Norway come news of unified efforts and ingenuity in supplying children's needs and in reinstating and extending prewar school programs.

Those countries spared from occupation but marshalled for war services during the past years show benefits resulting from co-operative efforts of agencies for health, welfare, recreation, and school services for children. Reports show initiative in adapting children's school programs to meet family and industrial needs. Legislation in some countries now provides public funds for schools for young children which formerly were wholly dependent upon special funds, contributions, and fees. Among current problems reported are those concerned with: staff preparation and the arousing of interest among adolescents in the teaching profession; adaptations in designs for building and equipment which are suitable to children's needs; the

development of demonstration-school centers for the benefit of citizens as well as students and parents; much needed statements of standards to govern the conduct of children's programs; and desirable co-ordination of nursery-school and kindergarten programs with the primary school. Some of these factors are shown in the following accounts of the recent status of children's services.

England and Wales. Ever since the Education Act of 1907, England has had educational programs for young children. Just prior to the second World War, in 1939, about half of the 120 nursery schools accredited by the board of education were administered by local education authorities and half by private agencies. All received a 50 per cent grant-in-aid from public education authorities. These schools enrolled approximately 9,000 children from two to five years of age. In addition about 170,000 children of these ages were enrolled in nursery classes or in different kinds of "reception classes" connected with the public elementary schools. But with the outbreak of the war many changes in school services were made, both for the health and security of young children and in order to release women for war work. Some schools were closed, others were evacuated to the country. Due to a limited professional staff of nursery-education workers, many day nurseries were provided under the Ministry of Health. Education authorities more than doubled the number of nursery classes and lengthened the school day to meet local industrial conditions. They also initiated "play centers," operating before and after school for children from five to ten years of age whose mothers were employed. Many types of agencies co-operated in meeting the emergency needs for children's services.

The Education Act of 1944 was put into effect in anticipation of postwar needs. Under this act the nursery school became an integral part of the educational system in England for the first time in the history of its public education program. The term "primary education" replaces "elementary" to designate school provisions for children eleven years of age and under, including those below the compulsory-attendance age of five. Enrolments of children under the age of five are voluntary with the parents, but under the Education Act local school authorities are required to review the areas for which they are responsible and to determine whether nursery schools for children two, three, and four years of age are needed. They are also responsible for the paying of grants-in-aid for these schools at the same rate as accorded to other levels of school services. Preference is given in the Act to nursery schools over the nursery classes. The

policy of the Minister of Education encourages classes of forty children, with approximately ten children to a teacher.

All children, whose parents desire it, will receive school dinners and milk without charge. The length of the nursery-school day varies from seven to ten hours, according to the needs of the families served. Parents of physically handicapped children may ask for an examination of any child over two years of age with a view to obtaining such special education as may be needed. Compulsory attendance for all exceptional children needing education begins at five years, and local education plans are required to include provisions for these children.

The amount of preparation required for the teachers of children over and under five years of age in all types of classes is the same. Under a co-operative policy of education and health authorities, special training and a certificate for "helper" is being provided for girls of high-school age. The training is considered of value both as leading to a vocation and as preparental education. Special studies of the values of an integrated program for children in the age groups from two through seven years are being promoted by the Nursery School Association of Great Britain with the expectation that experimental schools will serve as research and demonstration centers.

New Zealand. "Free" kindergartens receiving children at three and four years of age precede the Infant School which serves children from five to seven years. The kindergartens are financed by voluntary subscriptions and by direct government assistance, which is estimated on a matching basis of expenditures made for capital outlay and current expenses, not exceeding a specified annual per capita cost for pupils in average attendance.

The wartime need for employing women in work of national importance resulted in the converting of two kindergartens into all-day nursery schools. In addition, a series of voluntary nursery play-center associations have been developed under local committees to aid busy parents who have no domestic assistance and to provide social contacts for children where kindergartens do not exist. So far these centers have received only a little government assistance except for dental and health services. Their rapid growth during the past few years gives evidence that they meet a genuine need.

The New Zealand Government is conscious of the need to extend these several schools for young children, and a clause in the Education Amendment Bill of 1943 gives the local education board power to establish kindergartens. Government policy in the conduct of these schools, however, is not yet established, but questions which the gov-

ernment is now raising indicate a currently active interest in the program. Among these questions are the following: Should the free kindergarten system serve every child able to attend, if his parents so desire? Should there be more all-day schools? Is there need for more nursery play centers? If direct Government agencies are to establish kindergartens should they be a part of the infant department of the primary school? Could kindergarten rooms be used for two shifts of children or for both a kindergarten and a play center? Should kindergarten sites be purchased in all new government housing settlements? How could sufficient teachers be provided?

Australia. Just prior to the war the five state kindergarten unions, under which "free" kindergartens had been provided for fifty years, combined as a commonwealth organization for the purpose of improving and extending schools for children below the local school-entrance ages. With a grant from the Commonwealth Health Department, which was made to the Australian Association for Preschool Child Development, a federal officer was appointed to develop a demonstration preschool center in the capital city of each of the five Australian states to clarify standards of programs and physical setting, to extend teacher preparation facilities, and to unify and extend efforts in behalf of the education and protection of young children.

One evidence of the effectiveness of this nation-wide service was shown in the request of the Commonwealth Government for the organization of wartime children's centers in three states. These were developed through the co-operative efforts of agencies already responsible for conducting nursery schools, kindergartens, and day-nursery groups. Although the centers were designed as a temporary service to meet the wartime needs of families having young children, they have greatly helped to extend public interest in nursery-kindergarten education as evidenced by current requests from some of the states for substantial increases in provisions for added numbers of nursery schools and kindergartens. With the appointment of a commonwealth minister of education in 1945, there is an expectancy of closer working relationships between the state preschool associations and public education authorities and more effective co-operation among community groups concerned with the education, health, and welfare services for young children in Australia.

Denmark. The kindergarten is classified as an institution designed to prevent the need for child welfare service. Kindergartens receive children below the age of seven which is the admittance age to the infants department of the public schools. The program is conducted

TABLE IV.—SUMMARY OF REPORTS OF SCHOOL PROVISIONS FOR YOUNG CHILDREN IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

NATION	TERMINOLOGY	AGES OF CHILDREN	SOURCE OF ADMINISTRATION	FINANCING		COMMENTS
				GOVERNMENT	FEES AND CONTRIBUTIONS	
Belgium*	Kindergartens	3-6	National Children's Assn.	X	X	Demonstrates child care for families and institutions
Commonwealth of Australia	Preschool Centers Kindergartens	2-6 2-6	Australian Assn. for Preschool Child Development, Commonwealth Department of Health	X	X	Demonstration centers in each state capital
Czechoslovakia*	Nurseries Kindergartens	Under 3 3-6	National Assn. for Protection of Mothers and Childhood—Municipal School Authorities	X	X	10-hour program for children of working mothers. Developmental records
Denmark	Kindergartens	2-7	Minister of Social Affairs through Institution for Preventive Child Welfare	X	X	Enrolment of 50 per school divided by age and development. Number of kindergartens increasing
England and Wales	Nursery Schools Nursery Classes	2-5 2-6	Minister of Education Local Education Authorities	X	X	Dinner and milk provided. Service for handicapped from age 2
Hungary*	Kindergartens	3-6	Stephania National Assn.	X	X	Preparatal education. Nursery schools for needy children
New Zealand	Free Kindergartens	3-4	New Zealand Free Kindergarten Union. Education Bill of 1943 empowers Board of Education to establish kindergartens	X	X	Half-day sessions, one teacher for 15 children. Dental and health services. Private schools and nursery play centers
Poland*	Kindergartens	3-7	Municipal School Authorities	X	X	Full-day programs
Union of South Africa	Nursery Schools	2-6	Nursery School Assn. of South Africa. Union Education Department	X	X	Nursery school records transferred to primary schools
Union of Soviet Socialist Rep.	Nursery Schools Kindergartens	Under 3 3-7	Commissariat of Health Commissariat of Education	X	X	Demonstration Institute of the Child Staff training centers

* Mary Dabney Davis, *Young Children in European Countries*. United States Office of Education, Bulletin No. 2, 1936. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936.

as "educational play" which allows each child to use his energy constructively and to develop his individuality. The number of kindergartens is increasing, and the present problem is overcrowding and a shortage of adequately trained teachers. The schools are financed and administered by the Minister of Social Affairs. Originally these programs depended upon private philanthropy, but following the first World War their support was provided for in the Public Assistance Act. It is difficult to estimate the present adequacy of the program because of large groups of German children for whom the Danish government is still responsible.

The accompanying summary of available reports briefly indicates administrative aspects of national programs in ten countries.

SUMMARY

In this country, as in others, the last twenty years have brought a growing realization that services for children cannot be put off, that their needs are immediate and pressing. The public is waking up to the job it has to do, to the possibilities of achieving the things they want for children when the democratic process is put to work. Professional groups are seeing their role in social action and are taking increasingly effective ways of serving it. After much experimentation—with services for selected groups, with federally operated programs and with local operation, with programs in schools and in other settings, with some "luxury" programs and many others at average or less cost—we appear in this country to have arrived at some decisions, some rather widely accepted hopes for the future. It remains to be seen whether it is the *near* future.

CHAPTER V

THE THEORY OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

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Within the larger framework of the philosophy of education lies the more limited theory that determines the selection of materials, the organization of practices, and the assumptions upon which nursery-school, kindergarten, and primary education are based. Both the larger framework and the more limited theory look to scientific research for principles and practices. As experience with young children is gained, principles and practices change and move on to new creative levels.

To understand the education of the young child, something must be known of his world—the society in which he lives—and of his nature, his characteristics, and the manner in which he grows. Knowledge of the manner in which he gains competence and security through learning underlies insight into his adjustment. The organized experiences which facilitate this adjustment come to the child through the teacher.

OUR SOCIETY IS DEMOCRATIC

Our society is a democratic society. Early childhood education, therefore, is democratic in principle. It recognizes the dignity of the individual and stresses co-operative and voluntary effort rather than control by domination and force. In a democratic society, goals are determined by the mutual consent of the members. Because a democratic training program assumes that its members can take responsibility and meet obligations, it gives freedom to them. In a democratic society children are trained for responsibility, personal decision, and choice.

Our society is a democratic society in a world that seeks to become one world. A deadly war has just been waged against the overriding will of a small group of self-seeking persons in order to preserve the rights of the people to make their own choices and to work together for

social purposes. Into this world a new force—atomic energy—has come. It can be used destructively to abolish our civilization or constructively to bring benefits and progress to all. Its discovery puts before all members of society the problem of world unity. The education of young children must be fitted into the concepts of a democratic society and of a world which seeks to solve its major problems by co-operation and united effort.

THE GROWTH PROCESS AND THE TIME DIMENSION

The child from two to six years is not stationary and fixed but is moving through a growth period, itself imbedded in the larger period that extends from conception to maturity. In turn, this is a part of even a greater period that includes the whole life cycle from birth to death. In growth the organism changes from a single cell to an adult with a complex bodily structure and very involved behavior. In the first twenty years of the life cycle much energy goes to growth and development. In the adult, energy goes to the maintenance of life processes. A growing organism is then in a state of becoming, which means that it is called upon not only to adjust its own level but to prepare for adjustment in the future.

Education for Present or Future. Two theories of education have had much vogue in the past. At the extremes, one holds that education's purpose is preparation for adult living, with little or no reference to present needs. The other holds that education should develop about the child's immediate needs and interests, irrespective of future demands or responsibilities, on the assumption that, by living each moment fully, the best preparation for the future is given. The proponents of these views have vigorously attacked one another. Developmentally, time is a dimension through which the child moves, with each stage of growth intimately related to that which precedes and that which follows. Not only does the child carry his past forward with him but in his very nature, as an organism, he anticipates the future. It is then difficult to separate past, present, and future.

Past, Present, and Future Interwoven. This view is not far removed from modern thinking in physics which has gained fruitful insights by looking at the past, present, and future as interwoven rather than as sharply separated. Whether we like it or not and whatever educational theory we develop, in actual fact, in a growing organism, what is done at any developmental stage ties in with the past and anticipates the future. Educators can then justifiably ask questions concerning the needs of the moment and the needs of the future. These

are also appropriate questions for science, as each living thing as it grows includes fewer components that are subject to change and more that are not. A child is a more open system; an adult a more closed system.

The prediction of the course of development presents important problems. The child becomes an adolescent; the adolescent becomes an adult. Although each level has its own difficulties, each has some forward reference to the next level. Facilitating transitions become important. The child needs preparation in advance for the new experiences to come, while to those directing his new experiences, the knowledge of his past should be made available in order that the breaks will not be too abrupt or misunderstood.

Making the Past Available. Providing good educational experiences, then, depends not only upon the child's momentary characteristics but also upon previous experience. Relatively little attention has been paid to background information. If the teacher knows something of what the child has done, of his family background and his play and home experiences, of the difficulties he has encountered and surmounted, and of his aspirations and goals, she will understand him better. In some schools a cumulative record into which all pertinent data about the child, including teachers' running commentaries on the child's behavior, is kept and made available to teachers.

Utilizing Momentary Interests for Permanent Gains. It is desirable that the developing organism utilize the experiences of the moment in such a way that there will be continuing progress and permanent gains in level of functioning. Of the variety of experiences available at any moment, some are bad, some indifferent, and some good from the long-time point of view. Skill in guiding the child through this mass of experience in a complex society, with its varied stimulation, demands insight and understanding on the part of the school and the teacher.

Education a Continuing Process. A traditional and naïve concept confines education to the walls of the schoolroom, limits it to the period from 9:00 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. for nine months each year, and begins education with school entrance at six and ends it with graduation from high school or college, some twelve or sixteen years later. In recent years it has become clear that education is not identical with formal schooling but is a life-long process that starts with birth and continues until death.

Some of the child's most important learning occurs under the guidance of relatively untrained parents before he enters school and comes

under the trained teachers to whom society entrusts education. For example, many students of child development feel that the acquisition of the spoken language, which is accomplished mainly before five years, is the child's greatest educational achievement. Whether or not this holds, kindergarten, elementary, high-school, college, and adult education are part of the process by which the cumulated experience of society is brought to the individual, who is at all age levels a learning organism. Growth is a continuous process with progress by small increments; and it is separated into sharply differentiated educational periods largely because of practical considerations.

SOCIAL DEMANDS AND THE WISDOM OF THE BODY

Not only does the child change with time but he also lives in an environment that changes. The world and people about him move forward in time. Social institutions, problems, and relations change. Upon the educator falls some responsibility for predicting the future of this social context, in order that he may prepare the child for what is to come.

If his philosophy is that of meeting the needs of the moment, he has an easy out. Perhaps this explains the popularity of this doctrine—it avoids consideration alike of the changes in the child and the changes in the world about him. Much more difficult is an education grounded in present needs—that looks toward the future.

Wisdom of the Body. A current and attractive doctrine, expressed as the wisdom of the body, holds that the child will make the best and wisest choices if let alone. Convincing demonstrations of the wisdom of individual choices can be made chiefly in the areas of food selection and sleep schedules. If, however, the conditions under which these choices are made and the types of materials presented are examined, the assumption is clearly not valid for all behavior and all situations. In a free environment, with all types of adequate food available, a young child who is permitted to choose his own food will secure an essentially balanced diet over a period of time. If, on the other hand, through negligence or otherwise, those who present the material for choice leave out an essential dietary element, all children will automatically have a deficiency. Under primitive conditions, in which there is little external control and little danger, the body can be quite wise; in a modern city two-year-olds cannot choose to run on the city streets. Nor can free choice of drinking water be permitted, unless adults have made water available for choice that is pure and free of contamination. Taste alone is a poor guide to the safety of

water. Despite the attractiveness of the doctrine in a world in which choices become narrower and narrower, it does not absolve adults from their responsibilities for the care of children.

Society Is Structured. The society in which the child lives and that into which he is to go are structured. Both are made up of various objects and institutions, such as buildings, furniture, street cars, automobiles, machinery, equipment, skills, attitudes, rules, regulations, and limitations. The rules of the game are not formulated by the child—they are formulated by groups and by society. Often they are neither precisely nor explicitly formulated but are implicit outcomes of long-continued social processes. They do not change quickly. Bringing human beings together in groups imposes limitations upon individual conduct and choice. Because they know the group, teachers and parents are wiser than children and are given responsibility for their guidance. Guidance means a combination of choice and protection, freedom and constraint, leisure and work, so designed that the child moves forward and builds out of his own fluid and unstructured responses the capacity for self-control and responsibility.

In effective guidance a balance is maintained between that spontaneity and initiative which characterizes the growing organism and the formalized structured behavior necessary for meeting society's demands. In earlier days education stressed the importance of formalized and structured behavior. Modern education stresses the development of functions that enable the person to meet life situations as they occur rather than the precise content that meets a particular momentary situation. This is the important distinction between what is learned as a specific outcome and learning how to learn as a general process.

THE NATURE OF THE CHILD

Insight into the nature of the child as he is and is to be underlies the practical principles of early childhood education. In recent years hundreds of studies involving observations and experiments on children of all ages have been made. This vast and growing scientific literature, with its many implications for education, very much needs interpretation; it is a major task even for a research specialist to keep up with it. Historically, child development as a scientific field came into being as an attempt to co-ordinate the findings of different scientific fields relating to children. It is not a single specialty parallel to psychology, sociology, anthropology, medicine, or psychiatry but an attempt to integrate these specialties. As a result, it becomes the area of modern research most closely related to early childhood education.

In contrast to the research worker, the teacher or supervisor is engaged in day-to-day or rather minute-to-minute contacts with actual children in real life situations. Her task involves much skill and knowledge, some of which lies outside the generalizations of child development. Neither in training nor in service does she have much opportunity to study this growing body of literature. Hence, a separation has appeared between research and practice. This is the traditional separation between a *science* and an *art*, which has always been difficult to bridge.

The problem of carrying over from *what we know* to *what we do* is not easy; in practice, it is complicated by the disagreements among research workers, not all of which are as great as they seem when baldly and explicitly stated. Thus, the disagreements which center about the relative roles of heredity and environment will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of all. But both hereditarians and environmentalists agree on the desirability of a favorable environment for children. Both are interested in good schools; both are concerned with good care. Although disagreeing on some points, both agree on most practical matters and details of procedure.

The Child is a Living System

In common with other living things, the child is a system in an environment. A living system maintains itself and interchanges constantly with the environment so long as life exists. Physically it takes in food and converts it into energy; mentally it takes in stimulation and converts it into behavior. The child is a polarizing center into which things flow and out of which energy and behavior come. In the early years, the rate of interchange is very great and, in relation to body size, intake and energy expenditure are greater. In later years the rate is lower, since less is taken in and less expended. A high intake and a high energy outgo characterize the human being; through them he has become much of what he is.

If this analysis is correct, and much evidence supports it, energy expenditure is the child's most important attribute. The problem of training and teaching is not one of suppressing energy but one of directing it into desirable channels. Whether we like it or not, energy is expended. Does it go outward into desirable or undesirable channels or inward to destroy the living system by indecision and conflict? Once energy expenditure is accepted as normal, attention can go to evaluating modes of energy expenditure in terms of individual and group needs. For the teacher, education is guidance and direction;

for the child, it is the unblocking of energy expenditure in order to utilize fully the resources within the system.

The Whole Child. As a living system within a single body, the child is a unit. This wholeness or unitary character is often forgotten in our zeal to develop specialties and to advance knowledge and practice. Often the specialist is more concerned with his specialty than the person treated. A child becomes a pair of eyes to which glasses are being fitted, a hunger to be fed, or a calculating machine doing arithmetic.

The teacher is interested in teaching, the doctor in medicine, the athletic coach in motor performance. Each pushes his own demands without reference to others. To counteract this tendency, so marked in modern times, many of those interested in children emphasize the *whole child* and seek a *child-centered* school. Sometimes this phrase is incorrectly interpreted in terms of an interest philosophy; actually what it means is that what is done in school should be evaluated in terms of its effects upon and values for the child and not in terms of its contribution to outside agencies or remote purposes.

In the ideal school, specialists consult with one another and bring whatever knowledge is available to bear on the problems of any child. In contrast, in some schools the results of physical examinations and of achievement and capacity tests given by appropriate specialists are filed in a cabinet and never made accessible to the teachers and practical workers who might use them to good effect. In general, the more information is made available to those responsible for the child's education and welfare, the better will be the practical job of child care.

Sometimes, however, the concept of the whole child has been used to criticize the research on children. Research in its very nature deals with specific problems that can be formulated. But as knowledge increases, new specific techniques for envisaging personality and for studying total factors develop. Great advances have been made in studying social behavior, the management of children, and the effects of social atmosphere by envisaging the child as a whole.

Balanced Growth. Modern education assumes that the child should move forward in parallel and somewhat equivalent steps in anatomical, physical, physiological, mental, and social growth. When one area of growth is greatly retarded or accelerated to the exclusion of the others, harm may be the result. It is the responsibility of the teacher and the school to further such balanced development. Sometimes the school produces distortion by overemphasizing some subjects to the exclusion

of others or by making very sharp separations between them. While some separation is inevitable and desirable, the question of balance in growth is important. How can the child's experience be so organized and arranged that he will move forward at a good rate without distortion, blocking, or unevenness? How can his experiences be integrated or tied together so as to preserve his essential wholesomeness through his many different activities? How can the school, home, and community be brought into relationship to one another to provide the optimal environment for good development?

In early childhood education much emphasis is placed upon wholesome and balanced growth. The nursery school not only has brought different specialists and agencies into effective relationship with one another but, within its own program, has also attempted to correlate and integrate the various influences to which the child is exposed. It is perhaps more successful in these attempts than are the schools for older children, because the younger child is much more of a unity with closer relations within and between the parts of which he is made, while the older child is more specialized with more separation between parts. But at all age levels, integration should be emphasized.

The Young Child Is Positively Oriented

The young child is an active, searching, curious, manipulative creature positively oriented to the stimulation in his environment. The young child not only seeks stimulation but, when stimulated, seeks still more. He reacts negatively to very few objects. Education—in fact, life experience—takes this active, searching, manipulative, and curious creature and builds into him organized, structured, and set patterns of habits, skills, interest, and attitude. The child has a wide range of interests, the adolescent has fewer, and the adult still fewer. But the adolescent and the adult follow their interests more efficiently and meet life demands better. In the developmental process efficiency is acquired at the cost of versatility. The child is changed from a multipotential creature that can go in an endless number of directions to one with a particular or a few directions.

Life builds upon what the child already has. The early period is one of searching out and exploring the environment and one's self in order to establish the base upon which development will take place. The broader the base and the more varied the child's experience, the better is the chance that he will find himself and discover the possibilities of his environment, and the greater the likelihood of good

behavior and personal happiness later. If the child cannot discover what he can do or what opportunities his environment affords, his developmental possibilities are restricted or limited. Early childhood education is then conceived in terms of broad and varied experience with many opportunities for self-discovery.

Errors and Outgrown Responses. In studies of infants and young children evidence abounds that many elements appear in early behavior sequences. Some become permanent parts of behavior without much change; some are substantially modified and changed; some disappear completely. The young human being makes many errors, does over and over again, and bungles and feels his way about. He is highly motivated when little or no constraint is imposed on his searching, curious, and manipulative behavior. Much of this behavior is not meaningless. Neither are his bungling attempts and errors *mistakes*; they are part of the learning process. He learns through his errors and his successes. Out of this exploratory and unorganized behavior the child weaves the pattern of his life. An educational environment for young children should, therefore, provide for breadth of experience and manifold opportunities for exploration rather than consist of a few limited, definitely structured, and highly selected experiences. Many experiences, apparently valueless in terms of the moment, are of great value for subsequent development.

The Young Child's Behavior Is Fluid

A somewhat related and equally fundamental characteristic of the young child appears as a result of modern studies. It can best be thought of in terms of fluid behavior and applies not so much to the variety of responses as to their organization. It is a common experience that a person skilled in examining or teaching adolescents has difficulties when he first examines or teaches young children. He has been accustomed to giving directions and securing prompt responses and to asking questions and getting answers back; in other words, he is accustomed to responses that are closely adapted to the situation. With the young child, however, the examiner or teacher who is too quick on the trigger, too demanding, and too precise will be resisted. The answer for which he may have to wait will appear casually in the midst of apparently unrelated material. Logicity and precision are characteristic of mature forms of thinking. The doctor can proceed quickly with an examination of an older child because the child knows what to expect and what to do. With a young child, however, he must wait, let the child wander around the room and be-

come accustomed to the place. The young child is essentially unstructured. In studies of babies some difficulty is found in securing consistent responses from week to week, even though every attempt is made to set up the same situations. One week the babies respond, the next week they do not, and the next, perhaps, they do. Later on, they respond consistently. The experimenter has to wait on the babies instead of forcing the baby into the experimenter's framework.

Pace Set by Child. Therefore, the principle emerges of permitting the young child to set the pace, of waiting for the child to adapt, and of not expecting too precise or exact behavior. An important area for study, with many implications for practice, is opened up. If the child is fluid, unstructured, unorganized, and undifferentiated in many behavior areas, it is essential that adult attitudes, values, and interpretations be not projected into child behavior. Adults fail to see how completely organized, structured, and precise much of their behavior is and how little room there is for modification. Workers with children need to be warned that the child is fluid, has a short attention span and a short memory span, is not able to work for remote goals, and is concerned very much with present stimulation. He is different in the sense of being fluid and responsive rather than fixed and canalized.

Flexible Program. An educational program appropriate for young children must, therefore, be adapted to their nature, in that it must not be too highly fixed, too patterned, too organized, too demanding, or too constraining. There should be patience to permit the child to find his way; and there must be confidence in the child's ability to structure his own behavior and to attain the organization necessary for adjustment. The younger the child, the more he is a creature of momentary needs; the more definitely he responds in terms of impulse, the more suggestible and at the same time the more resistive he is to stimulation that does not conform with or meet the pattern of the moment. In bringing the child by degrees from informal to formal activities, we must see that the possibilities of fluid behavior are not arbitrarily restricted, since such limits reduce the possibilities of future organization.

Shall the Schedule Dominate? Should the program for young children be set up in a routine way with a fixed schedule of organized activities carried on in a very definite fashion? Or shall it be highly individualized, flexible, and closely related to the needs of children at the moment? In the first case there should be a fixed schedule with a program of specific activities designed for all children. Primary em-

phasis would be placed on getting the group of children through the activities. In the second case, the nursery school or kindergarten would operate without an obvious program or curriculum, even though substantial planning had been done. Its activities from day to day and from moment to moment would seem to be spontaneous and flexible, with almost complete freedom for the individual. The teacher's tasks are making materials and experiences available and giving children opportunities to choose freely from them, instead of rushing the group through a predetermined program. In many schools and classrooms the schedule dominates the thinking of the teacher and children, with the result that children's needs are ignored. The aim of scheduling is not the maintenance of a schedule nor the convenience of the teacher, as some suppose. It seeks to provide orderly and systematic ways of expending energy. The young child has little need for orderliness; the adult who lives in a practical world of space and time has much need of it. Adult living, especially effective work, is partly a matter of maintaining schedules. The child needs experience with schedules as well as with freedom. The practical problem centers on the relative amounts of free and controlled experience to be given at each age level in order to further development. Viewed in this way, exacting and structured requirements may well increase with age. Thus, with young children there should be more flexibility and a wider range of opportunity; with older children, less flexibility and more organization.

The Young Child's World Is Concrete and Tangible

The studies of Piaget and his followers on the development of thinking show that young children think in concrete rather than abstract terms and that their thought is closely connected with the object or situation in which thought arises. Associations are made on the basis of immediate experience rather than through logical or causal relations. With growth, particularly in adolescence, there is an increase in the capacity to use abstract terms, to work with symbols when the objects of thought are remote, and to make logical and causal associations. The adult uses abstract and general concepts and substitutes symbols for overt behavior whenever he can. Because of their unfamiliarity with these age changes and their familiarity with their own thought processes, adults expect children to think as adults. Teachers are adults and think like adults, while the children they teach are at a more primitive and child-like level. Special efforts are needed in the training of teachers to counteract

and overcome the dominance of adult modes of thought by showing them how to use concrete, specific, and tangible materials rather than verbal, symbolic, and abstract materials.

For young children the actual manipulation of objects with their own hands is of much greater value than the manipulation of the symbols which represent them. This is true, in some degree, of the older child. It is much easier for the teacher or adult to rattle off symbols glibly than to use specific examples, concrete materials, and real life situations. Not only should the teacher understand the value of doing, experiencing, and manipulating objects but the school for young children should also be equipped with a wide variety of materials and should offer many kinds of stimulating experiences in order to give the good efforts of the teacher an opportunity to be revealed. But the education of the young child should not stop with concrete materials and primitive modes of thought. He is also interested in language, wants to play with it, and is acquiring facility with symbols and abstractions. In a good environment the young child is linguistically active much of the time. Language and thought develop in an atmosphere in which, in addition to tangible experiences, manipulation of objects, and doing for himself, the child is free to talk about his experiences, to describe them to others, and to indulge in verbal play and symbolic manipulation.

The Young Child Depends on Incentives

It has been pointed out that the young child seeks more and more stimulation from his environment. New objects attract him, new sensory experiences pull him. In managing young children, teachers and parents utilize external objects and incentives to motivate him. It has been said that the young child is a creature of the moment. This means that his interests are fleeting and that continuous and consistent stimulation is necessary if he is to be kept at a task or to carry through to a goal. Here the question as to whether it is desirable that he be kept at a task or be required to carry through to a goal is not asked; our immediate concern is with his nature. As age increases, the ability to work for longer periods of time, to think of remote goals, and to carry through to a purpose with extended satisfaction increases. Extrinsic motivation is replaced by intrinsic motivation, which is less dependent upon accident or circumstance. The young child is more pulled about by his environment, whereas the older child is more aware of his own needs and purposes.

A program for educating young children should make a beginning

in developing the child's capacity to do for himself and in creating a willingness and desire to persist to a solution or goal. To accomplish this the child should have opportunities to follow his own purposes and to experience their desirable and undesirable outcomes. Something is known of the types of environment that produce persistence in five-year-olds. Those with high persistence come from homes with moderate disciplinary programs, while those with low persistence come from homes that are either very easygoing or very rigid. Doing too much for the child results in behavior similar to that which comes from doing too little. In between there is a relation between adults and children which uses incentives, not for their own sake or for adult convenience but primarily to build the self-control that will enable the child to work out his own inner needs and interests in socially desirable ways. What is meant is not so much a specific product or a particular accomplishment as an atmosphere that carries the child forward in his capacity to do for himself and others without undercutting initiative and spontaneity. Two methods of motivation are contrasted, one of which forces the child into a framework of action by external pressure; the other of which, by developing inner needs and interests, makes of the child a self-propelling vehicle. Although both are interwoven in many activities, one is gradually substituted for the other. Extrinsic motivation is easier to use, can be developed more uncritically, and gives an appearance of order. Intrinsic motivation is more difficult to develop and needs more sensitivity and skill on the part of the teacher. Although intrinsic motivation sometimes does not produce clean-cut and obvious results, in the long run the gains in development and power more than make up for the difficulties in its development.

The Young Child Is Emotionally Stable if His World Is Secure

In early childhood, in order to learn well, the child needs confidence in his environment and security in his relations with others. In later childhood and adolescence, confidence in the environment is transformed into confidence in one's self in order to meet the stresses and strains of adult life. Confidence and security arise in an environment with some stability. When the child is handled inconsistently from moment to moment and day to day, he must adjust not only to new elements but also to variable changes in their relations. Young children in England who were evacuated in the early days of the war showed much tenseness and unhappiness until a familiar type of play equipment was seen. With recognition of the familiar and stable, they

calmed down and adjusted well. The familiar, whether in materials or in schedule, provides an anchor from which the child can move on into the unexplored and the new.

A good environment contains stable features and consistent patterns which can be recognized as such by the child. It also gives freedom to do and to explore the new. By balancing familiar elements and customary experiences with unfamiliar and new elements, transitions are facilitated, and progress is made possible. When neurotic persons care for young children, difficulties arise, not so much out of the specific things they do as out of the inconsistencies in what they do which keep the child constantly out of balance. Sometimes a strict environment, which is consistent, gives the child more security than an easy environment that is inconsistent. The child needs confidence in the teacher but should not be dependent upon her. Much of the skill of a good teacher centers in her ability to build up feelings of confidence in children, without making them dependent. In a stable and emotionally balanced environment, self-expression, creative efforts, and learning are facilitated.

The Young Child Needs Much Social Experience

The child is positively oriented toward his environment and seeks more and more stimulation from it. In this environment the most important objects are other persons. The child is more interested in them than in any other objects because they minister to his wants and offer a changing pattern of color, light, shadow, sound, and movement which, in itself, holds the child. Moreover, in the world of the future, much of his happiness and effectiveness will depend on the manner in which he reacts to others and in which they, in turn, react to him. He adjusts to others, first in face-to-face, then in group, and, later, in more remote contacts.

Although the prime importance of social adjustment is well recognized, what is not so well known is the tremendous advances made in the early years under appropriate opportunities. There is great variation in the number, variety, and types of social experience in childhood. The actual counting of social contacts made by children indicates that these contacts run into the hundreds for each day of observation. If these figures are multiplied by appropriate numbers for days, weeks, months, and years, it becomes clear that social behavior is made up of many skills which are neither momentarily evolved nor derived from unvarying patterns coming down through heredity. They are the outcomes of learning in situations which recur

countless times and which are subject to guidance. It has been shown that much of the social ineffectiveness of older children is the result of ignorance and inexperience rather than of inherited tendencies, wilful behavior, or lack of sociality. By appropriate training in skills that give social visibility and experience in guiding others, children who are submissive, outcasts, or nonparticipants can acquire new social behavior that will change their roles in the group. The social patterns which are established early are stable and affect later behavior.

Quantity of Social Experience. From such observations it is clear that in any program of education for young children substantial account must be taken of the children's needs for social experience and of the values which come directly from appropriate and guided social experience in quantity. Even though the group structures and the social interrelations among young children may seem quite ephemeral to the naive observer, they are, nevertheless, the base from which subsequent social development moves.

A good school for young children recognizes the primacy of social experience and seeks to give children a variety of contacts with other children in face-to-face and small-group relations, varying all the way from the informal and spontaneous groupings that characterize the free play period to the formal and guided group experiences which are somewhat similar to but do not duplicate those which the child will have later in the elementary school.

Quality of Social Contacts. Such a school is concerned not only with the provision of a wide variety of social experiences in order to facilitate the development of social behavior but is also concerned with the quality of contacts which are made. It is easy, for instance, to set up a highly competitive atmosphere in which individual children vie with each other for the teacher's attention and for places in the sun. It is somewhat more difficult to set up an atmosphere which emphasizes co-operative and sharing behavior by teaching the children to take turns, by helping them to work together with common toys, or by encouraging them to share their possessions and experiences with one another. Evidence indicates that competitive and co-operative behavior parallel each other in development and are positively correlated. They are to be looked upon as differentiations from the more primitive group behavior.

Importance of Space and Equipment. To establish a good social environment for young children, some emphasis needs to be placed upon adequate outdoor and indoor play equipment and space. The

child needs space, outdoor life, and play experience with other children in an environment that is not too confining or too restricted. Where the space is too limited or where there is little or no equipment and few materials, the quality of social responses deteriorates.

THE ACQUISITION OF SKILL

As the child grows, he faces one situation after another in which he must build new modes of behavior. Sometimes the demands upon him arise out of his own impulses; more often they grow out of living together, i.e., are social in nature. In its early stages adjustment consists of a relatively unorganized and unstructured approach to the situation. In its final stages it consists of responses which are organized and structured into a pattern. The process of acquiring this pattern is called *learning*, and what is left behind in the child as a fairly permanent way of meeting the situation is known as a *skill*. Thus, the young child meeting the situation—shoes with laces—goes through much manipulation and unorganized and ineffective movement. If he persists and tries over a period of time, he learns to lace his shoes. What previously took many minutes of fumbling and apparently useless effort now takes but a moment of time and is done smoothly and expertly. From acquiring control over eliminative processes, dressing, and eating situations, the child moves on to acquiring skill in reading, in numbers, and in social behavior. Literally, hundreds of skills go to make up the complex adjustment of an adult in our society. During the whole of development, the human is engaged in acquiring skill and competence in many areas and under many different circumstances. In some areas only a few days or weeks are involved; in others, months; and in others, years. In some areas learning or adjustment is never complete, no matter how long one lives. What, then, does the person gain by the acquisition of skill in terms of the situation or problem?

Skill and Freedom. Skill frees the person from the dominance of the situation and enables him to move on to other areas. Thus, the young child who can lace his shoes is freer than the child who cannot lace them. What takes him a minute takes the other ten or fifteen minutes. The skilled child has time for other and more desirable activities. The child who comes to school without knowing how to put on his overcoat or overshoes must be taught these skills by a busy teacher at the expense of some other and better kindergarten activities. Individuals are made free, not by following every impulse or doing as they will but by becoming competent in the areas of living which are about them. It is the task of the educator to outline and plan

the orderly acquisition of skills in order that the child may move on from lower to higher levels of behavior.

The Restricted or Bound Child. What happens if the child does not acquire competence in a particular area at an appropriate time in the developmental sequence? "Appropriate time" may be defined as that at which other children acquire competence or the environment demands such competence. Consider the child of two and a half or three years of age who has not learned to control his eliminative habits. The child with control can forget the whole process, since he is not unusual or striking in terms of his group and is not bothered by the situations connected with elimination. The child who has not acquired competence is a marked child among his mates (who may be familiar with his lack of control), among his teachers, with his parents, and with the physician who may be consulted about the problem. Psychologically, he lives in a different world; it is a world in which his inadequacy is more or less always present and is a source of comment, discussion, and differential treatment, perhaps even ridicule and social displeasure. Similarly, one can point out that the child who quickly and easily acquires skill in reading in the first or second grade can move on without embarrassment, whereas the child who is ineffective suffers more or less constant embarrassment. His world is different because others react differently to him. In time, his relation to his environment is radically different from that of his associates. The child who fails to acquire skills or habits or to respond to the demands made upon him is a bound individual in comparison with the one who, because he has acquired competence, is freer, less constrained, and more open. The teacher is interested in unblocking and unbinding the child, thus opening new vistas for him.

MATURATION AND LEARNING

Because he is a growing organism responding to primary life impulses, the child will move forward in some degree, regardless of stimulation. In some environments progress will be slower; in others, faster. For practical purposes the distinction between those phases of adjustment which depend upon growth and maturing and those which depend upon experience or learning is important. Between these extremes is a whole continuum in which both maturation and learning operate in different proportions and degrees. The separation of what is learned from what matures has been attacked in a variety of ways by investigators who have found a relation between the complexity of the activity to be acquired and the effect of learning. In

many simple skills and ordinary activities the child with specific training does only a little better, if at all, than the child who has not received any training. With complex skills, on the other hand, guided training results in enormous differences between the children with and those without training. The practical principles involve: (1) the recognition of the child's level when instruction begins; (2) the provision of preparatory material to facilitate learning; and (3) instruction, stimulation, and guidance in the skills or knowledge to be acquired.

Readiness. At some levels of development and experience the child is better prepared to acquire a skill than at other levels. The term "readiness" expresses this quality. Readiness to read means being prepared to learn to read. The factors behind readiness are found to involve some degree of maturity or growth and some particular types of experience. Thus, the child is not ready to read until he has some facility in the spoken language. A fair mastery of speech symbols must be attained before the child can be interested in the visual symbols necessary to reading.

But learning to read is facilitated if the child has had particular kinds of experience. If the material to be read tells about cows, milk, and the farm, the child will make more rapid progress if, prior to instruction, he is familiar with the objects described. A rural child would have this familiarity as a matter of course, while a child in a large city might never have seen a cow or know how milk comes to be on the table. The rural child might know nothing about elevators or subways. Prior to reading instruction a good teacher organizes experiences so as to give the child familiarity with the words and concepts used in reading. This can be done by group discussions, excursions, exhibits, and guided play activities. Many of the skills which the child needs in our complex society are themselves complex and depend on a variety of background material. Readiness, then, involves both maturation and experience. To handle the child effectively his level should be known. Insight into future education and the inclusion of "readiness" material for that future are important for those who deal with younger children.

The study of readiness gives excellent examples of the need and importance of the integration of the educational program along vertical lines and thus illustrates the principle of time binding which was discussed earlier, i.e., the relation between past, present, and future. If we knew more about children over longer periods of time, it would become clear that there are areas in which one type of material or

experience definitely facilitates the acquisition or progress in a later and different type of experience. These would contribute not only to skill and knowledge but also to the child's confidence and personality.

Groupings by Age Levels. In some nursery schools and kindergartens children are sharply divided into two-year-old, three-year-old, four-year-old, and five-year-old groups, with a pattern of school organization that duplicates the traditional age pattern followed in most elementary schools. Whether or not this is desirable has not been experimentally determined. There is, however, much criticism of the elementary school for its rigid age classifications and some emphasis in modern thought upon the desirability of having children spread their acquaintanceship and social experience over a wide rather than a narrow age range. Such contacts would also motivate younger children toward the skills and attitudes of the older children and facilitate their vertical progress. A good practice would be to arrange situations in which two-, three-, four-, and five-year-old children can mingle, play, and work with one another, in addition to providing group experience within a narrow age range.

THE ORGANIZATION OF EXPERIENCES FOR CHILDREN

Two major problems are faced by every person who undertakes to lay out a program for the education of children. One is the problem of *what*; the other is the problem of *when*. The first is the problem of content; the second is that of the sequence or location of content within the developmental process. In addition, there is the problem of *how*, which cannot be completely dissociated from *what* and *when*, since within limits there is some variation in location with method.

The answers to all three questions depend upon the level of maturation of the child and his readiness or previous experience. Children do with difficulty at an earlier age what they do with ease at a later age, when their level of maturity and background of experience are greater. Thus, older children can solve problems that are much too difficult for younger children, simply because they are older. Children of the same age solve problems of differing difficulty because of their experience.

In a favorable environment preschool children who show marked interest in numbers enjoy playing with numbers and with number games. This interest, which can be encouraged, creates spontaneous practice that, later, makes arithmetic much easier. Clinics find that children who have much difficulty in numbers will eagerly play such games as "Rummy," which gives painless practice in number combi-

nations. Such a prescription meets a deficiency in number experience which should not have arisen. When lack of experience is viewed as a deficiency in early education, the pattern of education emerges as a problem. When, and how, and to what degree shall this, that, or the other be made a part of the child's experience?

If we were willing to spend the money and to provide a very high type of individual instruction, much of what is now taught children could be taught as well or better at earlier ages. McGraw was amazingly successful in teaching Johnny complex motor skills before the age of eighteen months. Others have reported on early reading, mathematical, artistic, and musical skills in individual children. Such teaching is not only very expensive but it may also be quite undesirable in terms of the balanced growth of the child. Is the greater energy and time that is required on the part of the child and teacher necessary, in view of the fact that a few months or years later equivalent mastery can be acquired with less time and energy? These are important problems, to many of which there are, as yet, no precise answers.

In the meantime environments have to be set up for young children in terms of the best knowledge available. These will consist of particular experiences and opportunities arranged in some order or pattern.

The Curriculum as a Series of Guided Experiences. In the education of children, the concern is not only with single skills and experiences but also with the general patterns of responses and attitudes to be acquired over a period of time. Since everything cannot be made available at one time, choices have to be made, both, of the experiences to be had and of the emphasis each is to be given. A pattern of opportunities and guided experiences is known as a curriculum. The curriculum-maker faces a difficult task. In spite of the best intentions, he must break up what he wishes children to have into small segments, which, being misinterpreted by teachers, soon acquire hard and fast boundaries and lose their flexibility and relation to children's needs. For curriculum-planning, the child's past experience, present needs, and future possibilities need consideration.

Units of Experience for Young Children. In discussions of the curriculum for older children, such terms as "projects" and "units" are used. Because they imply too much standardization and formal organization, they do not apply very well to the program for younger children. Better terms would be "experiences" or "guided experiences." But, in using them, care is to be taken not to think of unplanned or

accidental experiences. A project that seems very informal to the child may be the result of more definite planning and more conscious guidance on the part of the teacher than is one which seems highly formal and fixed. Some teachers are themselves so highly structured that they operate in a purely routine "nickel in the slot" way without planning or thinking. A good teacher maintains the appearance of informality in order to secure interest and motivation from her children. But she plans the material or experiences to be presented and gives serious consideration in advance to the methods of interesting the child and of eliciting his spontaneous enthusiasms.

The young child, with his short memory and attention spans, shifts interests quickly. As he grows older he develops the ability to work for longer periods, to seek more remote goals, and to relate present behavior to future goals. From the elementary grades through high school to college, content is integrated into larger and larger units with greater dominance by remote goals. A substantial contribution to be made by the school is the development of orderly and systematic work habits that make the attainment of remote goals possible.

Moreover, the number of children who can co-operate or work together in a particular unit or project increases with age. Groups of from four to six children are maintained spontaneously by four-year-old children, while two-year-olds typically are found in groups of two or three. By appropriate group experience the attention span of the child can be enlarged to enable him to maintain more effective relations with larger numbers of people and a greater range of material.

The experiences provided for two- or three-year-olds should last for a short time and be very concrete and tangible. Activities should be many and should change frequently. For four-year-olds somewhat longer projects and more involved units can be developed, some of which may carry over from one day to the next. At the kindergarten level, a transition can be made to activities that can be carried over a week or ten days and still maintain the interest and wholehearted co-operation of children. In the elementary school the child works for longer periods of time at activities which, however interesting they may be, are of remote value in terms of their immediate contribution to personality. Later, insight may come. Thus, a child of nine, who suddenly discovered that she could read through a whole book and keep it in mind, was both surprised and pleased at discovering this ability. This gradual lengthening of time, this increasing complexity and holding power of a project which has goal characteristics, is an important educational contribution.

Adults often fail to realize the extent to which their established habits and fixed modes of work are the products of their own age and experience. As a result, their expectancies in terms of educational content are often far too high for young children. The imposition of the teacher's goals and adult work structures may be very harmful to the child at a time when he cannot really carry through. It is a common error to expect far too much in terms of persistence, orderliness, and accomplishment from young children. Some teachers are much more interested in the perfection of the product (an adult structure) than in the process of learning. On the other hand, those with experience are constantly surprised at how well young children can function. The experienced and intelligent teacher learns to know what to expect, not in terms of what adults do but in terms of children's possibilities.

Content Should Be De-emphasized. Any discussion of units of experience may seem to place too much stress upon content because of an adult tendency to think in terms of accomplishments. Ideally, with young children, content should be minimized, and stress should be placed on adjustment and modes of attack on problems. It is not what the child learns in formal terms which is important but what he gains from experiences in the way of self-control, emotional balance, initiative, interest, and enthusiasm for the material in question.

Anticipation of Future Experiences. The vertical integration of content presents a practical problem in curriculum-planning and in teaching. To what extent shall future experiences be anticipated and work for readiness be placed in the lower grades to prepare for the upper grades? Criticism has been made of nursery schools in that they make children unhappy in kindergarten by anticipating their experiences and of kindergartens in that they do too much for children who enter first grade. These are not so much criticisms of nursery and kindergarten education as indications of failure in co-ordinating programs at various levels. They may also indicate lack of teaching skill or vision in utilizing the experience and capacities of children for educational purposes and in providing interesting new experiences for them. They are more apt to arise in a formalized educational system and less likely to appear if teachers are trained to adapt programs to children's needs.

Overstimulation. Another criticism—that young children are overstimulated by nursery-school and kindergarten experiences—also indicates poor program-planning and lack of teaching skill. Although it may occur in an individual child, it should not happen for a room or

a school. This criticism often arises out of a misunderstanding of the young child's nature. He is not, as some suppose, a physical being merely waiting to grow but an active, energetic, and alert person. Some home environments are not stimulating enough for young children, who can often do very much more than they actually do or are expected to do. A program well adapted to children's needs results in growth and development but not in overstimulation.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

For the young child the school is a significant part of his world. In it are equipment, materials, other children, and a teacher. The teacher is the most important single object in this environment. About her the school revolves. She sets the stage and disposes of the players, she creates and maintains the atmosphere in which the work and play of the children takes place. Much of what goes on in and out of her schoolroom depends upon her conception of what teaching is, what children are, and what learning is.

Learning is Self-education. If a child is given a problem which can be solved and if he is motivated to respond, correct responses will appear, in time, regardless of whether or not a teacher is present or instruction is given. All that is essential is that right and wrong responses have different outcomes. If guidance and demonstration of good procedures are added, the child will make greater progress. Literally then, a teacher does not teach; she guides a process inherent in the child which could go on even if she were not present but which should go on more effectively if she is present. She motivates the child in a process of self-education. The child learns through his own errors, which are part of the early stages of learning. Therefore, he must have opportunities to make errors in order to profit from them. The teacher sets up the conditions which motivate the child, i.e., the conditions which start the restructuring of behavior, and then moves on to facilitate the restructuring in every way possible. It should be clear to her that restructuring is an internal rather than an external process and that it involves growth and development.

In these terms, a school for young children is a stimulating environment in which appropriate materials and persons are made available to children who are motivated toward them in order that learning may take place. Emphasis is upon adjustment in a broad sense. In some areas, this means mastering specific motor, linguistic, and intellectual skills for present or later utilization; in other areas it means ease and skill in meeting and working with others; in still other areas

it means emotional balance and self-control. Within the program there are few *musts* and few attempts to force the child for any limited, temporary, or narrow purpose. But a double set of general purposes—one of which is gradual adaptation of the individual to group living and societal demands, the other of which is the exploration and stimulation of the child's own capacities in an environment in which he feels secure and free to go about his own development—must be kept in mind.

Individual Abilities and Guidance. Practical experience and scientific research alike show wide differences between children in their specific abilities and in the pattern of their abilities. These differences are increased by training and experience. In educating the child, account must be taken both of his present traits and attainment levels and of his future possibilities. Some aspects of the child's personality can be greatly modified and others can be changed only to a limited degree. A skilful teacher seeks to equalize the opportunities for children—not by setting a dead level of uniformity for all but by special efforts and devices to interest each child and to encourage him to utilize his own capacities and the school opportunities to the full. She is particularly alert to help children make up deficiencies.

Even though the children in a classroom differ markedly from one another, they have marked resemblances to one another. Good teaching provides for these common abilities. While the traditional school tended to emphasize the same fixed pattern of tasks for all children at the same time, the modern school provides freedom for individual activity within a common background of experience. During the free play period in a modern school, the children go about separate activities and follow their own individual interests. At another period, the children engage in group activities in which all participate. The educational problem is that of providing an atmosphere within the same framework which will give opportunities for individual development to a high degree and which will develop group responsiveness and ability to work for group goals.

Implicit is the assumption that the teacher is able to recognize and encourage specific abilities and interests and is adaptable and acute in developing an educational program to utilize them for individual development and for group purposes. This requires some shifting from year to year and even from month to month in the arrangement and organization of group programs in accordance with the abilities of the children. In one group two or three children may be much interested in art, while in another there may be little or no skill in art

but much in music. In the first instance a skilful teacher may make particular use of the art products. In the second group particular use may be made of the musical skills. An alert teacher can superimpose upon a basic and somewhat fixed program a shifting and adaptable program to utilize and develop individual interests and skills.

Emotional Security and Control. Substantial evidence exists that children make the best adjustment in an environment in which they feel secure and with adults in whom they have confidence. Much also depends upon whether or not the child feels he is an accepted member of the group or whether he feels insecure and outside the group. The atmosphere of security and co-operation created within the school-room by the teacher affects learning in all its phases. In some degree, this atmosphere is independent of the specific procedures used by the teacher; in part, it is dependent upon them. Thus, a teacher may be strict and yet secure co-operation, respect, and even love from her children, while another teacher who is strict may fail in securing co-operation, love, and respect. An easygoing teacher may bind the children to her or find that the children reject her. Emphasis, then, goes upon the whole personality and upon the manner in which the teacher has met her own personal problems.

Two points of view exist with regard to the attitude and practice of the teacher toward the emotional difficulties which develop between children. One is that the teacher must closely supervise the children, that relations between children should always be at or near the perfect level, and that the controversies incident to human living should be avoided by not permitting them to arise. On the surface everything is smooth—no matter what turmoil lies underneath. The other permits some social freedom because friction, hostility, quarreling, and difficulties in human interrelations are recognized as part of the normal life process. To a limited degree, social interchanges in the school should be permitted to enable children to develop realistic attitudes toward one another and thus come to understand the emotional and social reactions of other persons. The first conception is a hothouse conception of complete protection; the second, the view that children can be permitted real life experiences under supervision in moderate degree in order to prepare them for the major responsibilities they will encounter later. The first gives a false impression of security and order, while the second, although more immediately charged with feeling, builds for strength and security.

Management and Discipline. In good teaching the child is not made more dependent or attached to the teacher, but rather, more

independent and self-reliant and less attached or dependent upon particular adults. It takes skill to free the child and at the same time keep him feeling secure and significant. If the teacher is able to anticipate problems before they occur and to set the stage so that the child can acquire competence through his own efforts, she will do well. Her role with young children cannot be described in terms of rigid, fixed, and dominating controls but, rather, as one which departs radically from the conventional concept of teaching at older age levels. The teacher of young children is not one apart from the group but a very vital and integral part of it. If she maintains great social distance by being aloof and not participating freely in children's activities, she will be ineffective. She should not be so far away that the school is completely dominated by the children nor so much the center of the stage that all activities revolve about her every wish, with all children oriented toward her at all times. Instead, the teaching function is conceived in terms of setting the stage in such a way that she is a part of the situation without seeming to be; she is only rarely in the foreground but is always significantly in the background. All possibility of good teaching is sometimes lost because of the sheer number of children for whom the teacher is responsible. Too many children may result in domination by a fixed schedule.

Disciplinary and management controls reach a dead and automatic level quickly, unless the teacher is continuously alert, is aware of the significance of her relationship to the pupil, has some knowledge of the importance of the atmosphere she creates within her room, and has some insight into her own capacity and function as a social stimulus. Such attitudes need continuous reinforcement through the interchange of experiences among teachers, through the participation by teachers in professional organizations, and by a program of in-service training and supervision which will keep the creative spirit alive within the teacher.

PLACE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY

The child is a member of a family, a member of a group of associates near his own age level, and a member of the community. With growth, his circle of relations will widen as he is played upon by the various influences in the community and as he enlarges his own sphere of action. Neither vertically, in his development, nor horizontally, in his relations with his environment, is it possible to draw sharp and hard lines that isolate.

society, to give him skills and attitudes of personal and social value, and to prepare him for future living. The school is imbedded in the community and in the culture of which it is a part. Schools for young children do not differ in fundamental purpose from those for older children but do have a significant educational function.

Progression in Educational Program. For the best development of the child a vertical integration which will tie the child's experiences together is desirable. The elementary school should build upon the preschool, the high school upon the elementary school, the college upon the high school. This is a reversal of our traditional practice in which education has moved from top downward and in which the needs of the college have set the pattern of high-school education, and the needs of the high school have set the pattern of elementary education. Good integration involves a compromise between the needs of the on-moving, developing organism and the demands which society imposes. The continuity of the individual and the changing pattern of society, alike, call for an education that starts with young children and continues through adult life.

The Value of Early Childhood Education. What is a good school? What is a bad school? These are difficult questions to answer since any definition of "goodness" or "badness" depends upon the criteria set up. Thus, a well-ordered, very neat, and a rigidly scheduled school, with every object spotless and in its appropriate place, may be a very good school in its physical aspects and yet be a very bad school in its psychological and social effects upon children. Another school, which in physical appearance and general arrangements seems to be very bad, may actually, if its effects upon children are studied, turn out to be very good.

This problem of a criterion not only enters into the evaluation of particular schools but also into the study of the value of early childhood education as a whole. If the effectiveness of a school for young children is measured in terms of the ability to read or to do arithmetic, the test centers in a content with which the school may have little or no concern. If the maturity and self-reliance of the children and their ability to do for themselves and to participate socially are measured, the study will be nearer the experiences with which schools for young children deal. Much the same question can be raised concerning the comparisons in later school years of the progress of children with and without nursery-school and kindergarten experience. Far too often the comparisons are made in terms of effectiveness in formal school work, to which the contribution of the nursery school

and kindergarten is minor. Much too seldom are comparisons made in terms of general adjustment, social relations, personal development, and zest and enthusiasm for living—the areas emphasized in early education.

It is particularly difficult to test the value of an educational program when, and if, it is viewed as a whole. On the other hand, the specific contribution made to a particular area of skill or knowledge by particular and specialized programs of instruction can be readily tested and is often of great value. Who is to say that elementary education is bad or good, that high-school education is bad or good, when experience in elementary and high school is in the background of almost every member of our society? What can be said is that such experience is essential for adaptation in our particular society, because a person without such education is a lost soul. The evaluation of nursery-school and kindergarten education should not and cannot be made except in terms of how the child, as a learning, growing, developing organism, utilizes and benefits from the experiences provided. And even this answer would be only a partial one, since programs of education continually improve or at least change with the passing years. Education is not something with an all or none value, not something permanently fixed. It changes with society and society changes with it.

Need of Professional Public Auspices. In general, the best work in education is done by professionally trained people who meet the state requirements, which are statements of the type and amount of experience that society has found desirable for the task of teaching children. Some regard nursery education as distinct and separate from public education. It is largely an historical accident that schools for young children developed outside of public auspices. But with the demonstration of their value, the logical place for them is in the public school system. Since society has already established the agencies for educating children and has entrusted the responsibility for them to a particular group of people, any consideration of future developments must recognize the purposes of the public educational system and seek to include the program for educating young children with that system. Further, although custodial institutions, such as day nurseries for young children, have existed for some time to meet special needs, as time passes they will be forced to develop an "educational" rather than a "service" point of view, in exactly the same way as the custodial institutions for older children are being replaced by institutions with remedial, preventive, and educational philosophies.

Relation to Home and Community. Horizontally, education is a joint enterprise of home, school, and community. That view which isolated the child from nine to three o'clock each day, which discouraged contacts with parents, and which held that the school was independent of the remainder of the community is well in the past now.

Both evidence and experience indicate that the child cannot be taught well without some knowledge of his home background and his relations in the community. A child may do badly in school, not because of an intellectual deficiency but, possibly, because of a disturbed family situation which will soon result in divorce of the parents. Because his parents can supply him with all the aids to good work, one child may make more progress than another of equal ability. Because he is kept up late, a young child may be so fatigued that he cannot participate in the play and social activities on a par with other children. Wherever we dip into the complex of relations between the individual and the community, the school and the community, the teacher and the community, and the family and the school, there arises evidence of a need for the co-ordination and integration of the work of those concerned with the child.

Parent Education and Early Childhood Education. Out of the particularly intimate relation between the school for young children and the home arises both the need and the opportunity for an active program of parent education. Because the parents of young children are much interested in their welfare and face new problems daily in their care, they are especially interested in knowing how to improve their relations with children, often more so than parents of older children who are more likely to have set attitudes.

Among the many forms which parent education takes are: (1) visits of parents to schools to see actual practice in methods of handling young children; (2) conferences between parents and teachers or other specialists on the behavior and development of the child; (3) organized study groups; and (4) a parent-teacher association with a planned educational program. Parent-education activities are both informal and formal and vary greatly in amount. Because all aspects of family life relate to children, they can be of far wider scope than child training.

The modern movement for parent education has paralleled the movement for nursery education, just as a century ago the kindergarten came into existence primarily as a device for parent education. Schools for young children consider parent education an important phase of their program, in order to use the unusual and direct oppor-

tunities they have for contact with parents. How much parent education is undertaken often depends on their general theory of education and the possibilities of freeing staff members for work with parents. Throughout, education at all levels is marked by increasing awareness of its responsibilities for adult, parent, and community education.

THE FUTURE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Twenty-five years ago the nursery school was relatively untried; a hundred years ago the kindergarten was relatively untried; two hundred years ago the public elementary school was relatively untried. Each phase of public education first goes through a period of origination, then one of development, and finally one of acceptance and incorporation by society. When the first approach is made, the educational program arises out of the needs of a limited group. For instance, Robert Owen, who became interested in nursery education to meet the needs of working mothers, found his eyes opened to the needs of all children.

Regardless of the purposes of the early developments, which included such diverse aims as research, custodial care, provisions for children of working mothers, demonstrations for parents, and meeting the immediate needs of children, in time there has been movement forward to better understanding, appreciation, and insight into the needs of all young children. With that insight the program invariably gains vitality and strength and continues to develop. Adults also profit much from their association with and study of children. Soon new procedures, professions, and institutions arise.

Nursery Experience for Every Child. Although there is some difference of opinion as to the desirability of school experience for every young child, those who have worked with young children and know most about them feel that early education is desirable for all. With thirty years' of experience in the education of young children behind them, they are quite sure that good school environments can be established for children at early age levels. For particular classes of young children who have disadvantages, chiefly of a social nature, school experience is especially valuable. These include (a) handicapped children, (b) only children or children from very small families, (c) children physically isolated in outlying neighborhoods, (d) children socially isolated because of a lack of playmates, (e) children in family situations so tense that normal adjustment cannot be made, and (f) children in small apartments with limited indoor and outdoor play space.

The Future. It has been said that a society can never remain stationary; it either goes forward or it goes backward. So with most developmental processes in the individual or the group. On the whole, despite obvious deficiencies at some points, the program of early childhood education is better now than it was in 1925, in 1930, or in 1935. More is known about children and their needs. Educational thinking at all levels has been modified by the concern with young children, by the stimulating research done, and by the convincing demonstrations of what good schools can do. This dynamic process conditions the future. Out of the strength, insight, and enthusiasm of the present program will come a future in which the needs of young children will be more adequately met.

CHAPTER VI

PRACTICES AND RESOURCES IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION ¹

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RELATING THEORY TO PRACTICE ²

The preceding chapter has developed the theoretical approach to early childhood education. If practices are to express theories within the classroom, and if, in turn, new theories are to emerge from classroom experiences, attention must be given to maintaining a close relationship between theory and practice all along the way. A frequently heard and somewhat just criticism of the theorist accuses him of expounding his theories from a so-called vantage point far removed

¹ Acknowledgment is also due to Katherine Roberts and Evelyn Beyer of the Rochester, Minnesota, Community Health Project for their assistance in preparation of the initial outline of this chapter.

² This section contributed by Elizabeth Mechem Fuller.

from children. Likewise, the practitioner is somewhat justly accused of perpetuating methods, which came from no one really knows where, with little careful thought but with full confidence that "this is the way you do it."

Bridging the gap between theory and practice looms large as a pedagogical problem at all levels; it looms especially large in present-day early childhood education because of the enormous strides made in research in child development during the last quarter-century.

Early childhood education offers a fertile field for the theorist because of the general nature of early compared to later childhood education in our culture. Schools in this country educate first generally and then specifically. They have what we call a *broad base*, where children first sample and experience widely and later specialize. Therefore, in early childhood education, specific subject matter is typically relegated to a position of secondary importance and the emphasis is upon *providing for the whole child in his social setting*. With such an all-inclusive aim, early childhood education attracts theorists and practitioners from many fields, such as sociology, psychology, medicine, education, political science, and home economics. The composite theory which results is unquestionably superior to any more limited approach, but the task of organizing and synchronizing becomes increasingly difficult.

The problem of the theorist and that of the practitioner (the teacher) differ widely, owing to the nature of their jobs. For example, theoretical research provides numerous studies of frustration and its effect upon children. The teacher's problem, however, is to direct twenty-five or more children in a group situation day after day. She has to see incidents as having a past, a present, and a future—not as stimuli isolated in time and space which might cause frustration in an individual child. She has to study the child as a whole—as an individual—and as a group member. She knows that all individuals and all groups suffer occasional frustrations. She knows that she does not want to prevent all frustrations if she is preparing her children for living. Therefore, she makes decisions constantly as to which frustrations to prevent environmentally or in her guidance and which ones are to be accepted in the normal process of living. She must try to maintain an environment which is facilitating rather than frustrating for all children, but she does not seek to eliminate all frustrations from her classroom.

It would seem, then, that the theorist succeeds so far as he goes; he identifies, defines, and describes frustration and its effect upon

children. For this information to be really useful for the teacher, though, theory must be interpreted in the light of classroom, individual, and group practice, and then be restated in general principles for ready individual application.

In considering the hypotheses presented in chapter v, suggestions emerge which bear further general development in the light of practice because they represent the theoretical foundations upon which almost everything that is done in early childhood education is based.

First, the social form which the school for the young child takes is a democratic one in which the individual is important, both as an individual and as a member of a group. He is studied as an individual and treated as an individual wherever possible, and when he is subordinated to group demands in the interest of group action, effort is made first to gain his voluntary co-operation and his appreciation of these demands which must temporarily subordinate him. The individual child is encouraged to realize his potentialities to the fullest and then to fit them as harmoniously as possible into a society already in existence, so that individual and society will benefit mutually from his training.

Second, since the school respects the democratic ideal, an attempt is made to equalize opportunities for all children. Equalization of opportunity in practice depends upon recognition of individual differences in both nature and nurture aspects of growth. Nurture differences among very young children in school are frequently mistaken for nature differences with resultant errors of judgment in guidance. Older children, due to common experiences in school, usually reflect enough similarity in response to their environments to make it somewhat easier to understand nature and nurture factors. Very young children, however, have little common basis in experience for any of their reactions to early school situations. Thus, nature and nurture may both operate to exaggerate individual differences at the early school levels. Add to this the lack of reliable measures of either nature or nurture in the young child and it is understandable why the problem is so challenging.

Third, since the nature of the child's school life is to be democratic and interpreted in terms of individual differences, skills are developed to an optimal level within that framework. The skills of individual children in a democratic society become not less important but more important to their adjustment and process. It is easier to win recognition without skill in a controlled society than in an uncontrolled one where the individual's success is based upon his own efforts.

Therefore, the modern educator in practice does not do *less* to develop skills of all sorts in children; he merely does what is done democratically, respecting individual differences and using the best methods available. In such a plan, the child sets the pace, to be sure, but the teacher is there, setting the stage, suggesting, remotivating, integrating, and doing what she can to insure the acquisition of skills, which are too important to be left to chance or childhood whim.

Fourth, child development research stresses the oneness of the child's response to his environment. Research discovers the interrelationships among all phases of the child's existence and shows how, even when he seems to be making only one response, that response is influenced by everything that is happening to him. For example, the child learns better when he is well adjusted; he is well adjusted when he lives in an environment where he feels reasonably secure; he feels secure when he is with contemporaries in situations where enough adult control exists to keep his pattern of living somewhat consistent, yet where enough freedom exists to permit free expression of his creative impulses. Therefore, in order to guarantee each young child a school environment conducive to desirable adjustments and learnings, the teacher sets just enough of a schedule to provide reasonable consistency and security from day to day yet permits interpretation on an individual basis; sets standards specific enough for children to understand what is expected of them yet general enough to accommodate all individuals; and establishes personal relationships with the children which are colored by her own personality and their individual needs.

Fifth, practices utilized in early childhood education are based on the educator's respect for the researcher's emphasis upon the fact that the young child exerts a tremendous amount of energy and that any program designed for him must permit expenditure of this energy and provide for its channeling into desirable expression consistent with the child's personality and maturity level. His energies take the form of doing, thinking, feeling—first one activity and then, very shortly, another—active, curious, manipulative, seeking. The adults in his world must understand and respect this phenomenon of energy output and sometimes let the child alone in the sheer joy of exercising, sometimes divert his energy to protect him or another member of his group, sometimes invest it in some future goal perhaps too remote to motivate the child at the moment.

Sixth, early childhood education is to be considered as one segment of an educational process which is continuous throughout the life of the

organism. Whatever is done with young children must be in harmony with what is to be expected of them later in home, school, and community. Therefore, it is impossible to establish practices to be used with young children in any isolated way. These young children must progress through a fairly structured society; therefore, plans for the early years must anticipate the later years. Sometimes this anticipation means early development of positive attitudes toward learning in general; sometimes it means pointing toward later reading experiences by giving early training in language usages and attitudes toward language; sometimes it means early integration of the child's attitudes toward himself as an individual as contrasted with himself as a member of a group; always it means recognition of life as continuous and onward-looking. Thus, it would seem that the content and methods of group education should be established during the earliest age at which children come together in groups and that each succeeding age should build upon the foundations thus established and carry on in the light of knowledge of the characteristics of the age group concerned. Actually, however, workers with younger children find themselves faced continually with the necessity of carrying on "preparatory" functions in an effort to meet the requirements which have been set up by other segments of the school system, the elementary school, the secondary school, and the college or university. The program at every level automatically becomes a compromise based not upon what is known about children at a given age but, rather, upon what is known about them, re-interpreted in terms of what they will be compelled to do later. Educators at all levels should get together and plan a sequential, logical, and consistent program of education for all children based upon co-operation and mutual understanding.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the good school is a place adapted primarily to the "needs" of the children of the ages concerned. All other considerations (those of teacher, parent, research worker, and student) are subordinated to child needs, and all persons connected with the school understand this system of values and plan their work accordingly. Child needs are distinguished from child desires in that the school hopes to emulate the discipline of real life situations in which one's desires are always subject to intrinsic or extrinsic limitations. Nevertheless, the environment is so planned that any decision as to practice first has to meet the test as to how it would affect the child. When compromises have to be made, the child's welfare is assured of consideration if he is established early and clearly

as the primary figure in the school situation. Actually, such concern for the child operates to improve all school functions in that the highest types of research and the best circumstances for parent, teacher, or student result from the willing co-operation of children. If the children are made the focal point, there is much less chance for friction or misunderstanding among departments in the school, less chance for teachers to choose unsuitable materials for teaching, less chance for issues between parents and teachers to be confused. With the children as the central figures, no department can possibly plan its work independently because each must determine what are the other demands on the children at a given time. For example, in a planned environment based on the "whole" principle, staff members never set up rigid schedules of testing, physical examinations, or even play, and try to fit the children to them; they study the children's days or weeks as units and try to balance their experiences and the demands to be made upon them. Thus, in a whole environment, it would not be possible for Jean to return from an illness and be given a mental test on the first morning, have a temper tantrum during lunch, and then have her outdoor play interrupted to act as subject for a student's research experiment. Rather, Jean's first day back at school is planned as a whole with special consideration for her recent illness. On that day, at least, other children are selected as subjects for any special activities and Jean's day is kept as free from extra demands as possible. The good school, then, focuses first upon the children and their needs and then integrates all of its functions with this primary one.

PRACTICES AND RESOURCES IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION ³

What is meant by practices and resources in early childhood education? Are practices merely specific methods used when the occasions arise, or is there a general philosophy underlying all practices? Are resources merely the furniture and toys which are provided children, or do some general principles emerge which apply to resources in general? Literature on educational practices and resources for young children seems to suffer somewhat from overspecificity and piecemeal presentation. It is not difficult to find out in a purely mechanical way what to do when *this* happens or *that* happens, but it is very hard to learn what sort of generalizations one might make which would help to analyze all situations and make decisions as to practices which would be consistent with a general over-all philosophy of early childhood education. It is not difficult to find out what furniture, toys,

³ This section contributed by Elizabeth Mechem Fuller.

or books are recommended for children of certain ages, but it is very hard to learn what *principles* operate to insure wise choices.

The observer, in evaluating a school environment, must learn to take his cues from the specific samples of practices which he sees and then base his judgments upon careful comparison of these practices with general principles. Therefore, in order to examine a whole environment in which modern practices and resources function, let us first see what kind of a day the young child has in a modern school. To compare activities directly, diary accounts of the program for one morning session in a nursery school, a kindergarten, and a first grade are offered. Due to space limitations, afternoon sessions are omitted. Updegraff (45) describes the nursery school activities of a group of two-year-olds:

A Half-Day in Nursery School

The children begin to arrive about 8:45. It is a snowy morning and Margaret comes laughing and calling for someone to see how her Daddy pulled her to school on her sled. Billy solemnly offers a sticky "snowball" to the teacher who has welcomed him. Because of the snow and cold, the children do not stop outside for the usual half-hour or forty-five minutes. Instead, they go into the cloakroom where Miss K. is ready to help with removal of wraps. Margaret, Billy, and John are able to pull off their own mittens and caps and hang up their snowsuits on large-pronged hooks. Edward, who is just two, needs Miss K.'s help with his clothing but cheerfully points to his own hook as his contribution to the process. Mary and Julia remark, "I can do it myself," and proudly complete their own undressing.

One by one, the children go into the playroom where they are free to choose whatever they wish to do. Miss F. has arranged long, flexible boards as two inclines. Henry and Billy run up and down these or spring gently, watching the others. Margaret chooses one of the rubber baby dolls which she bundles up in "covers" from the chest of doll clothes, tucks into a baby carriage, and wheels around the room, stopping now and then to pat the covers or to murmur to the baby.

There are now two teachers in the room. Miss L. stays beside the inclines, quietly reminding children of the danger of pushing and helping them to make sure the boards are in place securely after a particularly vigorous run or bounce. Miss F. watches the play of the other children, moving occasionally to offer help or a friendly word and smile where needed.

Billy climbs the steps up to the balcony, leans his chin against the railing, and looks down on the others. Then he goes down the stairs, finds some buckets and spoons in a box, and climbs into a long, shallow table beside the window where he plays alone, looking out of the window or watching other

children. Once he says softly, "Snowing—snowing—snowing," smiling to himself. Some children are still attracted by the inclined boards—laughing and shouting, singing and chanting as they run, or roll, or bounce on them.

Julia takes an armful of doll clothes into the bathroom to a low basin where she becomes absorbed in the joy of getting hands and arms deep in soapsuds. She talks to herself importantly while she rinses and hangs the clothes, returns to the soapy water with a set of tin dishes and, finally, with one of the rubber dolls which "needs a bath." Jack fastens a train of five interlocking cars together and pushes it out into the hallway, singing, "ding-dong, ding-dong."

Catherine and Henry, who have grown tired of the inclined boards and have started chasing each other excitedly, and Jean, who has been content to be a watcher, are attracted by a large zinc tub of water which has just been placed on an oilcloth on the floor of the playroom. There are a number of water toys afloat in the tub—a steamboat, houseboat, tugboat and barge, lighthouse, and buoy. They kneel down beside it with squeals of delight and push the boats about in the water. Miss F. rolls up their sleeves and provides them with oilcloth aprons. Occasionally she reminds a child not to splash himself or other children and sees that each has a toy. To others who come clamoring for turns she says, "You may have a turn soon. Would you like to watch now?" Henry begins to chant—and Barbara soon takes it up—"Water! Water! I want some water! Water! Water!" Miss L. brings out some books with pictures of boats and a lighthouse for several of the children to see. Ann leaves the group at water play to climb up on the piano stool. She presses the keys softly, using four fingers on each hand and listening attentively to the sounds she makes.

Meanwhile, some of the children have gone to the tables where they have seen crayons and clay. Those who choose crayons have half sheets of unprinted newspaper and a box of crayons. Catherine uses the crayon pencil-fashion, "writing" in one small section of her paper, while Henry covers his whole sheet with dots, changing crayons frequently with much deliberation. Some children handle the crayon as a brush, making large, free movements back and forth. Jane works intently to cover the whole page with one color—yellow—then holds it up for appreciation from any one who will look.

The children who are going to play with clay are given oilcloth aprons and balls of clay about four inches in diameter. Mary pats her ball, pinches it, rolls it out, and says, "I made a birthday cake." Immediately other children say, "Mine's a birthday cake, too." Later Mary says she made a pie and some pancakes; at once three or four other children are pounding and patting "pies" and "pancakes." Billy molds clay into a ball and makes holes in it with his finger. Beverly carefully pats into shape four thin oblong pieces, then piles them on top of each other, saying to Billy, "See my house!" The children working with clay remain absorbed, some for as long as half an hour, but those who were using crayons lose interest more quickly.

Meanwhile, Margaret, Julia, and John are making a house of blocks.

They carefully fit four quarter-rounds together, then stack cylinders on top. When it is finished, Julia puts some small rubber dolls inside while Margaret and John watch, smiling with satisfaction.

Billy and Edward have stopped to look at the guinea pigs in their cage. Seeing the children's interest, Miss F. brings milk and bread to feed them, and they kneel for several minutes by the cage to watch the animals eat. Miss K. goes to three children who are not busy and says, "Would you like to come for stories now?" The children run immediately into the little room and settle themselves on three small chairs.

As each group comes from stories, they are taken to the toilet and to wash hands before lunch. Several help Miss F. arrange cups and paper napkins on the tables. At ten o'clock they sit down to their mid-morning lunch. One teacher gives each child a teaspoon of cod-liver oil. A second passes tomato juice in a small green pitcher. Henry, Mary, and Julia are able to pour their own juice; Bill watches them, then wants to try it, too, and, although he spills a little, is delighted with his achievement. The other children are encouraged to pour theirs, with the teacher helping by steadying the pitcher.

While lunch is being served, a teacher sets up small canvas cots and covers each with a child's individual rug. Having finished his juice and put his cup on a side table, each child goes over to his own bed and lies down and pulls up his light blanket. Although a few whisper to themselves as they play with their hands or the edging of the blanket, most rest quietly. When Billy waves his legs and kicks his heels, Miss F. goes to tuck the cover about him and sits beside him for a short time. Toward the end of the rest period, quiet, sustained music is played on the victrola. After fifteen minutes, the teachers fold the blankets and give each child his own to put on a bench. Then beds are put away and tables pushed back, with a number of children eager to help.

Miss L. sits down at the piano and several of the children gather around. She plays and sings "Snowflakes Falling." When she has finished, Barbara says, "Again." This time Jane and Billy sing also. "Now let's sing the 'Nut Tree,'" suggests Beatrice. Miss L. and some of the children sing this. Mary and Edward merely listen with interest. Other songs are sung. "Now 'Jingle Bells,'" begs Jane. The children take wrist bells and prance about, keeping fairly good time to the music. Miss L. plays two other rhythmic pieces, one a march. The children respond by walking, running, hopping, galloping, and sometimes just standing still and swinging their arms or clapping hands. The singing and rhythmic activity lasts for twenty minutes, but during this time some of the children leave and others, who have been looking at pictures and playing with trains, join the group.

After music, John, Barbara, Jane, and Margaret play in the doll corner. Margaret lies down in the doll bed, her feet and legs sticking far out over the end, and the others cover her up. From the doll chest they bring armfuls of "covers" and pile them on her. Edward fills a baby carriage with

blocks, covers it with a large square of cloth, and pushes it about the room. When it tips over accidentally, he laughs and sits down to spin the wheels around.

Billy and Mary spread out doll dishes on the floor for an imaginary tea. Jack runs over, grabs the teapot and a cup, and pours tea for himself. The other two say, "No!" and push at him angrily, but Miss F. remarks that there are cups enough for all. The three sit down and silently pour and drink one imaginary cup of tea after another as fast as each can get hold of the teapot.

The children go in small groups to have their wraps put on and then play outdoors for the last twenty minutes or half-hour of the morning. Although the snow is deep, the large wooden platform at the back has been shoveled clear. Henry and Jack start riding tricycles around it, while Julia finds a kiddie car which fits her short legs and tries to keep up with them. Other children are soon playing on the rocking boat, pulling the wagon, or making shelters for themselves with large blocks and boxes.

Margaret shovels snow from one spot to another with a short-handled shovel. Billy pulls John on the sled and Edward slides down the runway from the platform. Jane walks in snow up to her ankles, exploring remote corners of the yard, then she climbs into the garden swing and, as she watches the other children, sways the creaking swing slowly back and forth.

Four children help clear more snow and ice from the platform. Mary and Edward, on the rocking boat, sing and hum to themselves. Ann runs across the play yard and makes footprints where telephone wires cast shadows on the snow. Then she laughingly tumbles into the snow, and several other children fall and roll in the snow.

Edward tries to take Margaret's shovel away from her. Margaret shouts, "No," and pushes Edward into a snowdrift. Edward begins to cry and the teacher comes over to say, "Be more careful, Margaret. You hurt Edward when you push him down. Tell him you are using the shovel." She helps Edward up and brushes him off, saying, "That was Margaret's shovel, Edward. She had it first. Come with me and we will find a shovel for you."

The parents begin to call for the children at eleven-thirty. Jack's mother unbolts the gate from the outside, and after he passes through Jack rebolts it himself. Margaret shouts, "No! No! Don't want to go," when the taxi arrives for her. The teacher says, quietly, "Goodbye, Margaret. Why don't you put your broom over by the steps as you go?" Margaret cheerfully carries her broom over to the bottom step before she calls goodbye. Henry runs to the gate when he sees his mother, calling back to the teachers, "Bye! See you tomorrow!"

As children grow older, their characteristic school day changes in a rather systematic fashion, becoming more structured and organized, more focused and purposeful. Foster and Headley⁴ describe a half-day with five-year-olds in a modern kindergarten:

⁴Diary taken from the unpublished manuscript for the revision of *Education in the Kindergarten* by Foster and Headley, American Book Co.

A Half-Day in Kindergarten

8:30: The kindergarten teacher is mixing paint and putting fresh paper on the easel. Jimmy pulls open the door and says, "Good morning, Miss B. Can I paint?" "Good morning, Jimmy. Things are all ready. You know where paint smocks are kept, don't you?" Jimmy smiles, puts his sweater and cap in his locker and comes back to the easel pulling on a smock.

Four more children appear in the doorway, wave to Miss B., and go to play in the sandbox. Peter comes in with his older sister who explains that "Peter didn't get to sleep last night until eleven o'clock." Miss B. says, "Thank you for telling me. If you feel tired or cross today we'll know that you need some extra rest, won't we?" Peter takes off his things and joins Jimmy at the easel. He watches Jimmy outline a blue house with windows and doors and struggle to make a gabled roof. Beside the house he paints what might be a robin. The robin is fully half the size of the house.

Miss B. props open the outside door to supervise both inside and outside activities. Betsy, Joan, and Perry have come in and are playing in the doll corner. Perry is sent to the store for some Pablum for the baby. "No, daddy, you won't need any points for Pablum." Jeffrey and four cohorts have arrived and are building an airplane with outside blocks and planks. Barbara and Jean are sitting at a small table coloring. Barbara is making a picture of a blue bird, and Jean is trying to copy her idea.

Gretchen and Peggy go directly from the lockers to the cupboard for puzzles. "Oh, look!" says Gretchen. "Mine is a new one. It looks like a hard one." Miss B. says, "It is a hard one. I put it on the shelf just this morning. I wondered if there would be anyone in this group who could work it." "Bet I could," says John swaggering over. "All right," says Miss B. "After Gretchen finishes, why don't you take a turn?" John goes over to the jungle gym, hangs upside down, swings back and forth, then climbs to the top, pretends he has a telephone. "Bombardier to pilot. Bombardier to pilot." Archer joins him. They both rush to their lockers to get their helmets, and the play continues. Miss B. reminds them that their voices are getting a bit loud for inside play.

9:00: Miss B. stands near the door, offering a suggestion here and a word of approbation there. Jeffrey and Billy both have ideas about the wingspan of their plane. Jeffrey tries to explain his ideas to Billy, but Billy picks up the board and runs off with it. Billy is forced to give up the board but first takes a good right swing at Jeffrey. "Miss B.," says Don, looking at Jeffrey as he rubs his chin, "Don't you think Billy had better go inside?" "Maybe so," says Miss B. "At least until he gets control of himself and can make it pleasant for others." Billy plods heavily toward the door. He hangs up his jacket and stands by his locker looking sulky. Miss B., "Better get washed up and maybe you'll feel more like yourself. It wasn't a very pleasant experience you had, was it?" The airplane play outside had transferred to acrobatics on the outdoor jungle gym.

9:30: All toys and materials are back in place. All of the children except two are seated on the floor by the piano in front of the teacher's low chair. While they wait for the last two children they enjoy a few finger plays together. Miss B., "Jeffrey, you forgot to wash your hands and don't forget your chin. That was a dirty hit you got. You certainly handled the situation well. Congratulations!"

The children take turns before the group to tell of interesting findings they have made in regard to the arrival of spring and of preparations for the kindergarten garden.

9:50: As they leave the discussion group, each goes off with a purpose. Jim and Bill go to the workbench to make markers for the garden rows. Ten go to get plasticine to make models of the things needed to get the ground ready for gardening. Three choose to draw pictures of how they would like the garden to look. Barbara asks if she may paint her idea of the garden. Jean also wishes to paint but Miss B. suggests that in her locker she has a doilie with spring flowers on it which she hasn't finished. Jeffrey volunteers to print signs which "you can read so you'll know what you planted." He gets his paper and crayons then asks Miss B. how "peas" would look. She prints it in manuscript and he copies it. Then he takes it to the boys at the work-bench and consults them as to how they can best fasten his paper onto their sticks. They decide to tack it on. Three children have produced unfinished work from their lockers.

10:30 to 10:40: As the children finish their work they clean up, go to the toilet, wash, and go to the library corner. About half of the children are still at work. The teacher plays a slow, quiet signal on the piano, and everybody stands at attention. The teacher asks those who have not finished to put their unfinished work in their lockers and to join the others in the library.

10:50: All are in the library. Individual books have been put back into the bookcase with "the bindings pointing out," and the group is seated on the floor in front of Miss B. who is holding up a copy of *The Little Gardeners*. They look at the pictures together, and then Jean says, "Read it." First they observe that in two places it says *The Little Gardeners*. Miss B. runs her finger under both captions. "Now if everybody is comfortable I can begin." There is much settling back and some fussing about not being able to see. Miss B. waits quietly; everyone is settled, and she begins to read, holding the book so that all can see the pictures. After the story, they stretch up tall and go over to the piano.

11:10: The children ask for a skipping turn. Miss B. plays with clear accent but light tone. As the music stops they stand where they are and listen to the next music which they have never heard before. They look puzzled and then begin to swing into many varieties of responses. Some show much feeling for the music, and others indicate that they merely feel they should be doing *something*. Those who do not have the feeling for the music begin to act silly, crowding together and bumping into one another. Miss B. stops the music and says, "Will you all sit down just where you are?" Then

Miss B. says, "Archer, John, Betsy, Nancy, and Jean would you show us the dances which you made up to that music? I think the rest of the group would enjoy seeing them." The five children dance freely, seemingly oblivious of anything but the music. All the children try again, many of them reflecting the patterns of the five. Betsy asks for "The Brownies." She is asked to choose five children for the dance. After much counting and recounting the dance proceeds—the observing audience chuckles with delight.

11:30: They are all seated by the piano. As request numbers they have sung "Tirra, Lirra, Lirra," "Now at Last Winter's Past," "He Dug His Garden," "Swinging," "Roller Skates," and "It's Raining." Then Miss B. plays some music which she had played for them yesterday. The children recognize it as the new music and ask her what the song is about. She tells them it is about a Maypole. They chat about a Maypole, many confusing the word with "maple." Miss B. clarifies the meaning and then sings the song for them. They listen and join in. Some have difficulty with the whole, so Miss B. sings a single phrase and then they sing it with her. Now she sings a single phrase and they sing it back to her. Now they put the whole together. Barbara says, "Maybe we could have a Maypole dance in our kindergarten?" With that thought for future planning the children go in small groups to get their wraps. First Miss B. asks all those who wore coats to go, then all those who wore jackets, then all those who wore sweaters, and last of all those who wore no wraps. As they slip into their wraps, they say casual goodbyes and disappear through the playground door.

When the child becomes six he then enters public school where practices from one school to another are slightly more standardized. He is now definitely pointing toward the subject matter and citizenship demands of his later schooling.

For the six-year-old's day at school one sample is offered, and the reader is referred also to Hubbard (31), who describes a *first day* in her first grade. She presents a truly transitional schoolroom, one in which the teacher shows great respect for what has gone before and what is to come in the children's lives.

The following diary account of a half-day in a first grade in a public school⁵ late in May illustrates the continuous nature of the educational process and shows how individual needs may be accommodated even as the group progresses far toward an organized, structured existence within one school year:

A Half-Day in First Grade in May

8:30: Barbara walks to the front of the room and announces the morning meeting. "We will now have the flag salute." She walks over to the flag

⁵ Bancroft School, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Miss Lucile McCauley, teacher. Diary contributed by Mary Evelyn Miller.

stand, removes a small flag, and holds it as the children stand and pledge allegiance. Miss M. and Miss E., her student assistant, stand at the back of the room.

"Now we'll sing 'America,'" announces the president. Miss M. gives the pitch on her pitch pipe, and the children sing "America." Miss M. suggests that they now try their "Good Morning" song. Barbara announces it and the children enjoy bowing to each other and acting out the song.

The morning meeting lasts until 9:10, with Barbara announcing each part in a clear voice in complete sentences. Committee chairmen are in charge of each duty and come to the front quickly when duties are announced. "Showing" time is fun for the "showers" as well as for the watchers. Each showing receives an enthusiastic comment from Miss M., such as "That's nice that you have a sweater to wear on a chilly day. Is it wool?" or, "Tell us about your car. Is it a coupe?" Then Miss M. brings out a wooden candleholder to show and asks for suggestions for colors to use for decorations. "You could use blue." "Yes, I could use blue, Charlotte. That is a good idea. Blue would match the flowers that are already painted on it." Each idea receives a favorable comment from Miss M.

The calendar chairman brings out the calendar to have the day marked for the weather. Miss M. suggests that several children go to the board to write stories about what they did the night before when it rained. They take chalk from their desks and begin printing their stories as soon as they reach the board.

Delores looks as if she were unsure of how to mark the thermometer. Miss M. suggests that Evelyn can stand with her to help in the hard places.

Barbara says, "Does anyone have any money for the Red Cross?" The children look around but no one has his hand up.

Miss M.: "Monkey (bank) needs some breakfast, doesn't he? I'll put some pennies in today, since no one has brought any. Frances and Georgia, will you put them in for me?" The two girls take the pennies, remove two flags from the flag stand, and march to the monkey bank. Miss M. gives the pitch and all the children say, "Soldier boy, soldier boy, where are you going?" while the girls march with the two flags.

Miss M. chooses a boy and an assistant to write in the Red Cross total. "How much money do we have in the Red Cross bank now?" she asks. "What did we have yesterday?" . . . "That's right, \$6.60. Now let's count—sixty-one, sixty-two. How much do we have? That's right, \$6.62." And she writes the number on the board where the boys can see it for recording the sum on the Red Cross poster.

Barbara asks, "Does anyone have any news?"

One boy tells about the woman who jumped off the Hennepin Avenue bridge; one tells about his company last night; one tells about finding his roller skates down in the basement and asks, "Could we roller skate to school?"

"Well, we're not allowed to roller skate to school, Jimmy," and she ex-

plains that the principal and teachers had talked it over and decided that children should not bring them to school. Crossing streets would be difficult.

Finally the president herself has some news to tell and then says, "Our morning meeting is over."

That is the end of the meeting but not the end of the news! "My grandmother is here and she's going to stay for a while."

"She has to stay now, because of the railroad strike, doesn't she," replies Miss M., and there follows a little discussion of how we get food from other parts of the country. "What about foods? How will we get foods from California where Bobby came from last week?"

A boy says, "Oranges and grapefruit and that stuff. Trucks could bring them."

"But it takes a long time with trucks," Miss M. answers. "I noticed in the paper that they might use Army trucks and perhaps planes."

The president says, "Now our meeting is over."

Miss M. says, "The writing is nice today—readable and spaced well. Will you choose someone to read your story?"

Each story is printed on about half of a blackboard with the printing starting at about the height of the children's heads. Complete sentences are used and the spelling is correct, even for what would seem too difficult words. Each story is quite individual. Polliwogs, birthdays, the rain, gardening—each topic brings something to Miss M.'s mind and she tries to fit it into the work they are doing. "You see those plants in the fish bowl give off something the polliwogs need to live. What do you suppose it is?" A child answered, "Oxygen."

9:15: "Let's stand for awhile and stretch." They stretch around and around, and then Miss M. tells John's row that they may start the skipping. The children in that row follow John skipping around the room and back to their seats. Then the next row skips, and so on, until all have a turn. While the last row is skipping, Miss M. looks through a book and, by the time they are through, she is ready for a short story period.

She asks the children to come and sit down on the floor. One boy has difficulty sitting down quietly. Miss M. says, "Stand up and try it again." He does so quietly.

The children sit watching and listening while Miss M. reads poems about "Goldilocks and the Bears," "Animal Crackers," and "Jonathon Bing." The children laugh at "Pajamas, You Know," and Miss M. laughs too. Next a story from the book, *Betty June and Her Friends*. Miss M. says, "I'm going to read part of it and you can read the other parts. When you want to take it home, just come and tell me so I will know who has it. Who has *Cinder the Cat*?" There was a little discussion about where library books were and who could have them next.

Miss M. then reads an announcement about a picnic for next week, and gives directions for bringing money.

"And when do you bring your money?" "Monday" is the answer.

9:20: "All right, let's go back to our seats." The children get up and walk back, but, before they sit down, Miss M. suggests that they dramatize "Jack Be Nimble."

"What was the matter with it?" Miss M. asks. "Noisy!" is the reply, and they do it over. "Hickory, Dickory, Dock" and "Little Miss Muffet" follow. Miss M. then asks the children to put their heads down on their desks and rest a little while.

9:30: Miss M.: "A good rester doesn't wiggle. Here's a good rester right here. She's a fine rester." While the children are resting, Miss M. takes a book from her desk, glances through page numbers, and prints the reading assignments on the board with some questions about the story. Miss F., at the same time, is putting on the assignment and questions for her group of readers. There are four reading groups, each called by the name of one of the children in the group.

"Heads up." Before starting the reading lesson, Miss M. asks individual children each to read one of the questions she has printed. "Now take out your books and start reading."

"Joseph, what are your pages?" (Joseph sits on the other side of the room). "You may have to go over nearer the board to read it, and Keith may go along to help." They walk over and read the pages and questions for Joseph's reading. In turn, other assignments are read for each group. Another child or the teacher helps each time there is difficulty. (Bobby, who came from California just two days ago, is reading from a preprimer. Formal reading is not begun there until second grade, evidently).

9:40: "Nice straight backs," Miss M. says. The children straighten up in their chairs and continue reading silently.

9:45: "All right, put your books on the corner of your desks. If you didn't finish you can read more after we finish the little test I'm going to give you." The children close their books and wait for Miss M. to pass them the mimeographed pages.

The telephone buzzes. Miss F. answers it and gives the message to Miss M.

Miss M. gives directions for the test and asks John to read the first test item to show how it was done. (It is a test of recognition of double consonant sounds.) He reads it, and the children give the answer. She asks them to read the next one to themselves. They begin reading and after a while they begin laughing. The teacher laughs, too, and asks Joyce to read it aloud. It is about a clown.

9:50: "How many understand how the game is played?" All but one girl hold up their hands. Jane says, "There's one I can't get." Miss M. helps her. The children want to give her the answer, but Miss M. asks them not to.

"Let's get in line for drinks now." The boys and girls line up separately. Miss F. goes with them to the drinking fountain. They return a few minutes later and immediately start work on their tests.

Bobby sits looking at his *Rides and Slides* preprimer. Miss M. asks him to come up to get his work and gives him two pages from a workbook. She explains the work to him and he returns to his seat.

One boy turns around to talk. Miss M. calls his name, and he goes back to work. "No help, Barbara," she says to another, "This is a little test to see what you can do by yourself." The children work for a few minutes until Miss M. asks one of the reading groups to bring their books up. At this time, Miss F. takes her reading group out of the room.

The children sit in neatly arranged chairs in the front of the room. The reading lesson proceeds in a variety of ways. Sometimes, they read to answer a question Miss M. has asked, sometimes they read whole pages, just to enjoy reading aloud or listening. Even the teacher has a turn reading. All read expressively; Mary's imitation of "peep-peep-peep" is especially realistic.

Miss M.: "My, that was good. That answered the question exactly. Now, 104. Why is this a page we know so well?" The children answer, "The number of our room."

10:05: "Let's hold our books up now. Be sure this time; last time there was guessing. Try it a little louder. Let's see if we can get four things we learned about the farm." And Miss M. turns to write the sentences on the board as they are dictated by the children.

10:16: "All right, you may take your seats," says Miss M.

"Now I'll take Joseph and Keith with their morning readers." Joseph and Keith go to the reading circle. The children at their desks continue to work with the test.

"Nicely done, sir," says Miss M. to Keith who had written his reading page on the board. In their reading Miss M. gives more help with words, asks them to find words or phrases that answer a question, and puts different words or phrases on the board for a short drill when they have finished the lesson.

A number of the children have gone to the cloakroom, one by one, and have come out with workbooks under their arms.

10:30: The bell rings, but the children go on working. In a few minutes Keith and Joseph have finished and go to their seats. "Girls may pass," and then "Boys." The children go to the cloakroom and come out putting on wraps. A few of the girls have jumping ropes. They go out of the room informally for recess.

10:40: The children come in, putting their things in the cloakroom, and return to their desks to work on their tests. Some have already finished them, while the others are only about two-thirds of the way through.

10:45: "Boys and girls, if there are some things you can't get, just go on and leave them, but finish your pictures on the other side." Miss M. asks Miss F. to take Ralph for reading. Ralph is being accelerated and has advanced reading. Ralph and Miss F. sit in the reading circle while she conducts the lesson much as Miss M. did with the large group.

10:50: This is a period for free selection of activities for those whose work is all done.

Nancy walks over to Miss M. who says, "You may go up to the nurse's office, Nancy. She will help you wash out your mouth and your tooth. When you come back, I'll give you an envelope to put it in to take home and put under your pillow."

10:55: Miss M. gives Bobby directions for his next reading lesson and goes to the front of the room.

"Now will the people at the board take their seats? Will the people at the library table straighten it up? Will you put your first and last names on the test and date it May 24? Put your test on the corner of my desk. Clear off your desk and get in line to go upstairs."

11:00: Miss M. leads the children upstairs to the film room where they watch the moving pictures taken of them on their trip to Cloverleaf Dairy Farm. They had seen the movie twice before but were to see it this time to get social science facts from it, such as what kind of buildings are on the farm, what kind of machinery, etc.

11:20: The children return to their room for their wraps and go home for lunch.

Such accounts illustrate in an oversimplified manner how practices are translated into modes of living with young children. As one watches the school day unfold, there seems to be so little preplanning involved, so much dependence upon one activity forming the point of departure for the next. To the more careful observer, however, each incident in the classroom tells its part of the very long complicated story of child development and childhood education. Each method used, each book chosen, each chair purchased, each musical instrument used, each amount of time allotted, each word spoken—all have resulted from the careful study of children and the learning process.

What, then, makes us do the things we do in the schoolroom? What considerations have gone into the establishment of practices?

CHILDREN'S NEEDS AS REFLECTED IN PRACTICES

For the most part, practices have resulted from *needs* evidenced by children. For the purposes of this discussion specific practices will be discussed in relation to ten general needs of children as formulated by the chapter committee. The young child and his school will be considered together under these ten broad categories to illustrate the mutual relationships of child and environment and the continuous nature of the educative process. There will be no sharp distinctions between age levels either for child or for school practice because of the wide range of individual differences to be found when children are taught together regardless of the grouping method used. There

will be an attempt to present similarly the materials in each of the broad categories so that the reader may readily adjust to the style and refer directly to portions of the chapter needed or to make cross comparisons of practices used at different age levels.

Children Need Physical Surroundings Which Are Wholesome and Adapted to Their Maturity Levels⁶

Neither newness of the building nor type of architecture determine whether physical surroundings contribute to the best growth and experiences for children. Many a square, high-ceilinged room in an old ivy-clad building has been transformed into one of charm and balance through a teacher's ingenuity. Without such ingenuity even the best laid architectural plans may create a place of imprisonment or servitude for both children and teacher.

It falls to the teacher to plan for and to provide the kind of physical environment and practices that are going to foster creative experiences and that will be directed toward individual learning and group relationships in living, thinking, and working together.

To carry out a program planned for growth of the whole child, *space becomes the teacher's first consideration*: (1) space for children to learn through doing things, to manipulate and experiment at their maturity level; (2) space to practice making adjustments to others and to learn necessary restrictions imposed by group living; (3) space where tensions of living with others are relieved because it is planned for children where they can indulge in quiet activity or undisturbed thinking.

Two-year-olds need long and frequent rest periods, so the space allotted for rest or sleep is markedly greater than that for five-year-olds who rest on rugs for a short period or, in an all-day program, assume most of the responsibility for getting out and putting back their cots. For the five- and six-year-olds, discussion periods and group planning play an important part in the day's activities; therefore, the space allotments differ from those for the two-year-olds where organized group periods are short in duration and informally attended. Almost any part of the room is apt to be used by the two-year-old to make his train of two chairs. In less than five minutes the train may become chairs again as another child sits in one to examine the eyes of a cuddly doll, and the trainmaker, unperturbed, promptly gets a red oilcloth horse and sits on the other chair himself. Two three-year-olds may be making their train of large floor blocks, usually

⁶ This section contributed by Amy D. Peterson.

working close to where the floor blocks are kept. Four-year-olds, in larger groups, make a functional, if not very realistic, train; that is, they go from Minneapolis to Chicago and need a large open space for imaginary tracks. The more complicated engine of the five-year-old needs space where it can stay up until the last detail (verification of the number of stacks) has been completed. The building area in the six-year-old's room is clearly defined both to teacher and child at the beginning of the year and boundaries are usually respected. At all age levels several activities will be going on at the same time.

Children in elementary school have special rooms, such as the gymnasium or library, whereas younger children usually are confined to one room for all of their activities. Teachers find it challenging to change the environment by merely moving partitions, real or imaginary. The library corner or science table may temporarily house a pet or a special collection of leaves. The doll corner may become a dressing room for four-year-old boys and girls for "dress-up play" with all of the fun of assembling a costume. Units will be planned so that availability of materials will stimulate their use and so that responsibility for returning materials to their proper places with little supervision will be facilitated. Activities requiring common equipment are organized so the materials are available to all the pupils and may encourage creativeness and a higher level of construction. Thoughtless juxtaposition of materials leads to distraction, shortened attention span, need for extra supervision, confusion of preliminary plans, and poor work habits. Therefore, doll dishes which may not be used in sand will be found far removed from the sand box.

Ample storage space, including open shelves and closed cupboards, is a necessity for smooth functioning and ease of housekeeping in any room. A room with too many things around, no matter how frequently used or how decorative the materials may be, takes on a cluttered appearance.

Recommendations for nursery schools place adequate indoor space at thirty-five to fifty square feet per child, exclusive of halls, locker rooms, and bathrooms; adequate outdoor space is placed at sixty to one hundred square feet per child. In this respect, nursery schools in general have a decided advantage over kindergarten and primary grades. Enrolment in each group in the nursery school can be kept at comparatively small numbers to permit the required space for physical activity and for a wide variety of experiences with materials and with other children.

The playground is not to be thought of as just "outside play

space" where an attitude of laissez faire prevails but as a functional part of the school program. For purposes of safety and supervision, the classroom ideally opens directly onto the outside area. This accessibility permits supervision during the frequent trips to the toilet, enables the playground to be used more freely, and eliminates the nagging and restrictions imposed by the adult world against so-called "noise and confusion" in halls and stairways. In climates where weather permits, much of the daily program is carried on out of doors. Every school has its own problems connected with the uses, equipment, and supervision of playgrounds. Many kindergartens and first grades share outside areas, and practices must include planning for various concurrent activities of large organized groups.

Work and play space to be healthful and to foster good working conditions must be adequately heated, ventilated, and lighted. With children of two years who rest and play on the floor, the teacher's concern will be for adequate ventilation without danger of drafts, and the teacher with a group of six-year-olds sitting at tables reading will be attentive to the best natural and artificial lighting. Where lighting is better in one part of the room than another, the area with best lighting will be reserved for activities requiring fine eye-hand co-ordinations. Appropriate colors for walls, ceilings, and window shades and the proper ratio of window area to floor area all contribute to better lighting. If mechanical controls are lacking, hand-operated devices, such as thermometers placed at the height of the children's heads, draft guards to deflect direct air upward, and humidifiers placed on radiators become necessary.

It is not the number of toys available but the care in their selection that determines their adequacy and gives direction to the child's play. There are countless sources in literature for specific suggestions and criteria in selecting toys that reach the child at his own level of maturity.

As we go from the two-year-olds' room on up to the first grade, we notice fewer toys, with changing uses and interests. The play of the two-year-olds is, for the most part, of an individual nature—active, but seldom boisterous. Their interest is in manipulating and exploring, and frequent change of activity necessitates a variety of equipment for feeling, pulling, pounding, lifting, throwing, climbing, and even tasting. The three-year-olds begin to dramatize and imitate and to become more interested in the activities of the adult world. Transportation toys to push or pull and ride take precedence over others. They are co-ordinated and balanced enough to use most standard big-muscle equipment.

The four-year-old's social and physical environment takes a definite part in his play, and small groups are necessary to carry out his dramatic play. The toy telephone he manipulated at two is now used to invite other children to the doll corner for a party. Pounding sets for ages two and three are replaced gradually by soft wood and simple tools.

The five-year-old responds to a greater variety of stimuli in a more controlled manner. His activity is more purposeful and his interest turns toward the finished product. Dramatic interests are strong and he makes full use of stories, music, current events and the latest hero of the comics as subjects for his play. A jungle gym becomes a perfect place for the skills of "Superman" who uses a doll blanket for his cape—later the jungle gym is probably a B-29.

The play of the six-year-old becomes more an expression of his natural desires in strengthening, refining, and extending his skills with plans and rules for the organized games. Although the six-year-old engages in the greatest number of activities, the actual number of toys decreases. The sidewalk and a piece of chalk serve for a game of hopscotch. Indians, teachers, soldiers, parents, and cowboys become real characters with few "props."

Clothing must also be considered as a part of the physical environment of the young child. The sensible "T-shirt" and overalls worn by both boys and girls in these early years, besides protecting legs from cold and knees from abrasions, tend to forestall undue boy-girl consciousness during these years when activities and toys are common to both. During the second, third, and fourth years, children are learning to dress themselves. To learn most easily they need time, encouragement, and the kind of clothing that makes it possible for them to help themselves. When the girl reaches five years she begins to want to wear dresses and proudly appears at school in swirling skirts. The six-year-old is appropriately dressed only when she wears dresses. Clothing for all ages must be well-fitted to be comfortable and must have openings that are easy to get in and out of. Simple fastenings are placed where the child can get at them. Well-chosen clothes are adapted to the temperature and allow for freedom of movement in active play. Comfortable clothes are made of soft, lightweight fabrics that are durable and easily washed. Proper footwear will be long enough and broad enough to allow the toes to move easily. The younger the child the more supervision is necessary to see that laces are tied, that clothes meet at the waistline, that buckles and buttons are fastened, and that mittens, caps, and rain apparel are worn when needed.

The extent of the school health program is determined by the needs and the age of the children concerned; the success of the health program is dependent upon the co-operation of the entire staff. Generally speaking, the younger the children, the more extensive the program and the larger the staff of the health unit. Health-program emphasis is on prevention and on the normal development of children. Thus, the nurse or doctor has need of understanding the well child; the teacher, of recognizing symptoms of the sick child. The health program ideally is concerned with protection from both the medical viewpoint and the health-education viewpoint. A good program of health instruction, through experience and imitation, fosters safeguards for group living, sanitary and safe use of materials, safety precautions, and general cleanliness and order. Understanding and wholesome attitudes toward body needs and functions become a part of everyday activities rather than a goal to be sought through stereotyped posters that line the walls for visual consumption only. Health attitudes and mental hygiene assume an important position in a school health program. Good health education results in the child taking courage and becoming more interested in the treatment than in the injury. Two-and-a-half-year-old Marcia, who had two splinters in her hand, was heard to remark, "Look, I got spinters from dat slide! I better go see the Dokter," and she was off to the Health Unit. After pointing out the splinters, she climbed onto a chair and asked one question after another, "Is dat a tweezer? Is dat soap? Why do you put de needle in dere (alcohol)?" After the antiseptic was applied, she left with a final remark, "Well, dat 'tings, but not very much." Marcia was learning every step of the way, and here health instruction was at its best.

In any health program of the school it is also necessary to protect the health of all staff and maintenance members as well as to safeguard the health of the children.

In all-day schools where food is served, the noon lunch becomes a part of the environment which calls for careful teacher planning. The supervised lunch motivates good food habits, giving factual information and training about food, nutrition, and health. Meals are planned with the entire day's food intake in mind. The same foods are served to children of different ages, but the amount and sometimes the method of preparation differs according to the individual child's needs. A general rule-of-thumb is that the noon meal supplies up to half of the average child's daily food requirement.

Guidance practices will be directed toward children, the teacher

understanding the importance of their environment to every-day living as well as her responsibilities for it. The teacher exercises watchful supervision and assumes final responsibility for the child's use of his environment, while working constantly toward getting the child to assume this responsibility himself. In short, she relates the physical world to every-day living by guidance, supervision, and experiences within the scope of the child's understanding.

Children Need an Environment Which Provides for, Permits, and Encourages Bodily Activity and Motor Opportunities⁷

Since motor co-ordination constitutes one of the most important phases of the development of the child from age two to six, it is given separate treatment in an attempt to synchronize and integrate what the teacher does in all phases of the educational process toward fostering opportunities for motor experience.

The first thing the teacher looks at is the available space. Has she utilized the size and shape of room or playground to provide for all the motor developments she needs to encourage at the particular age level? Free open spaces permit pulling a wagon, hauling movable equipment, just leisurely walking about to feel the grass, or looking over opportunities afforded. Unobstructed areas permit running pell-mell to see a train or truck going by the playground, encourage the joy of feeling the added momentum derived from running down a sloping playground, and suggest games of tag, or races. Rolling, tumbling, somersaulting, standing on hands, or doing cartwheels demand precaution against injury to self or others. Climbing and jumping require space allowance for large apparatus. For wheel toys, a runway is needed which will provide for the thrill of turning corners, of steering to avoid animate or inanimate obstacles, or of coasting downgrade.

The teacher's next consideration is what equipment to provide. Many pieces of equipment are used by all children from two to six, but the same thing is used differently with increased age and skill. For example, the two- or three-year-old pulls a wagon with or without passenger or baggage, the four-year-old uses it to move equipment, and the five- or six-year-old scoots along, one knee in the box, steering accurately or stopping short at the defined boundary. Thus, in choosing equipment for early motor development, the factor of adaptability is always an important one. As children gain in motor skill,

⁷ This section contributed by Amy D. Peterson.

additional equipment is added. Climbing a knotted rope, chinning a pole, playing football, striking the punching bag, tossing jacks and ball, and many such activities require fine muscular control. The five-year-old engages in and enjoys more sedentary types of entertainment that require fine eye-hand co-ordinations, such as the use of scissors, paste, or small beads, simple sewing, and table games of Lotto, jigsaw puzzles, and the like. Competition in activities and games sharpens the enjoyment of them for the six-year-old but is wasted on the younger child.

Important, also, for the teacher is the matter of time allowance. The program is so planned and is flexible enough to allow for long uninterrupted periods of motor exercise. Adequate time and opportunity during basic habit routines for manipulation, practice, and early success in motor controls, such as buttoning, tying bows, and handling table service, will permit more time for later group participation in other activities. Feelings of self-confidence arise from successes in motor activities more often than from any other source. An awkward, slow-moving boy, almost four years old, stood by the swings for several days while other children were standing up pumping. One day he tried unsuccessfully for twenty minutes to stand on the swing. As soon as he stood, a teacher moved close and with a smile encouraged him to get the correct rhythm by repeating, "Forward, back; knees ahead, knees back; arms in front, arms back." When it was time to go indoors, he had not quite mastered the rhythm, but the teacher told him he could stay until the last child was leaving the playground. When he came in, he said, "Gosh, I almost got it." After nap he went straight to the swing. In about ten more minutes there came a gleeful shout. "Now I got it! See? I can do it all myself."

The teacher will provide guidance and supervision so that activities are enjoyable; so that the children respect standards of safety in the use of the equipment; so that they extend and vary their interests and skills. The teacher may interest the inactive child by taking his hand and trying out various motor activities until he finds something he likes or may get other children to invite the inactive one into their play. For the child who wants to be pushed, she will give him one push and then encourage him to pump for himself; or to the child who confines his motor activity to swinging, she will suggest activities like the sand box or the rocking boat, "where Mary needs someone on the other side." In setting up an inclined plane or see-saw, she will, through her activity, suggest the versatility of the materials.

By calling attention to rhythm and movement in the various motor

activities, she will help the child acquire and control his own bodily movement for greater appreciation of music dramatizations and those activities requiring muscular control. Children delight in the up-down of the swing; the pull-pull in climbing the knotted rope; the swish of the slide, or the dig-dig of digging.

Thus, the teacher's presence is felt in the child's motor development, while at the same time the child experiences as much freedom as possible in developing his own motor skills in an environment geared to his needs and interests.

Children Need a Daily Program Which Is Planned with Respect for Levels of Maturity, and Pointed toward Realization of the Educational Aims of the School⁸

Daily programs for children from two to six should reflect the comparative values of different activities and the length of time it takes to complete activities with "doing" and "achieving" as the objectives. We need to recognize, however, that existing conditions, both permanent and temporary, will affect the program and the practices for carrying out the aims. The smaller the staff, the more formal and arbitrary will be the scheduling and the fewer the activities in progress at the same time. Time allotted to routines will be related to the facilities available; more time is required to go from one floor to another than to an adjoining room. Where definite arrangements for activity rooms or special teachers are made on a school plan, they must be adhered to rigidly. Climatic and seasonal variations, trips and excursions, will affect programming. Nevertheless, organization of the daily schedule should have an ordered sequence of activities to insure a well-balanced distribution of time that is regular enough to foster good development of basic habits, respecting the maturity level of the group and each individual's ability to perform and adjust and that is consistent enough to give children a sense of security in knowing what comes next. The younger the child, the more time he needs to complete the routines. Adult direction should be limited to seeing that the necessary simple rules are enforced, to offering suggestions and assistance to individual children, and to redirecting activity of a child who constantly chooses equipment beyond or beneath his level of ability. Rules made should be common sense rules for the welfare, safety, and comfort of the group, and reasons why things are or are not done should be well known to the child. Because nursery-school children are too inexperienced to carry on their own

⁸This section contributed by Amy D. Peterson.

organization, the teacher assumes control and directs the activity of the so-called "organized group periods." The degree of organization will depend upon the age of the children. For the two-year-olds it is the simplest kind of group singing, finger plays, and stories. Participation in the social situation which lasts for only a few minutes is voluntary. By four years of age the child is expected to feel that he is part of a social group in story telling, singing, rhythms, and games. They take turns in discussion, sit quietly listening to one another, and assume some responsibility in directing group activity. The four-year-olds' interests keep them together in organized groups for longer periods at a time (usually about fifteen minutes). In some four-year-old groups, like kindergarten groups, there is a flexible but directed period early in the morning for assigning room responsibilities. Sometimes the period is used to introduce new materials or for more directed individual work.

Programs for the five- and six-year-olds still reflect the continuity of activity and effort in relatively large blocks of time to allow the child time for leisurely enjoyment and achievement. There is more focusing of interests and more relatedness of one activity to another. For example, in the period for self-chosen activity, the construction, drawing, and modeling will be on the subject discussed or studied by the group. Five- and six-year-olds participate in the discussion conference where they give and receive suggestions relative to present interests, make plans, set up standards, learn to evaluate their own efforts, and use the best judgment possible in solutions to problems. More time is set aside for informational learning (nature, science, and reading), appreciation of literature, and music.

These general considerations in programming respect the rapid physical growth of early childhood and the need for the development of large muscles, the gradual increase in attention span and the focus of interests with increasing age and maturity, and the orderly sequence of development from gross muscular co-ordination to fine eye-hand co-ordination.

Activities should be spaced to provide alternation of strenuous physical activities and comparative relaxation, such as stories and listening to music or, for the older ages, conversation periods and nature studies. Regular periods of rest will be used to best advantage. For the two-year-old it may come as an interlude in the play period to break the excitement and tension usual with the very young in group play. For the older child it may serve as a "break" between vigorous activity and routine to prevent carry-over of stimulation and

fatigued muscles to an activity where fine co-ordinations and a businesslike attitude is expected; or, before lunch, it may prepare the child for a quieter, more leisurely atmosphere to aid eating habits.

The time for rest periods and the noon meal at school will be determined by the needs of the group as a whole to prevent tension and fatigue and by what is known from research and observation in regard to the relationship of hunger and fatigue to temper outbursts, irritability, excessive crying, and negativism. In extremes of weather the adult will vary the time out of doors for the group as well as for individuals, for some children can endure more heat or cold than others. Shifts in routines will be staggered to prevent overstimulation and confusion to the younger children which result from mass group movement.

Practical considerations, such as length of day, number of children enrolled, sharing school facilities for parent groups and clinics, will be based upon the needs of the community and the family and on available facilities and services. Some nursery schools might operate ten hours or more a day, which would necessitate staggering of staff schedules. Where the equipment and other facilities are limited, an afternoon session of kindergarten should be established to care for an increased enrolment. Large enrolments in first grade may call for dividing the group for special activities, organized work, or reading.

School Practices for the Young Child Should Facilitate Optimal Development of Sound Basic Habits⁹

Sound basic habits are habits that are developed to satisfy physiological needs in conformity with prevailing restrictions imposed by the social culture. They are adapted to the particular needs of the particular child and to his level of maturity. They are sufficiently flexible to permit of adjustment to changing maturational and environmental demands.

Motivation toward optimal basic habit training is usually facilitated when young children are together in groups during the period when they are establishing their patterns of eating, sleeping, toileting, washing, and dressing. The social factors which cause the child to behave somewhat as others do because he wants to "be like" and "be liked by" them operate as expeditors in determining responses to these basic functions. In addition, the sequence of events in the school day soon becomes known to the individual child, and he knows that eating, sleeping, etc., take place between other interesting activities and

⁹This section contributed by Catherine Landreth.

are to be accepted as *incidental* in relation to the daily schedule. No emphasis is placed upon them, and the child is considered to be responding poorly in school if undue feeling is associated with them. On the other hand, the teacher recognizes the relationship between the way a child responds to basic habit training and his general personality development. Therefore, while she may seem to minimize their importance, what she is doing is guiding children into a wholesome attitude toward these functions without exaggerating their importance in their total experience.

School practices which facilitate the development of such habits are based on an understanding of the level of development of the individual child and of the laws of learning. By the time a child enters nursery school or kindergarten he has already developed responses which he uses more or less habitually. It then becomes his teacher's first responsibility to determine his current level of accomplishment, to inquire about his past experience and difficulties in normal situations, and to ascertain his parents' attitudes and standards of performance for the child.

Practical application of the laws of learning in so far as they affect a learning process for young children may be reduced to: (1) clear formulation in the teacher's mind of what she wants the child to learn and why this learning seems desirable; (2) physical conditions and teaching methods which make what is to be learned simple and satisfactory for the child. Physical conditions and teaching methods are essentially inseparable. Their adaptation to teaching goals is best illustrated by reference to specific situations.

Eating habits. Nutritionally, it is desirable that the child learn to eat and to enjoy the wide range of foodstuffs that make up an adequate diet. It is also desirable that he learn to eat at regular meal hours. Socially, it is necessary that the child learn to feed himself as part of his progress in becoming an independent member of society. As most eating is done in groups, it is also necessary for the child to learn that dining involves social participation as well as mastication and alimentation. Psychologically, satisfying so basic a need as hunger should be enjoyed.

There are numerous specific techniques that are helpful in eating situations. Table seating arrangements should have educational intent. Finicky eaters are helped by the example of children who enjoy their food. Food should be served in amounts each child customarily eats. Heaping servings have the same effect on a child's appetite as on an adult's. Arrangements should be such that children help themselves

to second servings. Pouring liquid is irresistible to a young child. Confronted with a pitcher of milk and a small glass the only way to keep pouring is to keep drinking. Teachers should develop a gradual process of accustoming children to new or disliked foods. Serving new or disliked foods in small amounts and emphasizing tasting rather than eating the entire amount encourages progressive acceptance. Guidance should be unobtrusive and should not impair the social function of the meal. A gentle hand on a child's arm or a plate pushed a little nearer directs a child's attention to his food without disturbing the group. Table service should be adapted to each child's skill in self-feeding. Graduation from bib to napkin is indicated when the child eats without spilling food on his chest.

Sleeping habits. At birth the infant manifests, in common with all other living organisms, definite alternations of activity and rest. Because it is born into a society where activity and rest are definitely organized, the child must learn to rest and sleep at definite and regular times. The age of the children and the nature of the school program, rather than an arbitrary schedule, should determine the number and duration of rest periods.

Creating an atmosphere of rest and quiet preceding and during the nap period aids in developing sound sleep habits. A familiar and orderly sequence of events including a quiet period before resting, a still, darkened room, and a soft-voiced, quiet-moving teacher have considerable suggestive value.

Children need help in learning to relax. A teacher can show a child how to let his arms, legs, body, and head lie limp and slack like a worn rag doll.

Toilet habits. For social and sanitary reasons the young child has to learn to urinate and defecate only in places appropriately equipped for this purpose. He has also to learn to bring his urinating and defecating under conscious voluntary control.

Progress through nursery school and kindergarten is marked by a gradual change from teacher control to child control, by a gradually lengthening period between urination, and by a change from group to private use of toilet facilities. This is accomplished by fitting toilet schedules to the needs of individual children rather than fitting children to an arbitrary schedule. A matter-of-fact treatment of accidents and consistent friendly help from the same teacher each day are logical essentials in working with the younger children.

Washing habits. For hygienic and aesthetic reasons a young child has to learn to wash his hands before eating and after any activity

which leaves his hands sticky or dirty or exposes him to harmful micro-organisms.

Learning is encouraged by washing facilities which can be used without adult help and with a minimum of prohibition and by a school program which leaves a comfortable margin for an activity which is naturally interesting to very young children. In an all-day program necessitating group washing before and after lunch, some systematization of the washing process is necessary to avoid confusion. The child's level of performance at all ages is improved by demonstration, suggestions, and encouragement.

Dressing habits. In the matter of dressing and undressing and keeping himself suitably clothed, the young child has much to learn. Specifically he has to master the skills involved in dressing and undressing. He has, also, for health and economic reasons, to learn something of the hygiene of clothing, its care, and its selective suitability for different activities.

The child is helped in these processes by clothes that are suited to his activities and easy to get on and off, by an accessible and convenient storage place for his clothes, and by having sweaters, rubbers, and a raincoat available for weather changes. Adult movements and language in helping children dress and undress should be simple and consistent. Imitation is facilitated when the adult sits alongside rather than opposite the child.

The School Environment Should Stimulate Children To Inquire and Help Them To Integrate Their Thinking with Past Experience¹⁰

Some years ago Susan Isaacs wrote, "The school, the teacher, and the teaching alike are simply a clarifying medium through which the facts of human life and the physical world are brought within the measure of the child's mind at successive stages of growth and understanding." Creating such an environment calls for physical resources adequate for the variety of firsthand experiences through which young children learn and for teachers who have a good general education, some breadth of intellectual interests, and some understanding of the development of mental processes in young children.

Teaching methods are aimed at stimulating curiosity, at adapting experiences to each child's level of understanding, at relating new elements in each experience to past experiences, and at helping the children to see relationships between circumstances and events so that they may develop judgment and reasoning.

¹⁰ This section contributed by Catherine Landreth.

Thinking at any age is dependent on the ability to use symbols. By the time a child reaches nursery school he uses and understands many verbal symbols. His progress in the development of language is fostered by: (1) Some appraisal of his present level of development. Such an appraisal may be made through an analysis of mental-test performance and through general observation. An inquiry into home attitudes and practices may reveal such contributing environmental factors as lack of language stimulation or overevaluation of verbalism (the child uses words he does not understand with resultant confusion rather than clear thinking). (2) Providing experiences which help children develop new concepts and enlarged vocabularies. A trip to the fire station adds such words to the vocabulary as *fire engine, clang, hydrant, alarm, firemen, fire station* and *siren* as well as the experience which makes these words have meaning. (3) Teacher's use of exact terminology. She calls a *gill* a *gill*, a *pupa* a *pupa*, and a *kid* a *kid*. To a child who says the goats are talking to each other, the teacher says, "Yes, they're *bleating* to each other." (4) Encouraging the child's use of language. The teacher listens to conversation addressed to her and gives evidence of having at least registered the remarks, if only by a smile or a nod. When a child struggles for a word the teacher says, "Did you mean . . . ?" and says the word the child seems to be seeking for.

Memory is essential in the development of concepts. Without it, sensory stimuli have little meaning, and it is impossible to unify experience. The memory of the young child seems extremely short and is then accurate only for the simplest and most obvious details.

Teacher narrations of field trips and familiar experiences give children an opportunity to exercise the function of recall. The teacher's pause and "What happened then?" stimulate memory for specific events and for details of a happening.

An orderly and familiar sequence of events throughout the child's day and consistency in adults' methods of handling the various situations that arise give the young child a familiar framework within which he can remember and relate specific happenings and predict many outcomes.

A wealth of sensory experiences facilitates associative and memory processes. A child who has felt the coarse hair of a goat, who has listened to it bleating, fed it by hand, seen it milked, and tasted some of the milk retains a better memory of goats than a child who has seen one through a fence or in a book.

In any field of inquiry it is not a final answer but the right ques-

tion that is important in furthering understanding and suggesting new possibilities for investigation and consideration. The young child is an insatiable questioner. He does not, however, always know how to ask for the information he seems to want. The teacher helps children to formulate the right question. A young child asked if babies had teeth and was greeted by conflicting reports from children with younger and older babies in their homes. His teacher might have asked, "What sort of babies do you mean—new babies like Mary's sister who has just come home from the hospital or babies who can creep and roll like John's brother?"

In answering a question the teacher gives only the information asked and phrases it in terms the children can understand. For instance, had the child mentioned above asked the teacher, "Do babies have teeth?" she could have said, "Well, some babies do," and waited for further inquiry before offering further explanation.

The teacher encourages children to learn all they can from their own observation and inquiry. In a new situation or experience, whether on a field trip or a project, the teacher gives the children ample opportunity to comment and question before she volunteers any information or questions of her own.

The teacher uses questions to stimulate and focus observation. When a child cries for help in a situation that he cannot handle, the teacher says, "What seems to be the matter?" Understanding depends not only on past experience and factual information but also on the ability to see relationships, to make comparisons, and to arrive at conclusions.

The teacher gives the children many opportunities to make choices. A free play situation leaves a child free to choose his activity, his equipment, his companions, and, within the limits of their welfare, his behavior to these companions. The teacher's use of suggestions and requests rather than commands or directions leaves children free, to some extent, to accept or reject a suggestion on its own merits rather than on adult authority.

The reasons which a teacher gives for requests, suggestions, commands, or procedures are logical ones. To the child who has experimentally removed the goldfish from the bowl to the table, the teacher explains, in having it put back, "Fish can't breathe out of water, they die," not "We don't take the fish out of water. Any fisherman knows better than this."

The teacher acknowledges children's developing ability to make distinctions by modification of general rules. For the youngest chil-

dren there may be a general rule that the teacher, not the children, handles the victrola records. For the older children there may be an understanding that under certain conditions, such as having a teacher present and when there is a small group, the children may assist with the handling.

Within limits dictated by his own and his companions' welfare a child is given some opportunity to experience the outcome of some of his actions. Seedlings which the child neglects to water are left to die. Time lost in getting together for a story group means a shorter time for stories.

Successful pursuit of any objective, such as understanding the world in which one lives, requires a measure of perseverance. This in turn is affected by one's feeling of adequacy for the task in hand. The teacher fosters the child's sense of adequacy by insuring him some measure of control over his environment and some measure of success in his undertakings.

The child's physical environment is such that he is largely independent in taking care of his own needs. Though aware of the challenge presented by a moderate number of difficulties, the teacher offers sufficient help in children's undertakings to prevent unproductive frustrations.

The teacher acquaints the child with some of the sources of knowledge and the most effective means of using them. She encourages the youngest children in their sensory experiences with a variety of materials. As their facility with language increases, she helps them learn to ask the right questions. She gives them experience in gaining information firsthand from the most authoritative source by arranging field trips to the fire station, post office, or farm. She fosters progressive exactitude in observation by adding such tools as simple measuring devices and magnifying glasses. The children learn that it is important to know not only the "how" and the "what" of happenings but also how often and how much or with what frequency and to what degree. By the time children leave kindergarten they have at least an introduction to experimental methods.

The use of simple reference sources, such as books, candid camera pictures, and stereoscopic photographs in technicolor of objects and of activities children are interested in, is encouraged through having such material available and through referring children to it. Indeed, the foresighted teacher has the makings of a juvenile museum in her storage cupboard.

Children Should Live in an Environment Which Makes Them Sensitive to the Rights and Privileges of Being Members of a Social Group and Which Provides Guidance in Becoming Members of a Social Group ¹¹

The social values of nursery-school and kindergarten attendance are widely recognized. The reason parents most frequently give for wanting to enrol their child in a nursery school is that they want him to learn to play with other children. What does the nursery school or kindergarten offer to justify such expectations and what are these objectives?

No one, child or adult, is likely to put forth much effort in trying to understand and conform to the wishes and interests of a group of people he does not enjoy being with. The child's first need is to enjoy his experiences with others. The child who eagerly seeks companionship is ready to develop the social techniques necessary in getting along happily with other people.

The nursery school helps the child in this development by offering him the companionship of children of his own age, by providing materials which foster group play and self-expression, and by giving him the guidance of teachers who understand child behavior.

If the teacher is to help the child effectively in his social development, she needs to know something of his present level of development and of the various experiences which have contributed to it. It is not enough to know that a child has or has not played with other children. What is important is the kind of experience which he had with these children. With older children, the child may have been teased, bossed, or rejected. With younger children he may have learned to dominate. Even with children his own age, a very protective mother may have encouraged him to seek her help in every difficulty. It is important also to know what sort of experience and relationship the child has had with adults. This information may be obtained in different ways: by home visits, by interview with the mother before the child enters school, or, in the case of kindergarten children, by referral to nursery-school teachers and records.

The teacher endeavors to make the child's first experience in the group a pleasant one. Making any first experience for a young child pleasant is largely a matter of insuring that it is not too strange or too suddenly introduced. A child who has had no experience at all with other children needs some opportunities to play with one or two children in his home before he enters a group of twenty or thirty

¹¹ This section contributed by Catherine Landreth.

children. A visit to the nursery school at a time when it is not in session gives a child a chance to become familiar with the physical facilities of the school and with the teacher. The child is helped in adjusting to a new environment and new experiences by the security which his mother's presence gives him. In general, it would seem advisable that no child should part with his mother until he can accept having her leave. The younger the child, the greater the need for shortening the first days in the school and for providing individual attention from a particular teacher. Such attention involves redirecting the advances of older and more aggressive children and drawing the new child into activities which provide some association with other children without making too much demand upon him.

The teacher does not hurry the child's first steps in social adjustment. Investigation shows that young children progress through such stages as watching each other and engaging in similar play activities alongside each other before they develop much interactive play. The child who talks freely at home of the other children in the school and who looks with interest at what they are doing and follows them around has taken the first steps in social participation.

The teacher encourages constructive social play through the physical facilities and opportunities she provides. There is experimental proof that the social behavior of children in a nursery school is related to the adequacy of its play equipment. One tricycle, one wagon, one swing, or one painting easel tends to produce conflicts over the use of each and to lead to solitary play. Several tricycles lead to traffic games and turns for everyone. A house-play corner that has simple equipment for several household activities can bring together an entire family.

The duration of any particular play activity may also be a factor in the type of social interaction encouraged. When children give evidence of having temporarily exhausted both their interest and their constructive activities in clay modeling, gardening, or building with blocks, a wise teacher directs their attention to another activity.

Socially the teacher remains in the background as much as is consistent with the child's welfare. From firsthand experience with their peers, children learn what responses different behavior evokes. They learn that some approaches lead to pleasant social relationships and some to unpleasant, frustrating ones. Unless a child is being exploited or continuously frustrated, the teacher allows children to settle most of their differences themselves. The guidance the teacher does give is largely indirect and takes the form of suggestions and unobtrusive manipulation of the play situation.

The teacher helps children to understand the behavior of others. In giving help of this sort, it is the teacher's purpose to make clear that other people have some motive or basis for their behavior just as the child himself does.

In attempting to define constructive social behavior, the teacher commends the action rather than the child who performed it. To the boy who steers his wagon or tricycle out of the way of another child, the teacher says, "nice driving" rather than "good boy."

The teacher suggests effective social techniques to the child who does not know what to do. To the child who is rebuffed when he asks, "Can't I play with you?" of two boys building with the hollow blocks, the teacher offers "Maybe you could bring them some blocks in a wagon." Gradually a child learns that a social approach which offers some contribution is likely to be more effective than one which demands a favor. He also learns that speech is better understood and received than bawls and blows.

The teacher forestalls or redirects undesirable social behavior by suggesting constructive action. To a child who is annoying a house-play group by rushing in and disrupting their activity, the teacher says, "Maybe you could be the milkman."

The teacher sets an example by her own social techniques. Young children learn a great deal by imitation. The teacher's supporting friendliness, her interest in others' activities, her positive approach, and her use of suggestions and simple information rather than commands and negations are reflected in child behavior.

The teacher strives for a sensitive balance between the welfare of group and individual. She helps children accept such simple rules and routine procedure as are necessary for the welfare of the entire group. Membership in any group involves some loss of freedom. The teacher sees that rules are limited to essentials concerning health, safety, and comfort of the group, that they are simple and easily understood. Releasing procedures involving aggression and destruction, though appropriate as part of the therapy of a behavior clinic, have to be considered in terms of their effect on the entire group as well as on the child immediately concerned.

The teacher plans some organized group experiences, such as field trips to give children direct experience in sharing interests and activities. The older the children, the larger the group that may participate effectively.

The teacher fosters each child's development of skills and interests. Being an accepted member of any social group is largely a matter of

having something to contribute to the group. A child who has resources of his own to draw upon is both more acceptable to his companions and more independent of them.

Children Should Live in a World Where They Can Express Their Feelings and Learn To Understand, Accept, and Control Their Feelings. They also Need Wide Experience and Guidance in Learning To Live with Themselves and Their Feelings ¹²

All experiences have some emotional coloring. They are felt as well as understood. Feeling and understanding are essentially interactive. In their behavior, young children show great differences in their general effect and in their specific emotional response to specific situations. Some are generally merry, some apprehensive, some over-aggressive, some oversubmissive, some overactive, and some phlegmatic. One child goes to pieces in a situation in which another behaves constructively.

What do the nursery school, kindergarten, and primary grades offer to help children of different personality types in their emotional development?

The physical environment of the school for young children is free from unproductive frustration. In nursery school and kindergarten the child is, in large measure, master of his physical world. He can reach the hooks and shelves on which his coat and hat are kept. Tables, chairs, and toilet are the right size for his comfortable use. Any environment adapted to the physical needs of the child frees him from unnecessary frustration and promotes his sense of adequacy and his confidence in dealing with at least the physical properties of the school.

The school program, rules, and procedures are simple and easily understood. Ability to predict outcomes and a sure knowledge of what is going to happen in most situations fosters a sense of security.

Experience with children his own age gives a child a truer picture of himself. From companionship with his age peers, a child learns that he is as able in many ways as they are. He also shares his activities, his fun, his interests, and his feelings with individuals with a similar outlook and background of experience. This is a supporting as well as a satisfying experience.

The school environment offers a progressively widening range of experiences, manipulative, creative, and apperceptive, that enrich the

¹² This section contributed by Catherine Landreth.

child's emotional life. The child's capacity for enjoying and savoring experiences is in direct relation to his sensitization to them.

Giving a child effective help requires some understanding of his behavior and the various circumstances that may affect it. Knowledge of the child's state of health, his daily home routine and relationships, and of any traumatising experiences he may have had in infancy or early childhood aids the teacher in determining the kind of help he needs.

The teacher helps the child in his adjustment to new situations. Gradual introduction and some explanation beforehand helps to eliminate strangeness and suddenness in new experiences. Before the first medical examination the child visits the examining room and becomes acquainted with the doctor.

The teacher helps children to respond constructively to emotionally disturbing situations. To the child who kicks the tricycle he has just fallen off, the teacher says, "The ground is uneven here. Try riding on the path."

The teacher helps children accept the reality of their feelings by her acknowledgment of them. To the child who has had a bump or fall and seems upset the teacher says, "Let's sit down a while. It will help you to feel better." She does not say, "You're all right," or "You're fine." Because teachers are free from conflicting ties in relation to the children in their care, they can accept expressions of anger, aggressiveness, and quarrelsomeness as a normal part of the child's development. In this way they can offer a kind of help that is given with more difficulty by parents.

The teacher heightens children's pleasure in their undertakings by her interest and understanding. A quiet "careful driving" or a genuine "that's fine," to a child who has finished a carpentry product assures the child of supporting adult interest.

The teacher furnishes legitimate outlets for aggression. Boxing gloves, punching bag, ball to be kicked, and packing boxes that can be knocked to pieces for kindling give children legitimate opportunity for aggressive activity.

The teacher provides play materials which offer children a chance to express in play the feelings that are allowed only limited expression in real life. A captain's cap gives a boy a chance to be a bold, bossy chief-of-staff. Dolls give a submissive little girl a chance to be the dominating or deeply maternal feminine head of the household. Fear can be pantomimed without shame when a child's companion takes the part of a lion. Bold strokes of the brush, vivid massings of color may

put on paper feelings which would be less acceptable if expressed in another form.

The Young Child Needs an Atmosphere of Reasonable Security in Which He Knows That He Is Wanted, Needed, Valued, and Appreciated by Adults and That the Adults in His Life Will Try To Arrive at Mutual Understandings in Dealing with Him ¹³

The child is the product of the home, school, and community. He is just one little person who goes to and from home, school, and community in a continuous path which needs guideposts at every turn to show him how to make the transition from one to the other without losing his way, or getting confused, or having to change his personality with every new person he meets. Adults must provide such guideposts not in prescription form to neglect the child's spirit of adventure or his ingenuity in problem-solving but rather as suggestions to clarify, inform, organize, or integrate. His circuitous path can be charted into a reasonably smooth and consistent one by all three—home, school, and community—getting together to guide him. This getting together to devise a co-operative plan for children represents the very crux of the democratic way of life. In its ideal form, the person who knows most about a particular way of child development or childhood education will share his knowledge with all others; this information will be accepted with the professional respect of the recipient, who in turn will share what he knows. Thus, the child receives the combined benefits from the ideas and skills of all with whom he comes into contact, either directly or indirectly.

In order to assure ready exchange of information concerning children, all methods of transmission are utilized. Every local newspaper carries several features dealing with child guidance by physicians, teachers, social workers, parents, and cartoonists. Books and magazines—popular, semiprofessional, and professional—offer a wealth of information about children. The radio, the theater, the lecture platforms—all do their part. Schools and colleges offer correspondence or extension courses about children. Universities are offering more combined curriculums so that students may receive training in more than one specialty (i.e., home economics and childhood education, or nursing and childhood education) to broaden viewpoints and increase cooperation between workers in different fields. Pediatricians are observing well children in groups under the supervision of teachers and

¹³ This section contributed by Elizabeth Mechem Fuller.

psychologists to gain a broader understanding of children. Teachers visit settlements houses, playgrounds, juvenile courts, libraries, camps, hospitals, and homes to learn how children live outside of school. There is unlimited information available in a world better equipped than ever to disseminate it. It is the responsibility of every citizen to learn as much as he can about children, to develop methods of discriminating good from bad sources of material, and to learn what his part in the broad and continuous educational process is.

Since this chapter is built upon children's needs, the first considerations related to harmonizing adult relationships in the child's world are those directly related to the child. However, it is inconceivable that any semblance of harmony can be achieved without also considering the needs of parents, teachers, and community in general. Therefore, this immediate section will try to recognize objectively the needs of everyone and discuss school and home as having both rights and obligations.

So far as the school is concerned, the attempt to lend consistency to the young child's world usually resolves itself into two phases: the records which are kept and used, and the type of home and community relationships which are adopted.

School records and reports are discussed in detail in chapter x. Their significance in endowing children's lives with security and consistency is understood when one examines the contents of a child's individual cumulative folder in a modern school. There will be dated entries, photographs, charts, clippings, and reports relating to absences, first aid, height-weight, mentality, physical condition, personality, social and developmental history, dentition, medical and family history, food intake, toileting, anecdotal behavior journals, parent interviews and letters, classroom diaries, drawings, subject matter readiness, and various other data.

Obviously such schools concern themselves with the "whole" child and family. Teachers are expected to examine cumulative folder materials for each child before the opening of each school year and to consult them regularly. In fact, records are considered a tool of instruction which contributes to the teacher's growth. The specific nature of records kept in any school will depend upon their general purposes, whether they are to aid in wise guidance of children, in improving educational methods, or in research. In any event, good record-keeping proves an indispensable link between home and school and contributes to the improvement of both.

The second phase of school practices intended to relate all phases

of the child's existence has to do with the personal relationships which the school establishes with home and community. The task of establishing and maintaining desirable home-school-community relations usually falls upon the school because of its extreme need for such relations, because its staff members are usually looked upon as specialists, and because most people leave it up to the school to interpret itself to the community. Therefore, the teacher typically determines the nature of school contacts with the rest of the world. It is in some ways unfortunate that this role falls upon the teacher because the parents are in a much more strategic position to provide the child with the security that comes from a complete and balanced interpretation of the various aspects of his life. Parents see the child from birth and remain as continuing influences throughout his life. When parents see and understand this integrative and interpretative function, their children profit immeasurably from the resultant guidance. Then the school serves its ideal function—that of strengthening and complementing the work already begun in the home.

School practices designed to aid in giving the child a logical place in the broader community picture include all sorts of activities. Chiefly, *parents and teachers work together*, sometimes one way, sometimes another. Often parents use the school building as a meeting place for their organizations; they observe their own and other children at school; they repair toys or mend school linens; they build bookshelves or make toys; they assist the teacher on days when she is short of help; they attend parent-teacher association meetings; they report unusual events at home which aid the teacher in guiding their children; they ask for advice on some behavior problem; they donate books or toys to the school.

School demands upon parents, particularly at early levels, stress the part parents can play in preparing children for school by thorough physical and dental examinations, friendly home discussions about what the school has to offer, interesting excursions to give children common information, purchase of suitable clothing, complimentary remarks about teachers and school personnel, establishment of schedules in the home which approximate later school routines so that no abrupt change makes unreasonable demands upon the child. After the child has entered school, he feels very keenly the absence of his parents from parent-teacher functions or school programs; therefore, the school urges parents to attend for the child's sake as well as for the benefit to both parent and teacher. Parents frequently have to compromise or change standards which they have set for their chil-

dren as to privileges, weekly money allowances, homecoming time, or clothing. Boys and girls desperately need to be "like" others at these early ages; the teacher sees many children of the same age so that her "norms" are usually somewhat more reliable, and she often exerts effort to get parents to see and conform to standards for their children which are compatible with their age and with community customs. Some of these changes do not come easily for parents.

Teachers likewise co-operate. Often teachers visit in the home to observe family relationships. If the school does not provide a library and reading room, they give parents suggested lists of books or toys suitable for children; they add to parents' security with encouragement in their efforts with their children and praise for their gains; they send home suggestions as to family excursions which might be taken to enrich children's lives and give them common experiences to talk over with their friends (i.e., railroad station, farm, park, zoo, post office, filling station); they teach Sunday School classes; they plan parent meetings; they try to make parents feel really *welcome* at school; they give parents advanced information concerning local events (circuses, speakers, exhibits, etc.).

The good teacher recognizes certain additional obligations to parents. She realizes that parents want and *need* objective information about their children presented understandably and accompanied by helpful suggestions; therefore, she is never too busy to give this help or to make a later appointment to give it, or to refer parents to someone else in the school who can give it. She is intellectually and professionally honest in that she recognizes her limitations and confines her diagnosis and suggested treatment to areas in which her training qualifies her to function. She realizes also that many acts of children are behavioral symptoms of interparental tensions or special home anxieties and conflicts which she, as teacher, is in no position to do anything about; at least, in which it is not strategic for her to act. Therefore, she develops a sensitivity both to needs for action and needs for restraint; it is hard to say which sensitivity is easier to acquire. In cases where restraint in parental relations seems indicated, the teacher still has recourse to extra sympathetic guidance of the child within the school—guidance which is cued toward the total situation and yet may give the child just that added "lift" he needs to facilitate his making his own adjustment.

A word of warning perhaps should be added in consideration of these more intangible obligations of teachers toward parents. So much has been said and written recently urging teachers into more elaborate

parent relationships that some teachers feel positively apologetic when they have no "problems" to discuss. Good practice does not mean discussing all of the child's so-called problems with parents; it certainly does not mean creating some where none are present. The very fact that a teacher judges a point sufficiently important to discuss it with a parent automatically exaggerates its position in the child's life at that time. Consequently, teachers need to discriminate both as to what is too important and what is too trivial to present to parents. The "too important" may well wait for a more opportune time; and the "too trivial" may well be overlooked altogether. A good example of a teacher's diplomatic failure took place recently in a nursery school. A father had just returned from two years' overseas duty to rejoin his "grandmother-aunt-mother-raised" four-year-old son. The father was a husky athlete of the all-American football variety. On his *first* visit to the nursery school, the teacher remarked, "My goodness, Blake doesn't resemble you much, does he? I'll bet he will never choose a football career." It was not until she sensed the father's immediate hostility that she realized that she had probably alienated him. Blake was a slender, sensitive boy with large blue eyes and curly hair and effeminate both in appearance and behavior. This new threat to the father, that of having a "sissy" son, was almost more than he could bear. The teacher had groped for one of the obvious things to say and had, as a result, added to his tensions concerning his son. To be sure, it had to be recognized that Blake needed the better balanced family life which his father's return would provide, but the point was "too important" at the moment, and, therefore, it was psychologically unwise (and served no real purpose) for the teacher to mention it directly.

The good teacher also realizes that *parents have lives of their own to live*. The same teacher who complains whenever she has night homework to do may criticize parents for lapses, oblivious of the fact that parenthood is a twenty-four-hour-a-day job. A button which has not been sewed on Billy's clothes may have been sacrificed to sister Mary's tonsillitis or Father's extra work at the office. Teachers have to make such choices in time and attention many times daily, yet they fail to see needs of the "whole home." Recreational needs of parents often elicit criticisms from teachers. How often one hears teachers remark sarcastically about Mrs. Peterson's or Mrs. Morgan's afternoon bridge sessions! The superior teacher is more charitable and assumes that perhaps the only time these mothers can take any recreation is during the afternoon, and they may be playing bridge be-

cause that is the least expensive activity open to them where they can be with friends they enjoy.

Many of the home-school contacts relate to health matters. The good school never overlooks its opportunities to give health education or to make specific suggestions to parents concerning a child's health when occasions arise. Yet, even such laudable motives must be tempered with real interest in and understanding of the *whole family* if home and school co-operation is to be at its best. For example, recently a school pediatrician called a teacher's attention to the run-down condition of a five-year-old boy's shoes. She wanted a note sent home *at once* recommending a new pair. The teacher offered these supplementary facts: David's father was killed in action overseas; there were two other children in the family; the widow had worked her way through her last year of college and had just begun her first month of employment (her first pay check would be due in two weeks); the widow had just financed an older brother's appendectomy and paid a large dental bill for her sister; they were buying a home. The teacher maintained that David's new shoes might well be left to the mother's discretion at least for the time being, any such suggestion coming very casually later on in a general conversation if the mother had not already attended to it as only one of many family problems. The suggestion emerges, then, that within the school itself the teacher and other staff members must often compromise to insure superior relationships with the home. Nothing undermines parents' confidence in the school more than failure of the school personnel to present a solid front which has been arrived at mutually by staff members concerned. Parents have been known to receive conflicting communications on the same subject from two or more offices in the same school; such poor administration and organization would not be acceptable anywhere.

Home-school co-operation of the variety suited to giving children, parents, and teachers reasonable security and satisfaction is, therefore, more than merely organizing a parent-teacher association. It resolves itself into two phases each for parents and teachers, the things which they each do and the attitudes and understanding which they each harbor toward the job *the other* is performing. Ideal home-school relationships are of the "every-day type of informal exchange," perhaps embellished by, but never limited to, formal group meetings and conferences. In nature they are co-operative, compromising, objective—and, if possible, always enjoyable. Parents and teachers in a good modern school know each other, like each other, are honest and

direct with each other, and share their information and skills wherever possible to their mutual benefits and to untold benefits for children.

Broader community relationships are more difficult to plan. Again, it usually falls upon the school personnel to go out and establish these relationships and maintain them in a reciprocal way. Many methods have proved useful.

Perhaps the most important community contact for the school is that of the local board of education. Board members usually represent a respected cross section of the town's citizenry and can do much to interpret and endear the school to the rest of the community if the school staff presents its needs and services understandably. Once a general "atmosphere" of congeniality and reciprocity is established in a community, whole new fields of educational opportunity appear. For example, once the owner of the local dairy understands the school and knows and respects the school staff, the excursion of forty first-grade children to his plant loses most of its nuisance aspects and becomes his own educational venture of value both to him and to the children.

An example of the type of excellent community relationships which are encouraged in a good modern school was reported recently at a teacher's meeting:

A few mornings previously when one of the teachers arrived at school, a man in overalls was sitting on the front steps of the school. He approached her with, "Say lady, aren't you the one that teaches those kids about this big (gesturing at a level about 54 inches high)?"

"Yes, I am. Is there something I can do for you?" (She stiffened a bit at the thought that perhaps her children had again been up to some neighborhood mischief and that here was *another* adult to complain rather than to help.)

"Well, I just thought you might want to know that in about a half hour I'm going to start to run a big bulldozer and steam shovel about two blocks from here. I just loved to watch those things when I was a kid. Would you like to bring them all down after awhile?"

The amazed and delighted teacher managed to regain her composure in time to thank him and ask him if he would come inside and tell her group about his job and what kind of rules the children would have to follow if they were to be permitted to watch the construction work. He went in with her and spent a most interesting ten minutes with the children, who later visited him at his work.

Such an incident invites a striking contrast seen at a street corner a few days after the above story was heard:

Excavating for the foundation of a house, a workman was operating a bulldozer and was being followed in his oval path by four children between three and six years of age. Every time he wanted to make a turn he had to stop for safety's sake to check on the whereabouts of the children. He swore, gestured, threatened, and tried to find out where they lived so he could complain to their parents. The children would retreat to the sidewalk when he got off his tractor, then would laugh and chase him as soon as he started the engine again.

One, of course, wonders where parents are under such circumstances, because responsibility for the above incident lies with them. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the incident illustrates how poor relationships between the child and the community originate—poor relationships which eventually become the problem of child, parent, teacher, and community.

Another phase of the child's existence which frequently operates to cause him confusion and insecurity is the failure of the many agencies which concern themselves with children to get together to evolve consistent attitudes and methods of dealing with them. One case comes to mind in which a six-year-old child had been in repeated contact with workers from ten different agencies: the truant officer, the visiting teacher, the public health nurse, the case worker responsible for neglected children, the pediatrician at the charity clinic, the juvenile court referee, the Big Sister's organization, the Red Cross, the settlement-house teacher, and the psychologist at the child guidance clinic. Admittedly, such a case is unusual, but it serves to show the extreme to which our society goes in compartmentalizing its work with children. No concern need be felt for the fact that so many specialists interested in children exist, but concern must be felt if and when these agencies fail to co-ordinate their functions, attitudes, and methods. It is becoming increasingly customary for different organizations and institutions interested in children's welfare to share conventions, conferences, committees, literature and even office space in an effort to arrive at mutual understandings in dealing with children.

Relationships of home, school, and community start early, then, and continue throughout the child's life. Every teacher, principal, school nurse, superintendent, school board member, parent, policeman, fireman, doctor, postman, minister, and shopkeeper takes part in determining what these relationships are to be.

Young Children Need Some Experiences That Will Encourage and Preserve Their Sensitivity to the Wonders of Life and the Universe—the Basis of Spiritual Development ¹⁴

Curiosity and the sense of wonder is inherent in all children and is akin to that which animates scientists and inventors when exploring and challenging the realm of the unknown. Young children need an environment in which there are suitable materials, activities, and guidance to generate and maintain interest and experimentation.

In the schoolroom, seed planting, with growth evident from day to day, with the need for sunshine, water, good earth, and careful tending, links the child with growth everywhere. The goldfish in the bowl, the snails, the turtle, twigs budding in water, bulbs in glass containers, blossoming plants with color and fragrance—all provide interest and stimulus.

The changing angle of rays of sunlight, the different position of the sun as it sets each evening, the shortening or lengthening of the days, when considered with the guidance of an enlightened adult, may give a child the beginnings of a comprehension of the laws which govern the universe.

Excursions to see a mother hen with her brood of chickens, a dog and puppies, a cow and calf, a mare and colt, a cat and kittens, birds in their nest or in pictures present the picture of child and parent relationship which has universal appeal.

Kindergarten children crouched on the ground to watch the activities around an anthill may get a glimpse of the organization of an ant colony. At any rate, it is very interesting to see each ant carry away the grain of sugar he found waiting. To see a bumblebee hanging on the lip of a snapdragon to extract the nectar with a technique all his own should be thrilling to a nature-loving adult as well as to children.

Even the weighing and measuring of children has its universal implications, for the body itself suggests growth and developmental laws. Food, rest, fresh air, play, creative experiences, laughter, loving care, all contribute to the marvel of *growth*—mental, physical, social, spiritual. *Wholeness* is the goal always to be kept before us, particularly with children in the most formative period of life.

Pictures of children of all races should be a part of the environment of every child if we are to have "One World" which is also a peaceful world. Including children of other nationalities and races in the young school group helps to insure future solidarity and mutual

¹⁴This section contributed by Stella Louise Wood.

appreciations among peoples as nothing else can do. Songs of other nations, costumes, dolls, folk dances, stories, visitors, all contribute interest and *knowledge* toward these ends.

If the adult responds to the child's enthusiasm, he stimulates and keeps that wonder which provides motivation for learning, activity, and growth. Even if the adult does not know answers, he can always say, "I don't know, but I want to. Let's go and find out." But if he shows little interest, the dulling process begins. If the adult is fortunate enough to realize the importance of this eager wonder, he will do all in his power to prove that he knows that learning is an endless process—that the world holds marvels which provide for a lifetime of seeking and finding.

The Child Should Be Encouraged toward Expression of His Creative Powers in Ways Meaningful to Him, Free from Undue Imposition of Adult Standards¹⁵

Appreciation, creativity, and self-expression will thrive best in an environment which is challenging. To be challenging, a school environment must have that which is best adapted to the developmental interests of the group to be challenged. The environment which is most conducive to the six-year-old's appreciation and self-expression would scarcely be that which would be most stimulating to the two-year-old. The young child needs to find something tangible in his environment which will help him to find new meanings and new modes of expression. As he develops he needs new tools and new experiences to help him interpret his ever-widening world to himself and himself to this ever greater world.

Now it may be that, by inventory, everything in the way of desirable physical properties can be accounted for in an environment and the environment still will not be one conducive to self-expression and creativity. Over and beyond, and pervading the physical environment, there must be a *social climate* which induces creativity and self-expression. Social climate, although difficult to describe, is something which the observer senses the moment he steps into a room in which human beings are functioning. Most often, if the social climate is wholesome, the observer is immediately aware of the fact that ideas seem to be flowing freely. He is aware also that the media through which they flow and the outward shapes which they take are as varied as are the personalities and the interests of the individuals composing the group.

¹⁵ This section contributed by Neith E. Headley.

For a few moments let us look in on a few five-year-olds who appear to be living in an environment which is physically and climatically challenging:

As John marches around and around the block boat which has just been loaded, he waves his new crayoned flag and sings, to the tune of "The Farmer in the Dell," "The cargo's in the hold. The cargo's in the hold. High-ho the deri-o. The cargo's in the hold."

Sally, apron-covered, draws her brush across the paper on the easel, leaving behind a trail of vivid red. She bisects this line with a perpendicular band of the same red. Then she picks up a second brush and blocks out each corner with blue. Now she outlines the two sides of the blue blocks with yellow, red, and green. She continues this blue, yellow, red, and green until the whole page is filled. Then she steps back and says with no end of satisfaction, "There, I'm through. Look, everyone, look. It's beautiful. Here, Jean, here's the apron. You can paint now."

Lois and Michael are measuring and sawing. "There," says Lois, "that should be enough! We had four and we only needed eight. Let's count. One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight. That's just right. Maybe, if we hurry we can put the fence out today."

Doris seems to be overlooking a space on the purple flowered crown which she is making for the Maypole dance. She walks over and stands for a few seconds in front of the cage in which two white mice are running on a wheel. The teacher is about to remind her of her unfinished work when Doris turns about, skips to the supply table, selects some green materials and returns to her work. As Doris walks by the teacher she says, "See, this will be the front. The back and sides are purple but the front is going to be green."

"Look," says Peter, rolling out his plastecine, "Look, I'm making whiskers. All mouses have whiskers. Wasn't that funny the man in the book forgot to put whiskers on?" Now the plastecine mouse is complete. Peter scrutinizes him, picks him up, and walks over to put him on the table beside the live mice, quoting sketchily from Rose Fyleman, ". . . caught a tiny mouse Messages to and fro Kissed it and let go." He smiles and runs to put away his remaining plastecine and his work board.

Guidance which encourages appreciation, creativity, and self-expression. To the untrained observer it may seem that the teacher plays but a minor part in the room just described. But this is far from the truth! The physical environment has been so set up by the teacher that everything in it, in one way or another, serves as a stimulus to creativity, self-expression, and appreciation. While the room itself is entirely functional, yet it satisfies the eye and everything serves a purpose. The supply cupboards are well stocked and within easy reach of the children. On the science table, in addition to the cage in which

the two white mice are kept, there are cocoons, moths, beetles, turtles, seeds in a germination box, a sprouted acorn, and a foliage-bearing sweet potato. Blocks and space for block building are available. The easel, books, piano, pictures—all invite further experimentation and enjoyment. Wherever possible, pictures made by the children have been used to lend gaiety and color to the room. Patricia's cut flowers have been attractively arranged in a low bowl and small growing plants are scattered about the room where bits of life and color are needed.

Now turning to that in the environment which tends to create a wholesome social climate conducive to self-expression and appreciation, we find the teacher moving about making contacts with children, appreciating efforts, admiring achievements, and raising or holding the children up to standards as the need arises. For John and the boat builders she gave two new words, "hold" and "cargo," which were so satisfying to John that he immediately incorporated them into a song. Sally was so enthralled in her painting that the teacher did not interrupt her at all. She noted Peter's satisfaction as he told in plasticine and words the experiences which had recently come to him through story, poetry, and observation. She was aware of Lois and Michael's achievement and the extreme satisfaction which they were getting from meeting the challenge of a job which needed doing. She stood ready to see that Doris finished her task and expressed appreciation of her plans for her flowered crown.

It is only the artist teacher who can *appear* to be but an interested onlooker. In reality, at every turn, she is guiding children so that they may grow in their ability to gain meaning and understanding from their experiences. She is keenly aware of those values which are of significance to children and she is able to judge just when and under what circumstances portions of her vast fund of information can be most profitably shared with them. Always she is aware of the individual child's strivings, and yet she never seems to sacrifice the good of the group to the good of the individual. Somehow, through her own artistry, she is able to grasp the total group situation without losing sight of the many individual problems and strivings within the group. Under this kind of guidance, ideas and expression flow freely.

The *two-year-olds* can be most creative when set down in an environment which is relatively simple. For practical purposes most things in the two-year-old's environment need to be those which can

be touched, tasted, smelled, listened to, and manipulated. He needs paper to tear, puzzles to take apart and sometimes put together, and dolls and other toys to lug and pull about. Even the blocks with which he is supplied will be used in the main as materials to tote about and manipulate. When under supervision, the two-year-old could occasionally profit by using large crayons to mark with or soap suds and a brush to paint on a surface such as a blackboard. A single verb or phrase sometimes summarizes a whole thought and a single idea summarizes a whole experience.

The *three-year-old* still gets satisfaction out of pure manipulation, but beyond that he is beginning to weave his experiences into his play and to change his environment. One moment he piles his blocks into a big tower, and the next moment he delights in knocking it down. He uses crayons with equal directness. He makes a few boldly scribbled marks on the paper and says, "There." One child leaves his sand to play with the clay. He squeezes it, pulls it apart, pats it, rolls it, and sticks bits of it together again. When a grownup asks him what he has made, he answers, "It's an angleworm with a candle on his back." Ideas are still very concrete and disjointed. A small boy, in a smock, stands before an easel, covering his whole 12 by 18 sheet with blue paint. Two children are looking at books. "Read it," says one small boy as he pushes it into the teacher's lap; but, before she can start, a train goes by on the track outside and he climbs onto some large floor blocks to see it.

The *four-year-old* is inspired by his environment and his associates to do great things. When he builds with blocks he often plans with others as he works. He relives, through block play, many of his experiences. Often his building is elaborate in detail and amazingly well-balanced in design. When he sits down to draw he usually does so with friends. His drawing is usually accompanied by a running comment, and, to listen in, one might expect that a masterpiece was being created; but to look is to be disillusioned! In his drawing he is still pretty much in the manipulative stage. In working with clay the four-year-old starts out talking about what he is going to make, but he is strongly influenced by the form which evolves from the manipulation. In painting, he applies one color after the other and sometimes ventures to make a human figure or some other object. He likes to hammer and saw and pound nails but, save for crossed pieces which he calls an airplane, he is most often satisfied with the process.

The *five-year-old* uses all the materials used by the four-year-old but uses them with considered purposefulness. Because the dogs are

getting in his garden he uses hammers and nails to make a fence. Because he wants a flag on his ship he makes a flag. He delights in setting down his thoughts pictorially, so this is sometimes called the age of picture-writing. Frequently the five-year-old's pictures will bear letter or number symbols, and toward the end of the school year the child's whole name will often be printed on his pictures. When the five-year-old paints at the easel, he experiments with form and design and figures, such as houses, birds, animals, or airplanes. Blocks are still satisfying and are used either by individuals or by groups of two, three, or even more. Occasionally workable gadgets, such as an elevator or derrick may take shape. Scissors and paste are frequently new media of self-expression for the five-year-old.

The *six-year-old* has acquired sufficient skill so that his products often bear extreme likeness to that which he aims to represent. In his drawing and painting, however, such features as perspective and shadings are still of no great concern. Frequently he supplements his pictorial creations with printed notes. Upon going into a room in which six-year-olds are working, it is usually possible to tell at a glance just what the interest of the group has been and what the immediate interest of the group is. In addition to the pictorial representation of interests, there will usually be in evidence collections of objects and books on current and recent interests. Builder Boards and wood, hammer and nails, or other sets of large trade blocks provide materials from which room equipment or stage properties are often built. The six-year-old delights in dramatizations. Usually the characters are patterned after story-book characters, although any simple experience taken directly from life will serve. Plastecine, clay, and finger paints give him great satisfaction. The products do not vary grossly from age level to age level but the verbalizing which takes place and the freedom of expression which its use affords the child are an excellent catharsis for feelings and emotions.

Throughout this discussion there has been little emphasis placed upon the perfection of the products. Materials are thought of not in terms of end products but in terms of media through which ideas are expressed. We are interested not so much in what the child does to the material as in what the material does for the child.

Summary ¹⁶

Thus, we arrive at a set of generalizations concerning practices and resources in early childhood education. These generalizations are

¹⁶This summary of the foregoing sections dealing with children's needs was prepared by Elizabeth Mechem Fuller.

based upon the needs of children, which have been discussed in the previous section. They may serve as a guide for those interested in establishing a wholesome educational environment for young children. They are expressed in terms general enough to lend themselves readily to almost any situation where young children are to be educated in groups.

a) Children need physical surroundings which are wholesome and adapted to their maturity levels. A good school provides ample space for both indoor and outdoor activities. Rooms are well ventilated, heated, and lighted. Toys and equipment are challenging, attractive, durable, safe, hygienic, useful, and suited to the age level concerned. Suggested clothing to be worn by the children is simply designed, washable, comfortable, and durable. Children are given optimal health education, supervision, and protection by a well-trained staff. The food served is nutritious, well balanced, and attractive and represents variety in choice and preparation. The teacher acts as a stabilizing but not a dominating guide who aids the children in interpreting and using their physical surroundings so that they may secure its maximum benefits.

b) Children need an environment which provides for, permits, and encourages bodily activity and motor opportunities. The good school not only offers a physical plant which provides for motor development but also schedules its time so that children have frequent opportunities to exercise their motor skills in a leisurely way. Teachers not only permit much moving about but encourage it and, occasionally, even aid children in new activities which have been suggested. As children gain skill in motor areas, they are given additional equipment and guidance so that they may progress in accordance with their developmental levels. Likewise, as their maturity levels increase they are taught to understand and adjust gradually to necessary restrictions upon bodily activity relevant to learning subject matter and appreciating other aspects of the environment, such as music and literature.

c) Children need a daily program which is planned with respect for levels of maturity and geared toward educational aims. Though it is impossible to devise an ideal program which will meet the needs of all schools, or every season, it is desirable for each school to have some planned sequence for the day. The younger the child the longer should be the periods of unhampered experimentation with materials, equipment, and other children, as free from teacher direction as possible, and the shorter should be the periods of organized, controlled,

and directed activities where all children are expected to do the same thing at the same time. Such a trend in programming reflects recognition of the nature of the child's growth: his gradually increasing attention span, his sequence of developing, first, gross and, later, fine muscular co-ordinations; his early diffuse and later focused interests; his rapid rate of physical growth in early childhood and slower rate in later childhood; his need for alternation of activity and rest. The school will adapt to relationships between time of day and incidence of fatigue, emotional outbursts, or hunger; will respect seasonal and climatic variations; will stagger all major shifts from one activity to another; will permit sharing of school facilities to meet varying needs of families, to insure inclusion of experiences with a wide variety of materials, or to permit a judicious use of staff members.

d) Children need an environment which will facilitate optimal development of sound basic habits. Provision for basic habit training in good modern schools represents a compromise between complete individualization on the basis of the wisdom of the body theory (in which the child is permitted to eat, sleep, or toilet when he chooses to do so) and a group method which sets a definite time for these functions in the belief that such a plan is more economical of child and teacher time and less confusing and disrupting to group living.

Thus, the school program provides certain relatively flexible periods during the day when all children dress, eat, sleep, wash, and toilet, and then individual children are permitted other times for them between the regularly scheduled times, if needed. Allotments of time are sufficient for the slowest child, and guidance and equipment are adapted to maturity levels and aimed always at development of positive attitudes and gradual increase in independence on the part of the child. The amount of guidance needed decreases gradually from age two to six so that approximately half the school day is devoted to it for two-year-olds as contrasted with perhaps slightly over an hour per day for the six-year-olds.

e) Children need stimulation to inquire and to help them integrate their thinking with experience. The good school does not solve a child's problems for him, does not merely "feed" him allegedly indispensable facts, or give him prescribed amounts of information to memorize. Rather, he is trained to think in an orderly fashion, to acquire sound study habits, to read widely, to find out and compare facts before coming to conclusions, to plan, carry out, and evaluate individual or group projects, to be curious, and to know how to find answers in the

world about him. The school gives special attention to the laws of teaching and learning which expedite such training. The teacher provides equipment and materials adapted to the levels of the children she teaches. She makes the environment attractive, stimulating, and challenging at the children's level. She relates new materials to old experiences so that meaning is there and so that association patterns are facilitated. She sees that every child gets the satisfaction of experiencing success and the feeling of a job well done. She understands the advantage of priority of learning and gives young children a wide variety of experiences. She adapts her teaching to their gradually increasing attention and memory spans and to their changing interests.

f) Children should live in an environment which makes them sensitive to the rights and privileges of being members of a social group and which provides guidance in becoming members of a social group. The nursery-school, kindergarten, and primary years carry a heavy responsibility in establishing social patterns in children which persist throughout life. The good school for the young child, then, emphasizes social relationships in all its planning. The nursery school and kindergarten represent the earliest segment of group living, wherein children are still reasonably free from the pressures of learning to read and write and can, therefore, give more attention to the problem of learning to live with other people. In a good school, children have comradeship both with their peers and with older and younger children; all may realize a sense of belonging; co-operative effort rather than "might is right" holds sway; fairness and kindness exist; children share, take turns, stand up for each other's rights and opinions, fight their own battles, sympathize when indicated, assume responsibilities for making individual and group decisions, appreciate and enjoy contacts with persons of other races and creeds; both aggressive and shy children eventually find a constructive place in group activities.

The teacher places premiums upon desirable behavior and devaluates undesirable social behavior. She sets a good example, anticipates and, occasionally, forestalls difficult situations, and remains in the social background as long as children are not being abused, exploited, or continually frustrated in their dealings with others. The social atmosphere for the immature child should be one which is more facilitating than frustrating, one in which there are a few simple rules necessary for group welfare, and one where children are permitted to live together with as much as possible of the resultant social pattern set by themselves.

g) Children should live in a world where they can express their feelings and learn to understand, accept, and control their feelings. They also need wide experience and guidance in learning to live with themselves and their feelings. The superior school does not repress feelings; rather, it recognizes feelings and emotions as natural forms of expression and utilizes them in positive guidance toward desirable personality and social patterns. Young children in modern schools are taught to distinguish which situations are worthy of emotions and how to express them in amounts and ways consistent with desirable social standards. It is assumed that when an emotional outburst occurs the child does not have a more adequate response ready and that he needs guidance in finding one.

The environment, then, is relatively secure and consistent; it tries to aid the child to understand cause-and-effect relationships, both those which he can and those which he cannot alter; it satisfies his appetites related to food, shelter, clothing, alternation of rest and activity, new experiences, prestige, and affection; it gives him association with contemporaries; it fosters positive emotions and redirects or substitutes for negative ones; it teaches appropriate gradations of emotional response as he grows older. In general, the child's emotions are regarded as a dynamic force which can either seriously hinder or effectively expedite growth and learning.

h) The young child needs an atmosphere of reasonable security in which he knows that he is wanted, needed, valued, and appreciated by adults and that the adults in his life will try to arrive at mutual understandings in dealing with him. In order to provide some consistency, the horizon of the school must be extended to include family, doctor, minister, postman, policeman, butcher, and everyone who forms part of the child's world. Thus, the good school works with the families and the communities to learn the nature of the child's whole existence rather than to consider him as solely a school organism. In the school the attempt to co-ordinate the child's world usually takes two forms: that of record-keeping and that of the home and community relationships adopted by the school. One can learn a lot about a school by a look into the files to see what information on the child is recorded and how it is used. The good school explores community resources and utilizes them; attempts to understand and interpret the policies and viewpoints of all individuals and groups and to synchronize them into a practical and understandable "cause-and-effect" philosophy; contributes the fruits of its research and experiences to society; and, in turn, keeps informed as to knowledge gained by

other groups so that the children's experiences both inside and outside of school may be as logical and consistent as possible. The form that parent-school-community contacts take is of less importance than the fact that there *are* such contacts and that they are geared smoothly and constructively.

i) Young children need some experiences that will encourage and preserve their sensitivities to the wonders of life and the universe—the basis of spiritual development. Primary responsibility for spiritual development lies, of course, with parents, but the good school will offer supplementary or complementary experiences. The school fosters intellectual curiosity by means of its repertoire of materials and skilled guidance. It should go still further, though, and train children within the limits of their understanding to see *beyond* the obvious, to see themselves in relation to the universe, to see the orderliness and logic of nature's laws, to sense and enjoy the wonders of life. The school hopes, by such means, to educate children to be relatively free from cynicism, superficial sophistication, and intolerance.

j) The child should be encouraged toward expression of his creative powers in ways meaningful to him, free from undue imposition of adult standards. The school for little children encourages *feeling* by doing and even encourages many experiences in which there is more feeling than doing, in the traditional sense. It is difficult to think of creativity without *doing*, but little children need first to learn to do by just looking, listening, feeling, tasting, smelling! Then they need time, a place, and a little guidance in putting experiences together and making something new—in creating. It is such impressions as these for which individuals are known and remembered. Modern practices stress aiding the child to first sense his environment, then to appreciate it, to manipulate it in ways original with himself, and then to share his products with others. Guidance consists of inspirational techniques, introduction of a wide variety of materials with adequate instructional techniques, provision of experiences, such as excursions, to motivate creative effort and to provide accurate models, and a friendly, sympathetic respect for the maturity and ability levels of the children. Products are judged more in terms of what they have meant to the children who have produced them and whether they represent real gains in skill in whatever medium they have chosen for self-expression rather than upon strict adult standards of excellence.

The task of presenting the practices of early childhood education in a fashion general enough to apply to all educators and specific

enough to aid individual interpretation has been a formidable one. This chapter suffers both from oversimplification and overcomplication, due to the ambition of saying at least something which might aid in every teaching and learning circumstance. Readers are urged to refer to more complete treatments of each theme in sources listed at the end of the chapter in order to avoid recipe-type teaching and to broaden their understanding of the scientific bases for practices merely cited in this chapter. To the administrator, the supervisor, the teacher, and the student falls the responsibility for interpreting into actual classroom practice the principles offered. The challenge is definite, but the outlook not at all discouraging.

DIGEST OF RESOURCES IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION Science and Nature¹⁷

Resources which aid the child in his understanding of the nature of the physical world and of animal and plant life are ones that offer him a wealth of sensory experience and opportunities for interesting activity.

Science

- a) *Materials which help the child develop basic concepts of matter.*
Examples: Materials which he can hammer, pound, stretch, squeeze, press, and twist, such as soft wood, saw, hammer, blocks of different shapes (cylinders, spheres, discs, triangles, pyramids, rectangles, squares), light and heavy objects, clay, absorbent paper and cloth, sand, rubber balls, metal springs. *Use:* Free play.
- b) *Materials which acquaint the child with units of measurement and instruments for making such measurement.*
Examples: Ruler, yardstick, simple balance, regular scales, measuring cup, gallon cans, clock, hour glass, calendar, wall thermometer, clinical thermometer, light meter. *Use:* Daily experience with teacher's use of measurements. Use by children on simple projects, e.g., measuring wood lengths for building projects.
- c) *Materials which offer experience with physical forces and with simple machines.*
Examples: Hammer, ball, swing, pendulum, teeter-totter, scissors, planks, dover beaters, screws, wheel toys. *Use:* Free play. Simple explanations from teacher.
- d) *Materials which offer experiences with liquids and gases.*
Examples: Liquids and solids of different density, straws for drinking, balloons, siphon. *Use:* Simple projects, such as emptying fish bowl or wading-pool with siphon.

¹⁷ This section contributed by Catherine Landreth.

- e) *Materials which offer experiences with sound:* Its pitch, intensity, tone quality, production, reflection, transmission, absorption, and amplification.
Examples: Tuned water glasses, tuned metal bars, percussion instruments, Jew's-harps, megaphone, recordings of different musical instruments. *Use:* Part of daily experience.
- f) *Materials which acquaint the child with the phenomena of heat:* Transference, changes of state, expansion, and contraction.
Examples: Ice cream freezer, dry ice, thermos bottle, electric unit, and saucepan. *Use:* Simple projects, such as making ice cream.
- g) *Materials which offer experience with light, with reflection, and with refraction.*
Examples: Magnifying glass, prisms. *Use:* Daily use and observation.
- h) *Materials which offer experience with electricity and magnetism.*
Examples: Magnet, iron filings, flashlight, dry cells, wire, and bell. *Use:* Free play, magnet. *Project:* Teacher helps children in connecting electric bell for house project.
- i) *Materials which offer experience with physics of the weather.*
Examples: Weather vane, simple hygrometer. *Use:* Daily observation.
- j) *Materials which offer experience with chemical changes.*
Examples: Cooking equipment. *Use:* Simple cooking.
- k) *Materials which acquaint children with the structure of the earth's crust.*
Examples: Pumice and rock samples from immediate locality. *Use:* Reference.

Nature

Resources which help the children to develop some awareness of continuity in the animal kingdom in terms of similar needs for food, rest, movement, reproduction, and adaptation to the environment:

- a) *A school environment in which some animal species can be seen in their native state.*
Examples: Trees and a feeding station to attract birds, flowering shrubs to attract insects and humming birds, a water garden stocked with tadpoles and gold fish to attract dragon flies.
- b) *Temporary housing facilities for representatives of many different animal species.*
Examples: Sponges, corals, spiny skins, worms, anthropoids, mollusks, fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds, and mammals; agar plates for growing microorganisms.
- c) *Samples of animal products.*
Examples: Skins, leather, honey comb, raw wool, raw silk, cheese from goat's and cow's milk.
- d) *Field trips.*
- e) *Pictures, books, and films to supplement firsthand experience.*

- f) *Resources which make possible a wide experience with different types of plants.*

Examples: Window boxes, tubs and flower pots; decorative arrangements using plant forms, such as drift wood, moss, fir cones, corn husks, gourds, willow catkins, and sprays of blossoms; materials for observation of germination, such as a sponge, glass jars, filter paper, sawdust, and seeds; samples of plant products, such as cotton pods, tappa cloth, cinnamon bark, sugar cane.

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Books and Literature¹⁸

Just as there is a field of literature for older students, so there is a field of *literature for the child from two to six or seven years.* As adults we should see that the young child has opportunities to become familiar with the best of both the old and the new which is published for him. In our eagerness to test what seems to be the child's ability to comprehend more advanced books, we should guard against skipping too quickly over that which is best adapted to his present level of development. Sometimes the young child seems so entranced by the spoken word that he will sit spellbound while the narrator, with pleasing intonations, recites even alphabet or nonsense syllables. Let us not be misled by this apparent absorption in the material. Rather, let us consider those interests which should be met by literature. Every child is going to, and should, sample widely in the field of books and stories (comic books included), but it is the

¹⁸ This section contributed by Neith E. Headley.

responsibility of the adult to see that the child has opportunities to become familiar with the best books under circumstances which afford him much pleasure. If the adults take this responsibility, the *taste for good literature* will be established early and may be expected to continue through the reading years.

The *illustrations* in books for young children should portray a central theme, should be clear cut, and accented with strong blocks of color. They should, of course, be in complete accord with the text.

The *text*, even though it is not set up to be read by young children, should be printed in such a type that the child is not disturbed by it and can, if he wishes, meet the challenge which printed words offer to the growing mind. The print should not be larger than 18-point nor smaller than 14-point type. For the four-year-old it would be desirable to have approximately twenty to thirty words of text on the page opposite each illustration.

Collections of stories included in a single volume; e.g., *Stories to Begin On* (Baumeister), *Here and Now Story Book* (Mitchell), and *The Umbrella Stories* (Association for Childhood Education) must not be overlooked as source material for the storyteller. These stories, usually accompanied by few illustrations, should be reserved for storytelling and not used for reading. Storytelling is an art which, when used wisely, can do much to inculcate in the child the appreciation for good literature.

Poetry is something which adults and children can and should share from earliest childhood on. It should not be something pigeonholed and taken out at special times only. It should be ready for use at all times. Sometimes a bit of poetry will epitomize, as nothing else can, an experience or an emotion; sometimes it is enjoyed for its sheer beauty of sound. Whatever its function, let's have it available for use. In our poetry list for young children we must be sure to include the rhyming jingles from Mother Goose and samplings of poems from Christina Rossetti, Robert Louis Stevenson, Rose Fyleman, Walter De la Mare, A. A. Milne, and Dorothy Aldis.

The *two-year-old* should be supplied with books which he can carry about and handle. The first books might well be made of linen, lininette, or heavy cardboard. The subject matter will deal with his daily experiences, such as getting dressed or playing with pets. Books by Dorothy Aldis, Ethel Wright, Mary Steichen Martin, and Lena Towsley give us good books for the two-year-old.

The *three-year-old* identifies himself so completely with the story characters that he will like to hear about the simple adventures of animals—especially if the text incorporates animal sounds into the story. Family and nursery-school experiences and the somewhat imaginative adventures of common toys and pets will also appeal to his growing interests. For books to meet the needs of the three-year-olds we turn to such people as Lois Lenski, Romney Gay, Dorothy Sherrill, and Margaret Brown.

The *four-year-old* feels that he is ready to go boldly out into the great

world. He loves to hear about the adventures of *The Little Engine That Could* by Watty Piper, *The Little Toy Airplane* by Inez Hogan, or *The Pirate Twins* by William Nicholson; but somehow he finds security and honest pleasure in such simple stories as *The Unlike Twins* by Esther Brann, *The Twins* and *Tabiffa* by Constance Howard, and *Copy Kitten* by Helen and Alf Evers. Such nonsense tales as *Johnny Crow's Garden* by Leslie Brook will prove highly entertaining.

The *five-year-olds* as a group are ready for some of the simpler folk tales, e.g., *The Three Billy Goats Gruff* and *The Little Rabbit That Wished for Red Wings*. It must be recalled that an individual child may be ready to enjoy the fanciful tale at a much earlier age than the group may be expected to enjoy it. The purely fanciful tale, such as *Many Moons Ago* by Thurber or *Peter Pea* by Grishina may well be reserved for the seven- and eight-year-olds. The five-year-olds also enjoy stories about children not too unlike themselves as well as stories about birds, animal life, and tales of mechanical things. We look to the books of Marjorie Flack, the Petershams, the Haders, Emma Brock, Elsa Beskow, Robert McCloskey, and Virginia Burton to supply us with splendid books for the five-year-olds.

The *six-year-olds* want some books which they can read for themselves but, because of their limited reading ability, most of the books which these children could read cannot be classed as literature. The six-year-old will enjoy hearing about the adventures of animals, community interdependence, factual and fanciful tales about mechanical things, informational stories about nature, and he will also enjoy pure nonsense and folk tales. The library for the six-year-olds would include such titles as *Wallie the Walrus* (Weise); *Little Stone House* (Haders); *The Story Book of Things We Use* (Petershams); *The Wonderful Locomotive* (Neigs); *The Restless Robin* (Flack); *The Five Hundred Hats of Bartholomew Cubbins* (Suess); and *Gone is Gone* (Gag). Sometime in the child's sixth or seventh year he should enjoy with his group the inimitable stories of A. A. Milne, *Winnie the Pooh* and *The House at Pooh Corner*.

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Music ¹⁹

The elements of music, sound, movement, rhythm, speech, and tonal play, are implicit in a large portion of every young child's activities. The contribution which music makes in enriching the child's daily living and as a medium of expression depends upon the teacher—her spontaneity and resourcefulness, her enjoyment of rhythm, and the songs at the tip of her tongue.

- a) *Music in the form of rhythmic accompaniment adds to spontaneous bodily movement.*

Example: The teacher notes situations, such as walking, running, jumping, pushing, pulling, and sliding, where she may contribute musically.

- b) *Simple songs descriptive of activities of the moment intensify a child's satisfaction in familiar enterprises and lead to new ventures.*

Example: The graceful sweep of a swing suggests singing; climbing high and looking down is an exciting experience reflected in heightened voices that chant: "I'm way up high!" "See if you can touch me!"

- c) *To heighten children's interests, the teacher sings, as occasion arises, appropriate songs which hold for the moment the essence of a vivid experience.*

Examples: Imaginative play with dolls, trains, boats, and cars; possibilities which develop from meaningful acquaintance with plant and animal life; play with earth, water, and sand; changes of weather and season.

- d) *When music is used in informal situations, children find satisfying expression for mood or emotion in bodily rhythm and increasing enjoyment in shared experiences of beauty.*

Examples: Astride a stationary sawhorse, Jerry rides up and down vigorously, singing his own galloping song. Eric's satisfaction is enhanced by an adult's nod and smile when he calls to her from his block play, "Mmm-m-m! I'm an airplane! Mmm-m-m-m!"

- e) *Materials which invite experimentation with sound and rhythm should be accessible to the young child.*

Examples: A box of gaily colored rattle blocks, gourd rattles, mellow-toned Balinese bells, a basket of small bells strung on colored cords or elastic bands to wear and jingle, homemade drums for rhythmic play (a skin head with a wooden bucket for a base, a head cut from old inner tubing stretched taut over a nail keg or metal container), tonal bars, simple instruments for percussion and melody.

¹⁹ This section contributed by Helen Christianson.

- f) The signal, "Time for Music," is appropriate when there are rich opportunities for rhythmic, dramatic play, for singing and dancing, and for quiet enjoyment through listening. Music should not be limited to special times, but there should be certain "music times" to supplement the music which is part of the school activities.

Examples: Sometimes the teacher follows a child's rhythm and tempo at the piano; sometimes recordings are used for new listening experiences. Occasionally a musical visitor is invited to play or sing. Some of the melodies will be sung for listening enjoyment; others are associated with children's activities, to be absorbed and used by them in dramatic play or in experimentation with instruments. The songs young children are most apt to sing freely and spontaneously should include a here-and-now interest in toys, animals, people, and transportation suitable in words, rhythm, and tempo to accompany spontaneous dancing and rhythmic-dramatic play; story interest, fun, and nonsense; lyric beauty, folk and composed melodies that "sing themselves" and give lasting delight.

Plastic Materials ²⁰

By the term "plastic materials" we refer to any substance through which the individual can give outward form and expression to his ideas, feelings, and emotions. The little girl who stops briefly to sketch a figure with a stick in the new-fallen snow, the housewife who arranges bread and triskets in a satisfying design on a pottery plate, the small boy who builds bridges and tunnels in his sand box—each of these is using a material to give form to something within himself which is ripe for expression.

As adults working with children, we should be alert to the challenge which the environment offers in the way of materials through which the child can express himself. Too often we limit our media to the conventional paper, crayons, paints, clay, blocks, cloth, sand, and wood. We could do well to let down the bars of conventionality and include any materials which could satisfy the criteria set up by Margaret Mathias, author of *The Beginnings of Art in the Public School*, for evaluating materials adapted to the creative needs of children:

Is the material one which the child can safely use at his present level of development?

Is the material such that its use provides desirable social situations?

Is the material something which is challenging? Will it lead the child on to further development?

Does the material afford opportunity for reasonably quick work?

²⁰ This section contributed by Neith E. Headley.

Does the material encourage free bodily activity, and does it on the other hand discourage little intricate co-ordinations?

Does the material provide a condition of satisfaction?

Can the child get satisfaction from the use of the material without technique being supplied by the adult?

It is the function of the teacher to see that the child at succeeding age levels has meaningful experiences. These experiences may come to the school group through music, books, stories, discussions, free play, firsthand observations in the immediate environment, or through excursions into the neighborhood. As the child becomes saturated with experience he will seek out materials for self-expression.

In most instances we would do well to see that the child's products are put into immediate use in the school environment. The practice of carrying home a product each day can be pernicious from at least three points of view. First, the child may fall into the habit of turning out a product routinely without putting anything of himself into his work; second, the parents may give praise and commendation when the child has definitely not put his best self into his work; and third, and most to merit concern, the parents looking at the crude product may not realize how much thought, feeling, and effort has actually gone into the creation. We cannot emphasize too strongly that the perfection of the product is not a valid measure of achievement.

As we observe the child working with materials we should always be more concerned with the effect which the use of the material is having upon the child than with the product which is being evolved from the material. If we could but keep this one point in mind, then the "crying evil," as John Dewey puts it, "the evil of making technique an end in itself" would be obviated.

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Play Materials and Play Equipment²¹

Wisely chosen materials perform specific functions in children's mastery of certain fundamental skills.

Although it is important to consider the age of children for whom the materials are intended, it is well to remember that age serves only a general guide. Studies reveal that there is no rapid change either in the choice of material or the types of games played from age to age. Some types of materials are limited in use and the functions they serve while others provide within themselves for several types of development—physical, sensory, intellectual, and social adjustment. Some materials encourage continuous development through the whole age range from two through six years.

Any classification of materials becomes purely arbitrary whether it be considered from the point of view of function, age, or development. The following classification has been made on the basis of age in the hope that it will be readily usable:

- a) *The two-year-old*. The two-year-old engages chiefly in individual play. He delights in physical activity, exploration, and manipulation of materials. Greater development is made in balance, and the motor coordination of infancy is used in throwing, taking things apart, putting together, and climbing. *Suggested materials*: push-pull toys, doll carriages, wagons, cuddly dolls, peg boards, color cones, simple puzzles (about six pieces), pounding sets, simple trains, trucks, boats, blocks, Kiddie Kar, baby gym, swings, sawhorses, boards, packing boxes, clay, sand (or cornmeal) and spoons, large crayons, paint brushes.
- b) *The three-year-old*. Transportation toys, peg boards, and pounding sets are put to new uses and combinations. Beginnings of group play, dramatic and imitative, together with simple construction mark this period. *Suggested materials to be added*: construction blocks, wooden animals, tricycle, transportation toys, doll and bed, table, chairs, dishes, hammer and nail sets, beads, puzzles (8 to 10 pieces), additional sand toys, jungle gym, slide, trapeze bars.
- c) *The four-year-old*. He names his structures and people and uses them in his marked interest in imitative and dramatic social play. Manipulative materials of previous levels are used as accessory materials. Vigorous,

²¹ This section contributed by Amy D. Peterson.

boisterous activity characterizes the four-to-five age period. *Suggested materials to be added:* cylinders and curves added to the construction blocks, ring-toss, bean bag, telephones, ironing board, bureaus, stove and pans, more complicated puzzles and matching lotto games, soft wood and simple tools, more colors in paint, parallel bars, and ladders.

- d) *The five-year-old.* The basic motor skills are well developed and sense perceptions are almost mature by five years. The five-year-old's activity is devoted to more intricate and specific play. He engages in play which is sedentary in character about as much as in active play. Dramatic, imitative, and constructive play show organization, definite form, and completeness. *Suggested materials to be added:* scissors, paste, work bench and tools, balls, throwing games, scooter, smaller beads, sewing materials, doll clothes, iron that heats, Patty Hill or Builder Board blocks, rope ladders, shinning poles, jump ropes.
- e) *The six-year-old.* This marks the beginning of the period of relatively slow physical growth. Boys and girls still enjoy many of the same materials but separate interests begin. Attention is centered on refining motor activities and in learning specific skills and techniques. Skills and competition become a part of organized games. *Suggested materials to be added:* hoops, tops, jacks and ball, complicated puzzles, magnet sets, play stores, costumes, tiddledywinks, marbles, counting games, dominoes, collector's items.

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CHAPTER VII

RESEARCH AND THE CURRICULUM

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I

THE NEED FOR INTEGRATING RESEARCH FINDINGS AND THE CURRICULUM OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

RUTH UPDEGRAFF

A FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP

Research promotes vitality in any field. It stimulates analysis, suggests evaluation, purposes improvement. To the extent that its working hypotheses are sound, its proven tools appropriate, its questions pertinent, its problems directly posited, research should contribute to education; good teaching is partly an art, but science can, by analyzing it, help to make good teaching more universal. The above provisos are significant for their implication that the educator has the responsibility of formulating problems and evaluating the answers. The teacher and the research worker have a joint contribution to

make. To illustrate by drawing from another discipline, it would be desirable, in aiming at the target of achieving and interpreting significant research, to bring to bear both sights—educational objectives and the scientific approach.

The recognition that research is potentially valuable in the development of early childhood education has been, to some degree, a generality. In other words, its value has been actually and repeatedly acknowledged but without too much direct application of research results in the curriculum itself. This undoubtedly reflects, first, a familiarity with the research point of view; second, an empirical attitude in the teaching situation itself due to the comparative newness of this educational area; and, third and most important, a scarcity of research findings to apply. It seems high time that this situation be regarded realistically. Both the educator and the research worker need to make vigorous, purposeful efforts to utilize available research in planning the educational environment and to pursue more actively research programs which will contribute to the curriculum.

For the most part the curriculum in early childhood education had at first to be developed without benefit of specific research suggestions (it is not unique in this respect) for, even though preschools and kindergartens are comparatively new aspects of education, their beginnings antedate the period in which much of the research regarding children has taken place. Much of the improvement in the educational program has been accomplished in the school situation itself by sensitive, thoughtful, creative teachers. This trial-and-error approach has had and always will have its contributions. At best, however, the results are apt to spread slowly; there are probably many interesting educational contributions existing in comparative professional isolation. It is true that as far as nursery schools are concerned their major development and expansion have been concomitant with the growth of research in child development. Possibly due to this fact as well as to the objective viewpoint of its supporters, nursery education has frequently met challenges to defend, by research findings, its place in the educational picture. Almost as soon as nursery education commenced in this country, studies were begun to evaluate its outcomes. This indicates a wholesome attitude among the investigators, many of whom were participants in early childhood educational programs. The fact that it would be appropriate in obtaining comparative evaluations to turn the same impartial eye upon educational programs at a higher level has, surprisingly enough, been less frequently discussed.

It would be interesting to know in what manner and to what extent the nursery school and kindergarten curriculums of today are different from those of fifteen or twenty years ago. Untenable as would be the position that, because equipment now is so similar to that of the past, the curriculum itself must also be very similar, to refute such a contention would, nevertheless, be a stimulating exercise. Likewise wholesome would be an attempt to trace the source of differences to discover how they were initiated. Nursery schools and, to a lesser extent, kindergartens have been real parts of many of the institutions carrying on and interpreting research in child development. Many studies have been made with these young children as subjects. Yet there is a real question as to how much of the resulting information has actually filtered into the educational programs. Granted that practice in most fields lags behind the research, it would be constructive to examine the extent and direction of lag as well as the specific circumstances in which it occurs.

If it is true that progress has been slow in constructive thinking regarding the curriculum, and that is the point of view taken in this discussion, several reasons are immediately apparent. First of all, there is the nature of accomplished research itself which doubtless reflects with some fidelity the degree of interest or lack of it. The volume of studies readily applicable, except in a very general way, by the educator have been small. There have been relatively few studies of school environment. Studies representing evaluations of new and different methods and techniques are almost nonexistent; in other words, the creative attitude in research should be more prevalent. Even in many related studies in which the investigator might have considered educational implications, either in designing or in concluding his work, this orientation is too often missing. Nor, secondly, have research workers in general, until quite recently, been concerned with making their findings more usable by teachers. This should be laid at the door not of the research worker but rather of the educator, in terms of his demand. The teachers themselves, thanks to their training, have some respect for research, although often this attitude has by far too great an admixture of awe and a feeling of remoteness. This may be due to the limited interpretational material, to too little co-ordination between research workers and teachers, or to the high turnover of school staffs. Teachers need more time and opportunity than they frequently have while they are in the teaching profession in order to understand, to feel secure in, and to apply research. Finally, there is the matter of scope of scientific material. It is to the credit

of educators concerned with early childhood that to them the nature of the child himself is crucial. To base the curriculum on the nature of the developing child has been a cardinal tenet, and, for aid, there has been recourse to the emerging field of child development. In fact, were it not for the body of research regarding the child himself, there would be little, indeed, to cite relative to early childhood education.

The field of child development itself has its own problems of integration in that its materials are drawn from the work of specialists who study the child from the standpoint of their own disciplines. Its members have an outstandingly good record for attempting co-ordination within a variety of subject matters. Equally, or perhaps more greatly, challenged is the educator who must synthesize and interpret without dilution or distortion. As a matter of fact, it seems likely that up until now the curriculum in early childhood education has had more contact with psychological and educational findings than with those of medicine and sociology, for example.

To summarize, then, the following needs relative to research and the curriculum in early childhood education are apparent: (1) More responsibility should be taken by the educator in providing the structure for research programs, in formulating questions, in evaluating answers, in actively playing a critical role regarding scientific inquiry. (2) There should be more conscious and extensive attempts on the part of educators to be articulate and definite regarding systematic educational philosophies pertaining to this age level. (3) More working interrelationships between the research worker and the educator should be established. (4) More effective, thoroughgoing, and sensitive evaluation and interpretation of research data should be undertaken. This should be done by persons who are both thoroughly familiar with education and creatively minded regarding its potentialities, by persons who are at home in research literature, imbued with the scientific point of view, and possessed of contemporary knowledge regarding the nature of the young and developing child. The idea of this suggested approach to interpretation might be compared to binocular vision in which the simultaneous reception of two images from different viewpoints results in a single experience of greater clarity, definiteness, and depth than would follow from either image alone. (5) Greater use should be made of research data wherever it is available. Effort should be made to draw from all scientific areas contributing information regarding the child and his world. (6) More research should be planned and carried out in the light of knowledge gained by such procedures as those suggested above.

THE PURPOSES AND LIMITS OF THIS CHAPTER

To many readers this volume will seem to fall short of desired accomplishment if it does not summarize research now available which bears upon early childhood education. Nevertheless, it will take no more than a second thought to realize how impossible it is to achieve within the confines of these pages such an exhaustive treatment of the material which would need to be covered. The alternative plan selected, designed to be suggestive to the imaginative reader, is that of projecting a method of integrating research and the curriculum and of illustrating by applying it in a few areas. Therefore, the contribution, if successful, should be in method and, to some extent, in content.

A METHOD OF ATTEMPTING THE INTEGRATION OF
RESEARCH AND THE CURRICULUM

The starting point is the child *and his experiencing*. This is as important for a functional interpretation of research as for the curriculum itself. Such a starting point appears obvious and almost a truism. At the verbal level it may be that this approach is observable all too infrequently in publication as well as in the halls of the training school. Possibly the most familiar signposts are such chapter headings and discussion points as physical development, motor development, social development, and their contemporaries. True, these are child centered, thus meeting the first criterion. Devised to function as convenient handles or abstractions in the field of child development, they are under no compulsion to serve equally well for another purpose. Yet, educators utilizing them may have fallen too easily into a pattern of thought directed toward different goals. To the extent that these categories may be a check on the curriculum or of help in the study of the individual child, they may serve a purpose for the teacher, but the danger lies in their not being a spur to creative thinking. True, both education and psychology have come a long way since the time when a child's development was conceived of as cleanly segmented into its departments; the plea for a "whole child" is still to be heard in the land, but now it is more often heeded.

Actually, in the field of early childhood education more systematically developed philosophies based on the child's life and his experiencing are needed. Whereas, some who discuss early childhood education utilize a nonemulsified mixture of activities and developmental categories, others demonstrate good teaching without a systematic body of thought. Yet a thoroughgoing analysis of research in

relation to any aspect of the curriculum must have a systematic background. Otherwise, the procedure will deteriorate into an organization and analysis of whatever research exists, too treacherously unmindful of gaps, of relative degrees of importance, and of interrelationships.

In order to make this discussion more concrete, something of its lines of thought may be applied to the area commonly designated as "motor development." Actual classifications of research studies summarized in texts or reviewing channels for bibliographical and analytic purposes contain such categories as locomotion, neuromuscular development in infants, later age changes and sex differences, measurement of motor ability, and handedness in relation to other abilities. These classifications are logical and usable by the scientist in child development but are of doubtful value for any specific purposes of an applied nature. The physical educator or the management engineer interested in motion studies would have to approach their examination of research from two additional angles. The most immediate shift in focal point needed in early childhood education, as well as the most obvious screening of material, would be relative to age. That is only the beginning, however, and reference to the studies themselves would be necessary. In all likelihood many studies would be found to relate to movements a young child makes and would even involve young children making them. But the conditions of scientific experiment and the limiting of variables may provide demonstration that in our present status good science has made application difficult. In other words, the burden of this paragraph is that (a) most research summaries are difficult to apply unless summarized for that field of application, and (b), even upon examination of the original material, interpretation is a ticklish matter unless the necessarily controlled and narrow boundaries of a study fall, through design or chance, within a setting of educational significance. The problem is even more complex when synthesis of information is attempted.

If, instead of turning to child development summaries of "motor development," attention is directed to texts on childhood education, the organization of subject matter is more commonly encountered under such headings as the following: equipment to stimulate activity involving large and small muscle groups; teacher guidance of developing motor skills; the acquisition of motor skills; the enjoyment of activity; the relation between activity and eating, resting, and elimination.

In what a dilemma, therefore, is the educator who would correlate

his practice with research! One must wonder whether ever the twain shall meet and evolve a dynamic educational program for the child. More constructive would be a positive effort pointed toward systematic presentations or philosophies of what is desirable in the developing child and what kind of experiences may aid in this process. Such an achievement can but be the result of long and careful thinking and research, but even the process and the attitudes of working in that direction should vitalize the curriculum. To pursue the present illustration in "motor development" further, and without implying a ready-to-order systematization, questions such as these might be asked: What, actually, is important for the child in this area which, so far, has only the vaguest outlines but which is in common parlance? Is this an area in which the child's participation seems important? Has this importance meaning for the curriculum? If not as stated at present, can a more effective and systematic statement be attempted? How do activities of this nature occur in the child's experiencing? Far from being isolated happenings, they occur in a setting and have varieties of resulting effects upon the child. But what effects? Do these experiences contribute to other aspects of his development? Obviously, the answer is in the affirmative, but so universal is the phenomenon that no one science can encompass its study. All the more reason, therefore, for a coherent, articulate philosophy into which research can integrate through purpose and through assimilation from such fields as medicine, nutrition, psychiatry, sociology, anthropology, and the like. Were some logical organization of this material possible, the educator might now be more certain in directing the environment and, later, as research cognizant of this philosophy is contributed, he should more surely achieve the desired developmental goals.

If, for the moment, we accept the hypothesis that categorizing the curriculum in terms of the child's experiencing is one possible point of departure, regardless of whether it is the best, the next point to consider is how to formulate the categories. In so doing, there are at least two necessary assumptions: (a) There is no way of producing mutually exclusive categories. A single experience radiates in effect. The point is not to avoid overlapping but to be exhaustive from each focal center. (b) Producing workable categories will be the constant problem of a progressively improving education.

This chapter cannot hope to achieve the ideal classification, but in choosing parts of the educational picture for children of this age it does attempt to select fundamental and universally accepted areas.

It is hoped that this selection will not only stimulate the application of known research and the initiation of new research studies but will also induce more dynamic and vital thinking about the curriculum.

These categories for discussion are stated as follows: (1) *The child's experiences in sharing.* (2) *The child's experiences in communicating with others.* (3) *The child's experiences in bodily activity.* The method followed in developing the discussion in each area involves (1) defining the area, (2) giving commonly stated and accepted reasons for including it in the program of early childhood education, and (3) examining such reasons as that they may or may not be justified in the research literature.

II

EXPERIENCES IN WHICH YOUNG CHILDREN MAY LEARN TO SHARE

GERTRUDE E. CHITTENDEN

INTRODUCTION

The welfare of any social group depends largely upon the willingness and ability of its members to share. To the extent that the members of the group have not learned to share, to be concerned about the welfare of others, to that extent is the group welfare endangered. That sharing is a learned process and one which is acquired slowly and by means of much experimentation is apparent to the keen observer of human behavior. Is it not, then, of the utmost importance that such learning begin early—that it be a vital part of the curriculum of early childhood education?

Kinds of Sharing. In general there are two kinds of sharing: (1) that involving the division among individuals of material or non-material things; and (2) that involving mutual participation in activities or mutual use of things.

Sharing of material things may range from the simplest, most concrete process of division of objects among several individuals present in a situation to the abstract process of self-denial by one person to the end that other individuals not present in the immediate situation may have enough of whatever is being shared to live with some degree of comfort and enjoyment. The concrete, simple process

is seen in the home or school where two or more children divide toys among themselves; the more complex, abstract process may be illustrated by an individual's limitation of his own consumption of bread so that other, distantly located, hungry people may have enough bread to maintain life. The same range in abstractness may be shown in the sharing of nonmaterial things. A relatively simple, concrete process takes place when an individual limits the length and number of his contributions to a conversation group so that others may be heard. This is a kind of sharing of time. More abstract is the sharing of responsibility for certain kinds of group behavior, which might be illustrated by the sharing of blame by American citizens for such social disintegration as war, race prejudice, or juvenile delinquency.

In a somewhat different category are other sharing processes which, instead of involving a division of material or nonmaterial things, consist of mutual participation in activities or mutual use of things. Thus, we speak of sharing a house or of sharing in the work and play of the family and school groups. These experiences are as truly examples of sharing as are those of dividing things among individuals. However, sharing is more than division, mutual use, and mutual participation. There are certain common characteristics of such processes that, for the purposes of this discussion, define them as "sharing."

Characteristics of Experiences in Sharing. First, they are initiated by an individual or individuals who are concerned with the welfare of the group. Second, all the individuals involved in the experience are interested in the welfare of each other and are sharing because they are convinced that the greatest happiness of each group member comes through sharing with others. These two characteristics of sharing exclude from this category experiences in which individuals are compelled by higher authority to divide, participate, or use mutually, whether or not they wish to do so. The *wanting to share*—that is, the attitude of concern about the other individual's welfare—is important in true sharing.

Third, in a sharing experience each individual feels satisfaction with the end result. True, his share may not be as large as he would like, but he derives satisfaction from the knowledge that, by making it smaller through sharing, he has been instrumental in increasing the happiness and satisfaction of others. "Giving up everything" in a show of generosity is not sharing if the person who has made the sacrifice is left with a feeling of great deprivation. On the other hand, such sacrifice may be sharing if the individual feels real satisfaction because he has made others happy. In true sharing each person sees

his share in the possession or use of materials or his degree of participation as satisfactory in light of the whole-group situation.

In summary, sharing may be defined as a process in which there is division of material or nonmaterial things, or mutual use of things, or mutual participation in group activities by persons interested in the welfare of each member of the group and willing to sacrifice personal gain to achieve that welfare.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LEARNING TO SHARE DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD

The Demands of the Social Group. Some of the earliest experiences of an individual require that he adjust his needs and wants to the needs and wants of other people. The infant, intent on satisfaction of his physiological needs, discovers rather early that his mother's time and attention must be shared with other family members. The pre-school child finds that he must confine his play activities and materials to certain areas of the house designated for his use if he is to live happily in a group where other members assert their rights for space and privacy.

As the child grows older he is asked to share family finances, equipment, work, play, and planning. To the degree that the family is democratic in its structure and depends upon group decisions and plans, the child living within it experiences these many kinds of sharing.

Further opportunities for sharing are present in the child's own social group. Here, in his contacts with others of the same age, he is called upon to share play materials. While in the family he learned property rights in regard to his possessions versus other family members' possessions, probably he had little experience in sharing with others the things he learned to call his own. As his place in the group becomes established, he shares in planning activities, in use of group-owned equipment, in organized games, and in other forms of group activity.

In the school group each child may be called upon to share the time and attention of an adult, school equipment, space, and planning for group activities. An individual child's school may give him many or few chances to share, depending upon the amount and kind of group activities carried on there.

More and more the world community places upon individual citizens the responsibility of sharing. Today, with the great emphasis that is being put upon a unified world and the democratic way of life, the people of the world are being asked to do some of the ab-

stract sharing described earlier. They are asked to share in the governing of the world community; to share food with hungry peoples; to share scientific ideas and discoveries with the world of nations. So it becomes evident that in our culture today it is important that individuals learn and practice sharing if they are to be successful group members.

Failure To Learn May Result in Frustration to the Individual. The child enters his social group unequipped with the repertoire of responses he needs to enable him to engage in successful social interchange. His first attempts to make social contacts, and at the same time to meet his own needs and defend his own rights, are crude. He must learn, largely by trial and error and with more or less incidental help from experienced persons, which of his responses are likely to result in his acceptance by his associates and which will meet with their disapproval. If such a learning period is marked with many failures and only chance successes, it may result in frustration. The child may lose interest in initiating social contacts and become submissive to others; he may make more frequent use of force to gain his own ends with the probable result of ostracism by the social group and an increase in his own frustration. Neither of these results, if extreme, contributes to his integration with his social group. Consequently, the sooner he can build up a fund of usable social knowledge and develop attitudes which indicate his increasing awareness of other individuals and their needs, the sooner will he feel comfortable and secure in his relations with those individuals.

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE ROLE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN TEACHING CHILDREN TO SHARE

Factors Basic to Learning To Share. Before the educator can proceed intelligently in planning a program in which young children may learn the sharing process, he must make some assumptions regarding the factors basic to it. It has been pointed out earlier that one important characteristic of sharing is a sensitiveness to the needs and desires of others and a willingness to adjust one's own needs and desires to them. Although there is almost no research to show how this consideration for others develops, there is some evidence of it in the observed behavior of young children.

In her study of sympathetic responses of three- and four-year-old children, Murphy (19) found great individual differences in the amount of sympathy shown. One individual's responses varied in quality and quantity from one situation to another. Sympathetic re-

sponses occurred much less frequently than expressions of aggression, but the investigator was able to say that children of the ages used in her study did show sympathy, did seem to have some ability to see another individual's point of view, and did respond in light of it.

Further, if somewhat indirect, evidence of the existence and increase with age of consideration for others is noted in studies such as those of Green (7, 8) and Jersild and Markey (14), which show that social conflicts are less frequent and less violent in four-year-olds than in three-year-olds, while friendly responses are more frequent.

It seems apparent that in our present culture children are developing some of the social sensitiveness basic to learning to share. One might question, in light of the response of our present adult generation to the needs of other less fortunate peoples of the world, whether more emphasis might not be placed upon developing social sensitiveness than has been done in the past. Perhaps there is a real challenge for early childhood education in this area.

In attempting to account for the great variation in an individual child's sympathetic responses Murphy states:

The relation between the child's ego-status in the situation at the moment and his long-time drives appears to be the most important factor influencing variations in the child's behavior from one situation to another. In this respect the young child's behavior is like that of people at any age level; insecurity makes either for egocentric, defensive behavior or for a specious solicitude which is no more desirable than the defensiveness. "Training" in social behavior at any age level is not likely to be sound when it is imposed upon the foundation of an insecure personality (19: 188).

Further evidence in support of this hypothesis may be found in Lippitt's study (18) of the influence of democratic and authoritarian group atmospheres on the behavior of eleven-year-old boys organized into clubs of five members each. Resistance, expressions of hostility, demands for attention, competition, and hostile criticism were twice as frequent in the "autocratic" as in the "democratic" group. The chief difference between the group atmospheres was in the attempts of the leaders to create feelings of belonging to the group. The autocratic leader made all the decisions and rules and treated the boys in a somewhat impersonal manner, while the democratic leader established man-to-man relationships with the club members. Similar results were obtained in another experiment with autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire leaders (17).

Studies of the relation of parent-child and parent-parent relationships to child behavior indicate that, in general, the child who comes

from a home atmosphere where such relationships are happy and wholesome is more likely to be co-operative and socially well adjusted in his own age group than the child whose home life is fraught with tensions between him and his parents and between his parents (2, 6, 23, 25).

From such research it is possible to conclude that an environment which provides affection, a sense of adequacy, and happy relationships between the people who live in it is conducive to a young child's successful adjustment to his own group.

The Provision of Environment Conducive to Learning To Share. It would seem that the first responsibility of early childhood education is to create an environment where young children can feel secure and happy. After such an "emotional environment" is produced, the child is ready to learn the more specific social technique of sharing. The second responsibility of early childhood education is to introduce into the school environment physical and social factors conducive to the child's learning to share. In the nursery school, where the child enters his first social group made up of children with needs and desires identical with his own, there are innumerable opportunities for "manipulating" the environment in such ways that sharing is easy to learn. Given the child's own emotional readiness to learn, and the environment conducive to learning, the further responsibility of early childhood education consists of helping him learn when to share and how to share.

As the young child emerges from his home into the nursery school or kindergarten his sense of security may be threatened unless steps are taken to make the change from home to school as easy as possible. Slater (21) found that twenty of a group of forty new entrants to a nursery school showed postural tensions, such as hunched shoulders and tense methods of locomotion, during the first weeks of school. Thirty-one exhibited tics, like nail-biting, twitching, and handling of various parts of the body; twenty-seven showed anxious expressions; twenty-three "watched dreamily." All of these evidences of tension and of insecurity decreased markedly within the first few weeks as the school situation became more familiar. The rapidity with which calm and security replaces fear and uneasiness probably depends rather heavily upon variable personality factors.

Although research evidence is lacking, it seems safe to say that a sincerely friendly relationship between teacher and parents contributes markedly to a young child's feeling of security in the school situation. If he is convinced that his teacher is admired, sincerely liked, and is

thought of as a friend by his parents and that these attitudes are reciprocated toward his parents by the teacher, he is helped to feel that home and school are co-operating agencies and that going to school is a comfortable and enjoyable experience.

Studies of children's fears (9, 13) show that one cause of fear is strangeness of a situation or of a person. It appears logical to assume that a school with a "homelike atmosphere" will be more likely to contribute to a child's feeling of belonging there than one which is greatly different from the home.

One of the most potent factors in the school situation is the teacher. The warm, responsive, sincerely sympathetic teacher is likely to produce in the children a sense of security which makes possible warm, responsive, sympathetic behavior within the group. Murphy (19) observed that in a preschool group where the teacher was noticeably spontaneous, warm, and responsive to the children, there were many more sympathetic responses than there were in a group where the teacher tended to be "hard boiled" and unsympathetic toward children in distress.

Thompson (22), in comparing the relative effectiveness of two types of nursery-school educational programs upon the social and emotional development of children, found that children taught by a teacher who deliberately put forth an effort to develop warm friendship with them and who responded freely to their needs for information and help gave evidence of being more secure emotionally than children taught by a teacher who made little or no effort to work closely with individuals within the group and who participated as little as possible in the activities of the group. Children in the first group were more constructive when faced with failure, were more ascendant, participated more freely in group activities, had higher leadership scores, and showed fewer nervous habits than those in the second group. Administrators responsible for employing teachers of young children would do well to look for the warm, friendly, responsive person who has the ability to make young children feel "at home" in her presence.

A study by Jack (11) throws some light upon possible techniques to use in helping children develop a sense of adequacy and self-confidence in a nursery-school group. Briefly, her method consisted of training a group of nonascendant nursery-school children to be proficient in certain activities which they might perform in the group. Along with their increase in skill seemed to come an increase in social poise and self-confidence as evidenced in increased ascendance. Later, Page (20) confirmed these results with even younger children.

Further evidence that increased skill in certain activities may help to develop feelings of security was furnished by Holmes (10), who found that improved skill in meeting feared situations, such as going into a dark room and walking across high boards, resulted in loss of fear. Also, Keister (16) has shown that training in skills designed to increase a child's competence and his persistence in working at a difficult task result in his overcoming "immature" types of behavior, such as asking for help, destructiveness, rationalizing, and emotional outbursts.

It is possible to find in studies of the social behavior of young children data which point out the relationship of specific environmental factors to that behavior. Although no studies known to this author deal directly with environmental factors related to sharing, there are some which deal with similar behavior.

Several investigations indicate that the amount and kind of play space and equipment may be of importance in determining a child's behavior. Investigations of children's quarrels (5, 14, 15) and aggressive behavior (1) show that struggle for possessions is by far the most frequent cause of quarreling. These investigators, as well as Updegraff and Herbst (24), discovered that some kinds of play equipment and activity seem to contribute to quarreling while others do not. Murphy (19) and Jersild and Fite (12) noticed that children confined in a small play space equipped with relatively few play materials did more quarreling and showed more unsympathetic behavior than children in a larger, better-equipped play space. Whether the greater number of conflicts in the small play space was due to the greater likelihood of physical contact, thus offering more opportunities for conflicts, or whether it was due to tension created in children who felt "closed in" was not determined.

Green (7, 8) found differences in amounts of quarreling in various play activities within a nursery school. Sand play was the activity in which the most quarrels occurred, while bodily activity without apparatus was the least quarrelsome activity. One might ask whether the restricted space and the possible limited number of sand utensils and equipment were not the factors contributing to the greater amount of quarreling in the sandbox. If so, perhaps sand play should take place in a larger space than in the sandbox of the usual size, or perhaps there should be more than one sandbox. Also, there should be sufficient equipment to make sharing not too difficult for the young child.

As a group, these studies imply that a spacious physical environment, well equipped with play materials, is probably more conducive

to sharing and positive social behavior than the small, meagerly equipped space.

Most schools for children between the ages of two and six provide opportunities for the sharing of play materials, space, and adult attention. However, in few schools are such opportunities actually *planned* by the teacher; they simply exist as a result of a situation in which there are more individuals wanting things than there are things to be divided. It may be possible, through more careful planning, to multiply and improve opportunities for sharing.

Studies and incidental observations of teachers of young children impress the reader and observer with the number of times teachers interfere in situations where there is conflict over possessions and, instead of interpreting the situation in terms of the possibility and desirability of working out a way of sharing those possessions, simply apply the rule: "First come, first have." One might ask, "Is not the application of this rule an obstacle in the way of learning to share?" The present writer believes that it is, that an interpretation such as the following might help children learn the meaning of sharing, "Yes, you did have it first—but Tom wants it too. And he is unhappy because he doesn't have it. Now isn't there something we can do so that both of you can have fun?"

Just as the rule, "First come, first have," which was applied in relation to play materials, may stand in the way of learning to share, so may the much-enforced rule, "Put away the materials *you* have used when you have finished." Perhaps this highly individualistic attitude might well be replaced with this philosophy, "This room in which we play (or work) is *our* responsibility. All of us in the group can work together to put away things." This attitude, carried over into the family and other social groups, should result in increased cooperativeness in our society.

There are many opportunities for sharing work in the young child's school. Is there any reason why he should not have chances to help such workers as the janitor, the cook, the housekeeper, or the teacher? Such helping experiences can be educational as well as emotionally satisfying. In a few short periods of observation in a four-year-old group the writer observed the following examples of shared work experiences: (1) Three boys painting a new sandbox just constructed by the carpenters; (2) on the following day, a group of four children shoveling sand from a wagon into the new sandbox; (3) three children cleaning and replenishing the birds' feeding shelf; (4) two girls scrubbing the easels and washing the paint brushes; (5) five boys helping

a student teacher carry cots upstairs; (6) a group of ten children preparing the soil and planting a garden; and (7) all the children who had eaten dinner carrying their soiled dishes to the kitchen to save the housekeeper some steps. Doubtless there are many other possibilities for shared work in every school group. Such sharing of work cannot help but be effective in developing a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of the group.

One method that should be effective in teaching children to share is that of the teacher's sharing of experiences with them. Within the informal atmosphere of the young child's school there are countless activities which teachers and children can perform together. Literature and music experiences are more enjoyable to both teachers and children when they are participated in by both. Probably there could be much more sharing of vigorous outdoor play activities than there is in the usual school. Why shouldn't a teacher feel free to swing, walk the balance board, or play tag? Rest-time can be shared to the benefit of both adult and children. Excursions, and group conversation following them, are most enjoyed when everyone participates.

Probably children could and should be given more opportunities to share in planning their own activities. Lippitt (18) found that when club leaders and club members planned their activities together the members were much more constructive than they were when leaders simply dictated directions to them. For the young preschool child this type of sharing may consist only of "planning" his play in relation to what other children are doing; for the six-year-old it may consist of real group planning for projects which may last over a period of weeks.

THE DIRECT TEACHING OF SHARING

There is some possibility that schools for young children may depend too largely upon the child's own social group to do the teaching necessary in the area of social skills. When the common practice is that of grouping young children by chronological age, thus creating a group situation in which no one may have sufficient social maturity to be an example for others, one wonders how much dependence can be placed upon the social group as a teacher. Is it possible that such grouping by chronological age is a deterrent to the learning of social skills? It is true that the group is a powerful influence on behavior, but probably much more direct help could be given by teachers than is given now. If one accepts the hypothesis that the earlier a young child can build up a fund of usable social techniques the sooner he will

be a successful group member, the teacher has an important role in helping him to acquire these techniques.

Such direct help given the two-year-old must be given with his needs and abilities in mind. His just-emerging concept of self, his just-developing sense of property rights, his short attention span are factors which the teacher must consider. Her interpretation of conflict over possessions might well be this: "Yes, you did have it first, but Tom wants it too. Here is another one for him." Here the teacher has pointed out the important fact that Tom has needs and desires too. But she has made it possible for the first child to "share" on his own level. A suggestion for taking turns or for dividing the material would have resulted in frustration to the two-year-old. His school environment should have within it sufficient space and equipment so that he finds sharing easy. His learning consists of finding that the materials, space, teacher attention, etc., within the nursery school are not all his. There are other children who want them too. The teacher can help him make this discovery by acting as an interpreter of social situations.

The older nursery-school child, who has had group experience in which he has learned that other children have needs and desires similar to his own, can share on a "higher level" than the two-year-old. He is ready to accept adult interpretations which call upon him to take an active part in sharing. But still the teacher assumes much of the responsibility for the actual sharing process. For example, in a conflict over possession of property, the teacher might make this interpretation: "There are ways to use a tricycle together. You could take turns—one of you could ride on the seat and the other could stand up." Here the teacher is calling upon the child to make a decision as to *how* he will share material. However, she will not expect him to abide by the choice he makes without additional help from her. For example, she may have to help determine the length of a "turn."

In general, the kindergarten child probably can initiate sharing if he has had a previous chance to learn in a group situation. That the five-year-old is still inclined to behave egoistically was indicated in a study by Wright (26) who compared the generosity of five-, eight-, eleven-year-olds, and adults. When given a choice between a desirable and a nondesirable toy, the five-year-olds chose the good toy for themselves and gave the other child the less favored. Eight-year-olds were more generous than any of the other groups, adults included. They gave the better toy to the other child and, in a situation where a number of play materials were used, they gave away most of them

and kept few, if any, for themselves. The eleven-year-olds usually divided the toys equally between themselves and the other children but almost never gave away more than they kept. The investigator interpreted this apparent lessening of generosity with increase in age to mean that the eleven-year-old had learned the idea of fairness as well as of generosity, while the eight-year-old had learned much about generosity and little about fairness.

This study indicates how generosity develops in our society when no specially directed teaching of sharing is done. Perhaps, with more direct teaching, the five-year-old could be as "generous" as the eight-year-old.

A study by Chittenden (4) dealt with teaching four- and five-year-olds to use nonforceful techniques in settling their conflicts over possessions. Sharing was one of the nonforceful techniques. In a series of "doll play" situations where the dolls represented preschool children in conflict over the possession of toys the investigator and the child worked out nonforceful solutions resulting in satisfaction to both dolls. The "trained" children increased their use of nonforceful techniques in their own social group. However, the increase was not statistically significant. Boet (3), in a later study, increased the length of the training period and effected a greater increase in the use of nonforceful techniques.

These investigations show that it is possible to teach young children to interpret social situations and to behave in light of their interpretations. The techniques used may have some value for teachers who wish to teach social techniques in a group situation.

THE NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It is evident that before early childhood education can enrich the curriculum with opportunities for learning to share, further research is needed. At the present time there is a dearth of information about the development of the social technique of sharing, about the emotional and intellectual bases essential to the learning of sharing, and about the influence of curriculum content and teacher behavior upon such learning. Practically all of the research evidence cited by the present writer has been gleaned from investigations in which the chief concern was not the stage of the development of a sensitiveness to the needs and desires of others and the learning to respect those needs and desires but the observation of various categories of social behavior, in some cases under rather well-controlled conditions but in most cases under conditions in which there was little or no control of

environmental factors which might influence social behavior. There are many more unanswered than answered questions facing the educator. Following are some of those unanswered questions which he has every right to ask of the research person before he can intelligently set up a learning environment:

How important is the learning of sharing? Where is there evidence that there is more concern for group welfare, more social sensitiveness, more sharing among adults who were exposed to a school curriculum designed to teach these things early in life than those who had no such planned learning experiences?

What is the relationship between emotional and intellectual factors and learning to share? What feelings, what attitudes, what information are basic to a development of sensitiveness to the needs and desires of others? Again, can we produce evidence, convincing evidence, to show the relationship between this concern for others and the individual's own personal adjustment?

What insights to the needs and desires of others can be expected of children at different stages of maturity? Can effective teaching produce these insights earlier than they might appear without such teaching?

Since there is some evidence that teacher personality influences child behavior, just what are the personal qualifications that should be considered in choosing a teacher who will be effective in helping young children learn to share?

What influence does the "grouping" of children have upon their learning to share? Can we produce evidence to show the differences between the sharing behavior of children in a homogeneous chronological age group and those in a heterogeneous group?

What kind of a physical environment will be most conducive to learning to share? How much space, what kinds and what amounts of equipment should be supplied? How should the physical environment differ for children of various ages?

Are the present "classic" techniques used by teachers of young children effective in teaching sensitiveness to the needs of others? Are we examining these techniques critically? Are we giving teachers concrete help in regard to techniques which are effective in teaching children to share?

With these challenging questions needing to be answered, there cannot help but be motivation for the interested research worker. Likewise, his finding of some of the answers can be a real spur to the educator who is planning a rich curriculum for young children.

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III

THE CHILD'S EXPERIENCES IN COMMUNICATION

HELEN C. DAWE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EXPERIENCES IN COMMUNICATION

The child's experiences in communication involve learning to understand what is said to him and learning to express his own ideas and feelings verbally in a manner that is understood, that produces effects in the behavior of others, and that is culturally approved. The teacher bases many decisions affecting the curriculum and the guidance of individual children upon her observation of their skill and progress in communication. Four major reasons for providing and

directing experiences in communication as part of the curriculum seem obvious: (1) Language, as the most common medium of communication, is necessary for adapting one's self to and for controlling one's environment. (2) Language is one of the most important mediums of learning. (3) There is emotional value in being able to express one's self clearly and effectively; and conversely, there is frustration if one is deficient in this ability. (4) Language habits and personal adjustment seem interrelated.

Research findings from a number of areas in child development are of interest to those desirous of enhancing the child's experiences in communication. The material is so extensive that it would be impossible to include here a comprehensive summary of the literature. Hence, in the following discussion the references cited are illustrative rather than all-inclusive. The four major reasons for including experiences in communication in the curriculum will serve as focal points for the organization of this section.

COMMUNICATION SKILLS ARE NECESSARY FOR ADAPTING TO AND CONTROLLING ONE'S ENVIRONMENT

Since we assume that greater facility in communication will result in better adaptation to and control of the environment, one of the teacher's responsibilities is to see that children progress toward better use of communicative skills. In order to fulfil that responsibility one must be able to judge a child's status. It is impossible to work closely with young children and not guide them with reference to some standard of expectancy. If that standard is erroneous, obviously the guidance resulting therefrom will be inexpert, even harmful. In such manner, one might judge as deviant, and treat accordingly, a child who is well within the normal range.

How can one judge a child's skill in communication adequately and accurately? There seems to be no single measure of communicative skill that compares, in ease of administration, with the measures of intellectual ability that are available. However, there is extensive research evidence of developmental progress in such indices as size and difficulty level of vocabulary, sentence length and complexity, grammatical errors, pronunciation, enunciation, number and type of questions, and fluency (13, 19, 23, 26, 34, 47, 48, 49, 53). Texts in child psychology (35) provide excellent summaries of the voluminous literature on the development of language.

How can deficiencies be overcome and desirable skills attained? If a child seems deficient in communicative skills, the teacher will

need not only to understand the possible causes so that unfavorable conditions can be corrected in so far as possible but also to provide conditions and experiences that will be helpful in overcoming the child's difficulties. There is some danger that the child who lacks facility in communication may be judged as mentally dull without sufficient investigation of other factors that might be responsible for his inadequacies. While it is true that superior mental ability is generally accompanied by superior language development, inferiority in language may or may not be a sign of inferior mental ability (13, 19, 26, 34, 37, 49, 50, 51).

It seems possible, although there is no direct evidence, that boys and girls may differ in the encouragement and stimulation they receive in the area of communication. We do know from the evidence on developmental progress that boys are frequently found inferior to girls in language skills, particularly at the younger ages. Perhaps we subtly encourage the girls' interest because of their greater facility. Perhaps boys are more often criticized and become discouraged because of their inadequacies. Even if we do not know what proportion of this sex difference in skill can be ascribed to inherent or to environmental factors, it would seem appropriate to try to encourage the boys' interest, to adjust our standards of expectancy adequately, and to provide them with the best possible stimulation.

It is well known that poor hearing may cause difficulties in understanding and in speaking, yet it is not uncommon to find children whose hearing difficulties have not been diagnosed after several years of attending school. Twins, children with a history of frequent or severe illness, and those who are bilingual or who come from homes in which a foreign language is spoken are frequently retarded in language skills. Children from homes of inferior background and those who live or have lived in institutions also tend to be below average in language development. Such children as these will be in need of sympathetic consideration; special efforts must be made to insure their understanding and to provide them with experiences that will contribute to language facility (1, 13, 19, 23, 24, 27, 34, 46, 52, 55).

Research which reveals factors associated with superior language ability as well as studies which have actually applied such factors experimentally suggest ways to raise the level of performance in communication (10, 12, 18, 20, 40, 42).

Since lack of association with adults may be in part responsible for language deficiencies, it seems desirable for teachers to spend considerable time chatting with children and encouraging them to ex-

press themselves. The older philosophy that the teacher should remain aloof and speak only when spoken to or when necessary is, happily, giving way to an awareness of the importance and benefit of friendly talks between teacher and child. In situations where there are many children with language inadequacies, it would be wise to increase the number of teachers so that there would be more opportunity for teacher-child contact.

One should consider whether the children have access to enough books and if there is a wide variety of subject matter in the books that are available. Do the children really have time to look at the books? Not infrequently one finds that looking at books is chiefly a stop-gap activity engaged in only when, for example, waiting for the rest of the group to finish putting toys away. The writer remembers a kindergarten where children were made to look at books whenever they misbehaved during some other activity.

Increasing the variety of play materials, particularly constructive ones, may help the child to increase his vocabulary. Also it may be questioned that we are offering sufficient opportunity for the improvement of motor skills. Section iv of this chapter supports the point that there is a positive relation between motor facility and the amount of vocalization and physical activity. We might make more scrapbooks, selecting the pictures to insure wide variety of subject, and spend more time looking at and discussing those pictures. This would be of value not only for increasing the child's vocabulary and his knowledge but also for improving his ability to express himself. Similar benefits could result from enrichment of the child's experiences through trips and excursions. We need not limit ourselves to momentous visits to the fire station, the railroad depot, or the farm. The school building itself, the store on the corner, or the vacant lot in the next block may provide interesting things to see and to talk about.

The teacher might give thought to the level of stimulation she provides through her own conversation. In his study of family conversations Bossard (7) found that some families used eight hundred times as many different words as others, although the total number of words recorded was almost the same. Perhaps similar differences may exist in school environments. Teachers should deliberately try to introduce new subjects of conversation.

How much should children talk? We speak of encouraging the child to express himself as being a desirable objective, but we really have no evidence to determine how much children should talk. We know they differ, and we depend upon common sense mainly to judge

whether a child talks too little or too much. Some writers (e.g. 28) believe the first two years in public school may handicap language development by overemphasizing silence, by providing fewer opportunities for children to talk freely, by developing fear of speaking before groups, by unduly stressing improvement in the quality of a child's remarks. The mechanics of reading may be emphasized at the expense of ease in oral expression. There is evidence that families differ in the amount of talking done by both adults and children. No doubt schools differ too, although there are no data on the degree of such differences or the effects such differences might have.

If one feels that a child does not talk enough in a group situation, we have some evidence that being near the teacher in the front of any group, especially if the group is small, may stimulate him to talk more freely (16, 56). It might be well to point out here that we should distinguish between mere loquacity and real facility. Some of the best-informed children may talk the least in group situations (2, 33). We cannot conclude that possession of information is a deterrent to talking, but we should attend to the possibility that some children, for one reason or another, may be refraining from offering worth-while contributions to a discussion. It is known, too, that the less skilful child cannot be expected to succeed in reporting events no longer present to the senses. He can be helped by encouraging him to talk about the "here and now." Baruch (4) offers good suggestions for encouraging children to express themselves spontaneously and creatively.

There is a possibility that we may be hurrying children toward expressing ideas verbally before they are ready, at least in some situations. We know that children talk more during quarrels as they grow older and depend more upon argument and less on physical force (15, 31). It is possible that teachers may overemphasize their disapproval of physical force when spats occur among very young children. Perhaps they are depriving the child who is deficient in language of his only means of self-defense.

LANGUAGE IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MEDIUMS OF LEARNING

Many of the experiences that seem of value in promoting greater skill in communication seem also to promote learning and the higher thought processes. That ignorance of the meaning of words would interfere with reasoning and would hamper comprehension is evident from research which points out that words implement thinking and aid in problem-solving (29, 43).

How can experiences in communication facilitate a child's learn-

ng? Some experimental studies have demonstrated that language ability and related mental skills can be improved by emphasizing types of materials and activities that give firsthand experiences with the concrete objects for which words are symbols (10, 12, 18, 20, 40, 42). The experimental programs described include excursions, pictures, stories, games, and various play materials. As an incentive to interest and learning, the children were encouraged to notice similarities and differences, to make choices and decisions, to verbalize the solutions to problems, to draw conclusions, to ask questions, and to express themselves freely to an interested adult. Such training resulted in gratifying improvement in vocabulary, articulation, background of information, reading readiness, problem-solving, amount of talking and question-asking, and ability to make comments that indicated generalizations, interpretations, and perception of relationships. Further studies of this nature with programs of longer duration might provide us with more evidence on ways to further a child's learning.

The wide variety of informational books now available for children may also contribute to increasing their knowledge, although there seems no direct research evidence to evaluate the specific influence of such books. To rely upon them too extensively or to substitute them for direct experience would seem unwise since we know that children may derive many hazy impressions from books (30).

Perhaps we should make more definite and deliberate our attempts to teach concepts such as those of time, number, space, shape, etc. It is possible that words which lend themselves to demonstration by action may be grasped better if the child participates in the action, or we have some evidence (39) that muscular activity is an aid to concept formation. We need more evidence on how the younger children can be taught these important concepts.

Any experiences that clarify a child's understanding of words should facilitate learning to read, for we know that the more vague a word is to a child the more difficult it is for him to remember it (54). The skilled teacher will try to see that the children are thoroughly familiar with the meaning of the words and ideas that they are to meet in their reading. Harrison (28) offers practical suggestions for insuring reading readiness.

It is worth while to furnish experiences which encourage the asking of questions. Since the majority of the questions of young children are stimulated by the immediate environment (14) there is further argument for enriching the curriculum and providing the child with new

and different experiences. We have evidence that children remember better the aspects of an event about which they have asked the most questions (22). Their questions, then, may very well influence their learning. It is, therefore, desirable to direct observation and discussion and to choose books, stories, and games in line with the different kinds of questions that are asked as children grow older. Younger children ask "what" and "where" questions more frequently; "why," "how," and "when" questions seem to increase with age (48). This suggests changes in interests and carries implications for the kind of experiences that may be offered children. The fact that question-asking seems to decrease after the preschool years suggests, however, that the child's spontaneous questions may not present an entirely reliable measure of his curiosity or interests (21, 48). The decrease may result not from increasing knowledge but from the child's impression that questions are regarded only as an indication of ignorance or that they are not welcomed by adults. There is evidence that some families tend to discourage questioning (7). It would be interesting to know just what kind of behavior is so discouraging, to what extent teachers differ in this respect, and the effects of such differences upon the child's curiosity and learning.

It is generally agreed that it is wise to give reasons and explanations to children when making requests, giving directions, or disciplining them so that they may better understand why certain types of behavior are desirable and others are undesirable. It is believed that the kind of discipline administered to a child, and the kind of explanation he is given, may have a bearing upon his ability to generalize, to draw conclusions, to weigh pros and cons; in short, upon his ability to reason, although there is no research evidence bearing directly upon such a relationship. It has been found that teachers differ in the kind of praise they use. Some tend to use rather vague and general terms (e.g., "That's nice"), whereas others more often mention specifically and clearly the aspect of the child's behavior which they consider good (17). It has been shown that some families indulge more frequently than others in evaluations and criticisms that are emotional rather than logical (7). Surveys of the techniques used by teachers in guiding children, the differences in the level of difficulty of their vocabulary, the amount of reasons and explanatory phrases, the amount of rational, explicit, and logical explanation might reveal patterns that are reflected in a child's growth of understanding or in his ability to reason and to think logically.

THERE IS EMOTIONAL VALUE IN BEING ABLE TO EXPRESS ONE'S SELF
CLEARLY AND EFFECTIVELY, AND, CONVERSELY, THERE IS
FRUSTRATION IF ONE IS DEFICIENT IN THIS ABILITY

One of the most important aspects of a child's experiences in communication may be the emotional satisfactions or dissatisfactions he receives as a result of his language abilities.

How can the teacher help a child to derive emotional satisfaction from his experiences in communication? It may be that the example a child hears at home has more influence upon the way he speaks than the teaching he receives at school and that teachers are vainly holding goals too high and being overly critical, particularly in the case of children from inferior homes (25, 36). There is evidence that over-attention to correctness will stifle spontaneity (45). Disapproval of the child's way of talking may destroy his self-confidence. He may view the teacher's attitude as a criticism of his family and friends. The resulting breakdown of the child's security and of his relations with the teacher would more than offset any gain from improvement in nicety of expression. It may be helpful to praise children when their speech reveals such desirable characteristics as imagination, rhythm, or sensitivity to sounds.

Those who work with bilingual children need to be aware of the fact that where one finds emotional maladjustment in connection with bilingualism much of the blame rests upon culture conflict (1). It is important that there be no taboos attached to either language. The child should not be teased about his or his parents' accent, for this might cause him to be ashamed of his foreign background. The teacher should be sympathetic and understanding rather than intolerant and prejudiced toward minority nationalities. Arsenian (1) believes bilingualism will increase with greater world unity and with democratic philosophy, allowing minority nations to continue to use their own languages. Perhaps the teaching of more than one language may some day become a part of the curriculum in early childhood education. There is evidence that such teaching can take place effectively as early as in the kindergarten (11), and there is general agreement that languages can best be learned at an early age.

Bossard (7) noted that families of the upper socioeconomic level tend to nag children about errors in grammar and pronunciation. He suggested that the noticeable tension over such errors might affect the child's feeling of personal security. The writer remembers a child from the South, new to nursery school, who commented, "Where I come from we say 'tom-ahto,' not 'tomāto'." Her remark seems an

obvious revelation of a feeling of unhappy strangeness in an environment where even the common tomato was different.

Perhaps teachers stress errors in grammar and enunciation unduly. It is well to realize that some common errors in grammar, for example, using "hitted" instead of "hit," result from the irregularities of our language. These will probably drop out as the child matures, provided he hears the correct form regularly. Many errors in enunciation, too, may be the result of immaturity since correctness is more closely related to chronological than to mental age. One study (53) found that in children at the age of five years most of the sounds were given correctly, although some were still difficult; at three years of age almost half of the consonant blends and approximately one-third of the consonant elements were incorrect. It would seem likely that many adults are expecting the child to make certain sounds correctly before he is mature enough to do so. No doubt educators could secure from speech clinicians suggestions for helping a child improve in articulation. Pictures designed to elicit words containing difficult sounds might be collected, and teacher and child could spend time talking about the objects depicted. It seems agreed, however, that formal drill upon speech sounds has no place in the nursery-school program (26). Certainly there is no place for direct correction at early ages if it is done so frequently or with such a manner of criticism that it makes the child overly conscious of his speech or makes him feel inferior.

Those trained in child development are familiar with the fact that children will sometimes revert to "baby talk" when they are undergoing emotionally-trying situations. Such speech should not be confused with inability to produce the proper sounds, and its correction depends upon removal of the circumstances producing the emotional disturbance.

It is well known that the individual who stutters experiences considerable emotional tension as a result of his handicap. Research offers some suggestions which may be helpful in avoiding the development of such speech defects. We need to realize the normalcy of repetition in the speech of young children. Studies by Johnson and his students (32) reveal that 15 to 25 per cent of the words used by young children figure in some kind of repetition. Such hesitancy seems to occur more frequently when the child is talking about something concerning which he has insufficient knowledge, when his vocabulary lacks the necessary words, when the listener does not respond readily, when he is talking in the face of competition, and when he is experiencing shame and guilt, particularly if this be the result of disapproval of

his speaking rights or ability. It certainly behooves adults to think of how often the young child experiences such situations and to take steps to reduce their frequency. That we have failed to do so is suggested by the report (6) that the most frequent age for onset of stuttering is two-and-a-half years, with the next peak in frequency of onset at six years when the child enters the primary grades. That we might succeed in reducing stuttering is suggested by Johnson's study (32) indicating that three out of four "stuttering" children regained normal speech after the clinician had succeeded in changing parental policy from that of overt disapproval of the child's speech habits and toward the fostering of friendly relations with the child. Further evidence in support of such a policy is derived from sociological studies of speech habits (8) which find that among nonliterate societies stuttering is extremely rare; in fact, some languages do not even have a word for it. The investigators point out that in these nonliterate groups there is a minimum of penalty for inaccuracies and lack of facility in communication, that standards for child behavior are less strict than in our society where there are more authoritarian and punitive types of interaction between adults and children.

It seems possible that language which adults regard as undesirable or silly is more frustrating to them than to the children. The child's fondness for experimenting with combinations of sounds is a normal phase of development, and while it may be disturbing to adults at times, it may be unwise to squelch such behavior indiscriminately. It undoubtedly appeals to the child's sense of humor, and it may actually benefit him by increasing his ability to distinguish and to make various sound combinations. Such playing with words is related to a developing interest in rhyme and rhythm in literature.

If teachers are disturbed by children who express hostility toward them by calling names, they may well be reassured by the knowledge that this behavior is not uncommonly prompted by confusion rather than by attitude. Attempts to suppress the language because it is "bad" usually fail to eliminate it and may even increase the child's aggressive tendencies. On the other hand, treatment that allows more freedom to express hostility, if directed toward deeper understanding of the whole problem of aggression, results in better child adjustment and in better teacher adjustment as well (5).

Teachers may help children to derive emotional satisfaction from their experiences in communication through increasing the attention paid to desirable ways of expression. Mention has been made of the fact that children should be accorded more praise when their speech

reveals imagination, rhythm, or sensitivity to sounds. A young child's expressions are often colorful and picturesque. The use of such creative language may be prolonged and fostered if adults will do more to show their appreciation and to expose children to examples of imaginative and original language. Baruch's (4) suggestions for encouraging creative expression, as well as research studies (10, 12, 18, 20, 40, 42) which indicate that the quality of children's speech can be improved by direct stimulation, support this hypothesis. Teachers can make greater effort to enrich their own speech. All teachers are familiar with the facility with which a child will pick up and repeat a carelessly used bit of slang. Surely he can, with equal facility and enjoyment, emulate a model that is rich in imagery, fresh and original in expression.

LANGUAGE HABITS AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT SEEM INTERRELATED

Discussion of emotional values resulting from the way in which one speaks has already indicated the close relation between skills in communication and personal adjustment. It seems obvious that the child who differs from his peers in language skills may have difficulty in getting along with other children. The child who is below average will probably need more teacher intervention in social situations, but he surely needs the kinds of experiences and teaching that will improve those very skills. The child who is advanced beyond his peers may also have difficulty. The writer thinks of the kindergarten children who walked off and left the schoolmate who had begun a conversation with "Isn't it interesting about no more O.P.A. and all the prices going up?" Teachers are familiar with the fact that some children can talk easily to adults but cannot talk effectively with other children, but it is difficult to determine how one may help such children.

Children's speech has been used as an index of social consciousness and of the type of thinking they do. The research stimulated by Piaget (41) is too extensive to be reviewed here, but it might well be pointed out that a high proportion of egocentric remarks in a child may be only a sign of immaturity or a lack of socializing experiences. Egocentricity should not be confused with egotism.

A child's questions may indicate personal needs as well as intellectual curiosity. It has been noted that requests for approval increase with age (14). In the search for an explanation of this trend, analysis of language as a clue to personality traits and characteristics seems a worth-while approach, for it is certainly reasonable that a person's speech would reveal habitual ways of thinking, behaving,

feeling, and reacting. That language and speech disorders may result in and, in turn, stem from personality maladjustment is suggested in writings on general semantics (32). Major aberrations of personality appear to be accompanied by certain speech patterns (3), and Sanford (44) suggests that there is need for more diagnostic use of the normal individual's speech habits and characteristics. A number of possible inquiries are suggested. Are teachers who use many limiting and qualifying words less dogmatic? May the ratio between the total number of words and the number of different words spoken serve as a measure of degree of frustration or the stimulation value of a situation (32)? Is the verb/adjective ratio related to emotional stability with an increase in the relative number of verbs accompanied by an increase in instability (9)?

In any analysis of communication there is difficulty in considering such accompaniments as psychomotor tensions, gestures, and facial expression as well as variation in tone of voice, in pitch, and in force. There is no question that such embellishments carry and affect meaning. Anyone who is interested in analysis of the techniques adults use in guiding children will find it difficult, if not impossible, to weigh such factors objectively and adequately. "Hand me that book" can be a harsh command, a pleasant and friendly request, or a whining complaint, depending upon emphasis, tone of voice, and facial expression.

One finds agreement that teachers of young children should have pleasant voices. Perhaps there is an association between breathy, whiny voices and tendencies toward neuroticism and low dominance (38). Bossard (7) found family patterns of gesture and suggested that gestures might be a barometer of nervous output. He also pointed out that the general tonal quality varied from family to family. In some homes conversation resembled a continuous snarling, in others a quiet symphony. Schools, too, may vary in the relative number of "snarl" versus "purr" words.

It would be interesting to know the effect upon the child of exposure to such different communicative patterns and to compare children and teachers upon bases such as those described in the previous paragraphs. The possibilities are intriguing, and there is need for more research on the consistency and the meaning of such speech characteristics.

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IV

THE CHILD'S EXPERIENCES IN BODILY ACTIVITY

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BODILY ACTIVITY IN DEVELOPMENT

The human body, as it develops, becomes increasingly capable of making a great variety of movements, each important in carrying on life and life's functions. Some of them can be performed before birth, some at birth, and the rest only after the gradual maturation period of childhood and even of adolescence. Movements developing during childhood may be classified into the following groups:

1. Movements which are universal and vital to the maintenance of life itself, most of which are automatic but which, even if they may be brought under conscious control, contribute best to bodily well-being if not restrained in any way. Under this heading would fall such movements as respiration, digestion, blinking, shivering and other reflex activity and, to some extent, such processes as swallowing and the elimination of waste matter.

2. Movements which may be termed universal and essential to life but which can be and should be gradually brought under the voluntary control of the individual as he matures, such as the movements used in chewing, swallowing food, and feeding one's self; those which control the elimination of solid and liquid waste material from the body; those used in smiling, in making gestures and sounds, and in locating sounds; those used to focus the eyes; and the early movements of the body that finally make locomotion possible.

3. Movements that, as the body matures, cause those changes in

posture that make it possible for a child to use his environment. As sitting posture becomes stabilized he is able to lean back and forth and to move his hands freely. Attempts to grasp objects and to move the body toward more distant objects follow. Creeping and crawling lead to the complicated movements demanded by erect carriage in standing and walking.

A child's body is so built that during his waking hours it is natural for him to move freely. His energy, released in response to a drive to adjust to his world, tends to try to make it also adjust to him. As his body develops, and if his environment favors his acts, he becomes more and more capable of performing bodily skills. The period between babyhood and the usual school years is mainly occupied with the introduction and foundation practice of many of these skills, as may be discovered by observing the disparity in muscular achievements of a two- and a six-year-old playing together.

Since this discussion cannot consider all movements of which the child's body is capable, it confines itself to (a) movements primarily for the purpose of locomotion and for the utilization of energy, which are, for the most part, spontaneous and which express the child's desire for overt action in order to reach an objective or to manipulate his environment; (b) movements which have come to have social significance, because of their utility or because, whether instinctive or learned, they become expressive of a wish to carry out actions in harmony with the plans and purposes of others or in accordance with the rules of a common game; (c) movements dictated by the usages of the child's cultural milieu, the learning and practice of which brings the child into conformity with the customs of his family and his society.

REASONS FOR PROMOTING BODILY ACTIVITY

Parents and teachers of young children generally agree in their desire to include in their plans for children various experiences which encourage muscular activity. Most adults also agree that a child's skill in bodily activity has value to him as an individual for at least six reasons: (1) to insure present physical well-being, movement being necessary for muscle development and full utilization of body powers, and to continue development of such powers and to prevent their regression; (2) to complete the dynamic cycle of his physical needs, diet, rest, and exercise; (3) to satisfy his fundamental desire for movement and joy therein, and thus to contribute to mental health, since frustration may result in emotional tension within him;

(4) to bring him success and to contribute to his feeling of personal worth and achievement as well as to give satisfaction to him as a person; (5) to place him among the group of his fellows at school, in his neighborhood, and with his brothers and sisters at home; (6) to win adult approval by exhibiting learned skills.

To judge the merit of these six commonly accepted reasons for the inclusion of bodily activities among the educational opportunities provided for young children, one needs to know the existing conclusions of scientific research, not only in the fields of child development and education but also in medicine, biology, anthropology, and the social sciences. Those who have the responsibility for planning a child's environment should be aware of what is so far known about the factors that influence his growth in bodily skills as well as of the many areas in which factual information is lacking.

Considering Body Growth as Foundation for Activity. Knowledge of the growth of the human body, for which biological research has already laid a foundation, provides a basis for judging whether a child's environment is contributing to his present well-being and is likely to further his future development. But such knowledge is difficult to gain. While it is easy to measure growth in size, it is difficult to judge the inner changes that take place during maturation, which are the more important phenomena. Two-thirds of the children studied at the Fels Institute (42) showed variability in height, weight, and ossification curves for given ages. Reynolds (38) warned that the external dimensions of a child's leg were deceptive since the distribution of fat and muscle varied from child to child. Radiographs of school children studied by House (19) disclosed that 37 per cent of the children had skeletal ages less than those expected from their chronological ages, and that 9 per cent of them had skeletal ages greater than expected. Children perform observable acts which Todd (47) called "maturity indicators," many of which are body movements, such as a child's first voluntary attempt to pull himself to a standing position or, when older, to skip on alternate feet. At first appearance, all such movements are indicative of inner readiness and are often heralded by a drive toward some new activity. Parents and teachers have unique opportunity to watch for such signs.

Biological research would prescribe understanding the physical growth of a particular child as requisite knowledge for his teacher. It finds little evidence of a "group need" and, therefore, suggests that plans for children's activity to be truly educative must provide for individual differences in initial capacities, rates of growth, attitudes,

and achievements. Sontag and Newbery (41) found variation in fetal movements and suggested that these early individual differences might be expected to continue. Gesell (14), Shirley (40), and Bayley (1) found variation in rate of maturation of babies and that it had influence on the child's motor ability. Todd (47) warned that growth depends also upon general physical fitness and that repeated or continued ill health, malnutrition, or unhygienic environmental conditions may cause profound disturbance of pattern.

Balance of Activity with Diet and Rest. The problem of nutrition is of concern to all persons responsible for the welfare of children. For guidance, they may refer to modern studies on the subject which offer important implications regarding the relation of food, meal hours, and the like, to a child's activity. "Optimum nutrition . . . may be defined as the sum of those processes which together enable development to proceed along lines of one's inherited physique" (52). Children in periods of rapid growth suffer most from malnourishment. Listlessness, inactivity, chronic fatigue, and lack of muscular tone may, therefore, indicate lack of essential foods (28, 46). Attention should also be given to the effect of exercise upon respiration, upon chemical changes in the blood, and upon excretion of waste material. Mild exercise is found stimulating to these body processes; rapid, heavy, or prolonged activity is exhausting. At play a child utilizes his food rapidly, throws off waste material through perspiration, breathes deeply to obtain more oxygen, and, consequently, soon shows signs of fatigue, if added fuel in the form of food or rest or change of activity is not secured. A balanced program of diet, rest, and activity is strongly supported by physiological research.

Steinhaus (45), studying the origin and effect of fatigue, found poorly co-ordinated movements to make heavy demands on the body and to lead to muscular tensions often made evident in emotional behavior, instability of response, irritability, and aggressiveness. Duffy (9) found evidence of fatigue, susceptibility to colds, and extreme sensitivity to all stimulation in children whose muscular tension is high. Since children have little reserve of strength and slight resistance to fatigue, they tire quickly. They do not recognize their own symptoms of exhaustion, nor do they understand that usually they can relieve their distress by change of activity. The adults responsible for them have the duty to prevent overfatigue and to seek conditions which will remedy it if it arises.

The Learning Experience in Bodily Activity. Teachers have long recognized the laws of learning, as applied to intellectual tasks and to

the importance of conditions conducive to achievement. But they have not always considered these same principles in regard to such motor skills as sitting, standing, and walking. Much of a child's concentrated effort during the early years is in perfecting his methods of locomotion. Hellebrandt and Franseen (17), in reporting a study of the vertical stance of man, emphasize the fact that the change from quadrupedal to bipedal posture has imposed such difficulties that the human body is not yet completely adjusted to erect stance and that it must still make slight but frequent movements to keep erect against the force of gravitation. Early body patterns are relatively constant in life and, therefore, a child's habitual posture takes on importance. General good posture may be acquired through frequent and uninhibited change of position and effective learning of many modes of movement. Steindler (44) described walking as a rhythmic play of loss and recovery of equilibrium accomplished by muscular action over and above the force necessary for propulsion. When one fully understands body mechanics he is not surprised that it takes a child over three years from the time of his first step to perfect the art of walking. A child does not use mature methods of locomotion satisfactorily until, on the average, fifty months of age, and in this skill, as in other body activities, individual differences are marked (1, 40, 50). McGraw (31), who controlled the amount of exercise of a pair of twins in such activities as climbing, roller skating, tricycling, and jumping, concluded that it was possible to hasten progress when practice was offered at the outset of a behavior pattern. She found that an eager attitude and a confident approach to a skill hastened its mastery and lessened the tenseness and fatigue associated with learning. Forgetting followed a lapse in training, but renewed practice re-established former standards. Dammann (8), in a study of babies' climbing, found support for these conclusions and those of Shirley (40) and Bayley (1) as regards definite stages in early learning. Some studies (5, 16, 23) have used natural play situations to record spontaneous and unrestricted activities of children.

From study of observational data, categories have been set up and children's achievement rated. There is essential agreement as to the stages in achieving mastery of an activity. They may be summarized thus: a child first withdraws from an opportunity; then hesitates, though he may be attentive; then attempts with help; uses diffuse and awkward movements; practises; co-ordinates movements into a definite pattern; practises more and more until poise and accuracy result. His joy in such activity persists, provided his

environment offers free scope for inventiveness in its use. Onset of interest in an activity is often sudden and accompanied by a drive that is impelling. Such an attitude should be respected and every opportunity given to allow learning to proceed at its own rate (12).

A number of authors (6, 7, 16, 21, 49, 50) have studied the bodily achievements of preschool and young children. Their results indicate that as a child grows older he can be expected to be more capable, show more precision, and be more daring and more inventive in use of equipment; that as his age increases, more and more abilities come within the range of his developing powers; that there is little significant sex difference in achievement at these ages. The more outstanding findings, upon which a new emphasis is based, are that there is a wide range of ability in any age group of young children, if results be computed in such achievement scores as height of climb, length of jump, or other numerical measure and in quality of performance where differences range from tentative approach to masterly skill; but also, that attitude, mood, and personality traits influence achievement, a sturdy confidence predisposing a child to good learning in a wide range of activities. In all studies there is emphasis on the need for body preparedness for learning a certain act before it is to be undertaken and for opportunity and incentive in providing means to capitalize on a stage of maturity when it appears. These findings have real significance for teachers. In general, one may expect greater achievement as children grow older, but there will be need to provide for a wide range of ability in every group. An environment, wide in opportunity for learning new movements and adequate in its material provision, with freedom for the child to experiment and with coaching and encouragement where needed, makes provision for results most satisfying to the child.

Joy in his achievement signifies a child's satisfaction in overcoming the difficulties that impede his progress. His fundamental desire for movement leads him to attempt a new activity and, while he is in the process of learning to conquer its intricacies, he feels frustration. Achievement by resolving the conflict contributes to mental health, since prolonged frustration may result in emotional tension.

Success in Bodily Activity, a Factor in Personality Development. Achievement is an individual matter; a little child works for himself alone, using his body to express his innermost drives and to develop his individual skills. Frank (12) urges adult acceptance of individual difference and of the fact that a child cannot do otherwise than follow his own pattern. So much is this true that a child will have a habitual

way of carrying his body while running, climbing, or throwing a ball. A given child will vary in achievement in different activities and from time to time even in the same activity. One child may be versatile in choice of activity while another may attempt only a few movements and even entirely neglect to try others (16). The fleet of foot, the agile and successful climber, the jumper, and the ball player may be found in the same family and, with a fair degree of certainty, in the same group with those who seldom succeed in such acts even with effort.

The effect of bodily success on a child's personality is striking; his satisfaction is expressed in language and laughter and in his immediate ease in the situation. Failure is hard to bear, and repeated failure is crushing to a sensitive, developing personality. Plant (37) suggests that facility in motor expression is the surest way to develop a wholesome orientation to the world. Encouraging a child to accept or to overcome his individual physical limitations or difficulties is an important, if not the chief, guidance duty of an interested adult. In the past, however, teachers have usually taken less notice of a child's choice of activities and of his physical abilities than of other types of his achievement, such as language, or of other intellectual and social development. Studies now in progress of individual children from birth to maturity should result in better understanding of the place of bodily activity in child development.

Social Value of Success in Bodily Activity. Skill in bodily activity has deep social significance. It is to be ranked first among factors that lead to a child's acceptance among his peers (4). Approval raises for him the value of an activity and leads him to put forth effort to reach acceptable standards and to compete successfully with others (3, 20, 35). The earliest play is often solitary, though by proximity with others it may already be social. Later a child may strive with another for a treasured piece of equipment or, for fleeting periods, he may seek him as a partner. Physical contacts, both hostile and friendly, are also likely responses (20). Still later, joy from movements made in unison leads to co-operative enterprise, culminating in the important notion that playmates enhance an activity and widen its range. Gestures, singing, laughter, and conversation then become an abundant accompaniment of bodily activity. It is when a child's energy is not entirely absorbed in overcoming difficulties and in acquiring skill that he begins to "overflow" into speech, first as a monologue and later as true conversation (3). No one overhearing and watching a group of children can doubt the social significance of

their activity. Interplay of co-operation and conflict is, however, affected by such factors as the size of the group in relation to space and amount of equipment provided, age range of the children, personality of dominant children, and the amount of teacher direction (34).

Cultural Value of Success in Bodily Activity. Race and family may influence a child's preference for activities. Acceptance and encouragement lead to practice in the chosen activity, resulting in mastery, while a child is even sometimes ostracized for failure to participate or to achieve. Frank (11) states that every society and every generation uses children for its own purposes; Mead (30) found sex taboos among primitive tribes and the behavior roles of boys and girls strictly worked out. In most countries boys are expected to be strong and assertive and to carry on large-muscle activities, while girls are commended for more sedate patterns of play. Differentiation of activity between boys and girls is still mainly a social discrimination (27), but psychologists would recommend that, at home and school, boy and girl should have freedom and encouragement to carry on a large range of activities and so lay a wide foundation for a life of enjoyable activity (34).

Not only have sex differences been found to be far less important than individual patterns but racial differences also are small. Young white and Negro children are closely alike in speed of manual movement (25), eye-hand co-ordination (33), and in various motor achievements (39). Authors of South African studies in physical fitness, motor performance, and mechanical aptitude of school children were impressed by the similarity of achievement, liking, and attitude of English, Chinese, Indian, Bantu, and Negro children (22, 32). Teachers, therefore, need expect little, if any, racial difference in the bodily achievement of young children whose incentives and opportunities are fairly uniform.

It will be seen from this short review of available research in the field that there have been formulated some principles that can guide teachers in making plans for the physical activity of young children. There are, however, some questions of vital interest to educators which, as yet, research has only partially answered. Could children learn skills earlier than it is customary to expect them? What amount of time at school should be devoted to active physical play? How much guidance and training are necessary in the best interests of children? Should a child be encouraged to use all of his body, or are certain types of movement more important than others? What of the age factor in the selection of suitable play equipment?

THE BASIS FOR PLANNING EXPERIENCES

Satisfaction of the Child's Desire for Activity. A child's delight in freedom of movement demands a safe environment and one so equipped that it is possible for him to try out his powers. He does not need to be taught to play. He seeks to understand his environment and the only way he can do that is to experiment with it. Difficulties that he meets are, to him, problems to be solved by his strength and intelligence. His interest in play seldom flags, for in spite of repeated failure he tends to continue until he wins his immediate goal. At home he actively investigates his familiar surroundings from babyhood on. He meets frustrations, since brothers and sisters do not always conform to his wishes and parents have a way of checking his activities; such treatment he usually can endure because he feels secure and safe in the love of his family. However, when he first enters school, he comes into an environment where, while there is more to explore, he feels threatened by its strangeness and is apt to withdraw (an inherent caution which has protected the young of all species since time began). He suffers from the absence of familiar people. He is wary of new adults who make demands on him and of children who share his right to use equipment. Consequently, his natural playfulness is often checked, and he needs time and encouragement to explore for himself until he overcomes his sense of unfamiliarity. When he accepts the presence of other children and is accepted by them, and when his playfulness returns, the new experience may be for him a period of striking personality growth. It is important that all educators be aware of this transition and that they give sympathetic support while it lasts. From this time on, he demands much from his school environment. The ingenuity and resourcefulness of teachers will be taxed to provide full scope for all his many activities.

It is evident that some children learn skills earlier than it is customary to expect. No definitely planned research on the question has yet been undertaken for young school children, although work with babies (8, 31) has led to results which encourage an attempt to provide an experimentally controlled program of intensified opportunity and training in unusual activities. Moreover, there is no specific information to aid a teacher in deciding how much of a child's day should be devoted to active physical play. A child needs to acquire skill, and in periods of practice it is important that he have ample opportunity to reach a satisfying goal. It is natural that he utilize energy in ac-

tivities of his own choosing, and it is desirable that these activities should be based in large part on active physical play, preferably in the open air. The first requirement for any nursery school, kindergarten, or first grade is to meet the needs for children's individual growth and physical activity.

Play Interests for Which a Program Should Provide. A child's range of activities widens with age and maturation. At age two a child is all "set to go" and is already climbing steps, enjoying slides, and attempting to ride a tricycle, though he is still cautious and needs help to prevent accidents and to insure success. As he advances through ages three and four he shows increasing ability to take on new activities while he still practices the old. Many of these familiar ways of performing are utilized in newer methods of locomotion and in getting himself from one place to another by climbing, jumping, using vehicles, pushing, and pulling (16, 23). Later, boys and girls, alike, begin to add to their repertoire those activities that have a distinct relation to group life among their peers and those which tend to emulate children in older groups. They eagerly learn to hop and to skip and will attempt ball throwing, bouncing, and catching, though the wide age range noticeable in those choosing these activities indicates the intricate posture movements which these activities require and, in the case of ball play, the advanced co-ordination of eye and hand. At six, children talk of baseball and boxing, they jump rope and practice roller skating. They select balls, ropes, and marbles as play materials. These choices coincide with intense interest in games of chasing, running, dodging, and the like (10). They put much stress on keeping rules, which are often of their own making, and they imitate with great enjoyment gymnastic events witnessed in a parade or a circus.

Left to themselves, some children choose a variety of activities involving a wide use of the body, while others emphasize one type of activity more than another (16).

For a child whose choice is limited, teachers of experience tend to favor direct guidance offered in the form of suggestion to encourage broadening the field of activity. So far, available educational research has produced little, if any, data concerning the effectiveness of actual guidance or coaching. Biological research points to the fact that a child's body is built to enable him to carry on varied movements all of which are important in physical development and should be undertaken with equal emphasis. Traditional teachers have favored children's "quiet" activities and have restricted the use of the larger

muscles. During the school year many children are denied sufficient activity because of long hours indoors. Such restrictions are contrary to research findings, as ample use of all muscle groups is held to be a foundation for a healthy life of varied activity.

Choice of Equipment To Meet Children's Requirements. Studies in the effectiveness of various sorts of equipment are much needed. A child's choice of activity is a teacher's sure guide, for as an interest develops he naturally seeks out equipment to satisfy it. The motor achievement of children of different ages in a variety of activities shows that as they master the equipment it may lose its appeal unless they can see in it the possibility of dramatic uses, in which case the addition of makeshift material is often more important than new equipment. A child's inventiveness may, however, encounter an unstimulating environment, lack of space for activity, or dullness in standard equipment, indoors and out. His imagination may find little on which to feed, and his ability may not be challenged. He may early conquer the usual heights provided for climbing and outgrow the size of tricycles provided. Equipment may be defective, so poor in quality that it is unsatisfactory for his purpose, or so meager in quantity that he, as one of a group, may not get the practice he craves.

Nursery schools and kindergartens which might have opportunity to experiment and to provide new facilities have, like other institutions, tended to become stereotyped; in the first school grades meagerness of equipment may be said to be the rule. A survey of the newer, nonresearch literature suggests the following criteria for choice of equipment: the interest and joy in activity it offers; the attention span any piece evokes; the versatility of its uses; the amount of "stunting" and dramatic play it permits, as well as its contribution to problem-solving and artistic pursuits. Emphasis for city children may well be put on more country-type, homelike, and natural play places and on equipment chosen or constructed to suit a particular family or school group, while for country children the reverse may be needed. Teachers in other countries will want to consider the particular needs arising from situations in their own lands and from the natural resources and opportunities at their disposal.

It is evident that, to improve the quality of provisions for bodily activity in early childhood, further recommendations stemming from research are needed. Studies in which children are given opportunity for accelerated training and practice in a wide range of activities would throw light on the possibility and advisability of acquiring these at earlier or later ages than are now accepted. Motion pictures

as bases of a scale for scoring motor learning would provide more valid means of checking and comparing than is now possible. Studies of equipment are sorely needed to contribute information relative to effectiveness for various purposes; attention should be given to evaluating unusual, informal, and natural equipment rather than standard types. If skilled teachers with the acumen of social psychologists could study teacher guidance to learn its proper place and amount with individuals and in group activity, our guidance should be improved. Finally, the continuation of observations to further knowledge of the relation of bodily activity to a child's mental health and personality development would yield greatly needed specific information.

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V

SUMMARY

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In conclusion, it should again be pointed out that three aspects of the child's experiencing discussed in this chapter tap only a limited part of the research literature which is available and significant to the curriculum. On the other hand, these areas clearly illustrate how difficult it is to cite with assurance scientific justification for some of our common assumptions; this is due to the lack of investigations having a curriculum orientation and to the scarcity of studies lending themselves to such interpretation. There are, however, numerous findings which are rich in suggestion for modification of the school environment.

It is easy to state what *should* be done in integrating the curriculum and research; it is much more difficult to *do* it. In retrospect, the authors realistically acknowledge the pull of the traditional approach—that of summarizing what research studies there are and ignoring what might be a detailed report of nonexistent studies. We are still far from the goal of one or more systematic educational philosophies evaluated by research. The experience of preparing this material has also emphasized how much more available for interpretation is "child development" literature than material not so collected and not so directly focussed upon the child.

Throughout these three areas there is considerable evidence that the child's success in his activities and the outcome of his efforts are directly related to his developing personality. This is not simply a matter of the child's success or failure regardless of the nature of the experience but, instead, there is implied the additional factor of the extent of the child's emotional involvement. Knowing that young children respond wholeheartedly and with complete absorption to any part of the environment which interests them, the educator is chal-

lenged, first, to be conscious of that environment and its constructive possibilities; second, to be aware of the degree of the child's motivation and participation; and third, to be alert to the nature of his performance and his fellows' reaction to it.

Throughout this chapter there is threaded the evidence of interrelationships of behavior and of total environmental effects. That these relationships greatly complicate the problems of the research worker is well recognized; but neither he nor the educator is thereby relieved of the responsibility of formulating articulate and definite educational philosophies as a structure for study.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STAFF AND ITS PREPARATION

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THE CHALLENGE OF EXTENDED EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

The war years, opening up to many parents new possibilities for the education of young children, saw an increasing demand for the extension of school services downward to three-, four-, and five-year-old children. Evidence of the degree to which educational service for children under six years has become a definite issue throughout the United States can be seen in the report of an inquiry concerning the present status of child-care centers, nursery schools, and kindergartens in American cities. Educators in about half of the states represented were reported in favor of nursery schools as a part of the public school system; school boards in 77.9 per cent of the cities favored kindergartens; and school boards in 25.1 per cent of the cities favored nursery schools.¹ These figures are not overwhelmingly favorable, but they seem to indicate a growing concern for school services for very young children.

THE KIND OF TEACHERS NEEDED What All Teachers Should Be

In a single, compelling sentence, a bulletin of the National Education Association gives what might well be taken as the broad, in-

¹ "Status of Child-Care Centers, Nursery Schools, and Kindergartens in 33 States and Territories and in 203 School Systems in Cities over 30,000 in Population," *Educational Research Service*, Circular No. 8, 1946. Washington: American Association of School Administrators and Research Division of the National Education Association.

clusive goal toward which education would shape its procedures: "Education must continue to be synonymous with opportunity for the common man."² If this goal is accepted, then sensitivity to the needs of the common man, faith in his potentialities, and determination that he shall have opportunity for development are the first qualifications we would seek in all teachers, regardless of the age level at which they are to teach.

Such a teacher is world-minded. He is interested in the fundamental problems that humanity is facing. He realizes that this is no time to immerse himself in his own personal affairs to the exclusion of his obligations as a citizen. He is not weakly neutral on important issues but informs himself as best he can and, in the light of his knowledge, takes his stand.

Respect for personality, the essence of democracy, is his guiding principle in human relations. He recognizes the common bond of our humanity and knows that the likenesses far outweigh the differences among men. He assumes as a major responsibility, in whatever situation he may be, that no child because of racial, social, or economic status shall be deprived of opportunity.

Imbued with the scientific spirit, he approaches the problems of living with scientific techniques. He develops skill in defining problems, in collecting and organizing data, and in drawing conclusions. Above all, he acts upon his findings.

There is no teacher type. There is no list of traits which, added up, produce the good teacher. There is no particular personality type which is better than another as a teacher. A great variety of personalities is needed in the teaching profession. For teachers are not born; they are made. They are made by experiences, by hard work, by the development of convictions, and through the guidance of others who are, themselves, true teachers.

Additional Requirements for Teachers of Young Children

It is usually assumed that teachers of *young* children will be women, probably in recognition of the mother-substitute role which teachers of young children have to assume, at least part of the time. Observation of the reaction of young children to the few men they do encounter in nursery school and kindergarten, be they principals, doctors, psychologists, workmen, or fathers, would indicate that many

² *Proposals for Public Education in Postwar America*. Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. XXII, No. 2. Washington: Research Division of the National Education Association, 1944.

men have highly desirable contributions to make to young children. It may well be that a thorough analysis of present-day male and female roles in American society will clearly establish the need for more men in early childhood education. In any event, custom, only slightly dented by the invasion of a few men, still demands that we refer to the teacher of young children as "she." There are, however, certain personal traits which are important in relation to teaching service at this level.

Physical Stamina and Poise. To teach young children requires a tremendous amount of purely physical stamina. Granted that no good program for children of any age now envisions the teacher as a sitter, it is obvious that with children under six years the teacher crosses the room dozens of times a day, constantly stoops and bends, moves furniture and equipment to suit changing activities, and, in addition, frequently works in rooms and buildings ill-adapted to the needs of the children.

To teach young children also requires a tremendous amount of emotional stamina. This is something more than mere control or patience. It is that positive quality which enables a teacher to hold steady the boxes which the two-year-old has dumped out for the fourth time; to provide a lap for the three-year-old whose world has just been threatened by a new sister; to find other outlets for the aggressive four-year-old who knocks down the blocks of the most defenseless child in the group; to accept the decision of five-year-olds that, today, all of the housekeeping toys shall be transferred to the book corner—to do all this and still be able to laugh and have fun with youngsters. It is this quality which helps her to maintain a perspective on the home situations with which she is confronted. Because she is dealing with the parents of young children, she has perhaps more hope of seeing changes in understanding than if she were working with parents of older children. On the other hand, the concern of parents for their young children places the teacher in a most vulnerable spot. The parent can accept a relationship between teacher and child which seems to complement the home, but anything which can be interpreted as supplantation will naturally be suspected.

At the present time it seems generally agreed that the teacher under forty or forty-five is better able to stand the strain of working with young children. So far no one seems to have dealt very realistically with what significance this may have for the careers of teachers now being trained.

World-mindedness. The good teacher of young children, like all

other good teachers, must be world-minded. She will recognize that her fundamental task is to develop the kind of human relationships in the classroom which will help children to grow into people who can deal adequately with world problems later. Surely she has no right to burden young children with problems which are beyond their ability to understand. Nevertheless, children under six will bring such problems to school with them. The end of the war may bring to an end the "shooting" of "Nazis and Japs." Will we now see a revival of "cops and robbers," or will the ack-ack guns be turned on Negroes, Jews, and Italians? Is it enough for the teacher to see that there are pictures and stories of children, who, though they differ in color and nationality from those of her group, have essentially the same interests? Or is she obligated to see to it that the school in which she works practices no discrimination against teachers, maintenance workers, or children?

Understanding of Human Development. The teacher of young children must have a thorough understanding of growth and development. As Gesell and Ilg have indicated: "Our culture has arrived at that stage of sophistication and discernment that it can no longer carry on in the field of child care without the aids of modern science."³ Perhaps no other field in education has been as closely tied to research as has the nursery school which in this country originated as a laboratory for the study of normal children.⁴ In this tradition it has become customary to expect the teacher of young children to be well informed in research on child growth and development. It is probably fair to say that this has also had some limiting effects. The subjects of much of the research, particularly in the early days, were children from the more privileged homes. Teachers who worked with children from different circumstances could not always apply the findings. Concentration of much work with children in the years two through four, coupled with an emphasis on age-level differences, hampered some teachers in viewing the continuity of growth. Application of the findings of anthropology, sociology, and psychiatry to the understanding of young children has been much more recent.

The tendency of research to stop short either at age five when the child entered kindergarten or at six when he entered first grade seems to be reflected in much of the teaching of five-year-olds now going on.

³ Arnold Gesell and Frances L. Ilg, *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today*, p. 239-90. New York: Harper & Bros., 1943.

⁴ Catherine Landreth, *Education of the Young Child*, p. 7. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942.

Too frequently, teachers who have been trained with emphasis primarily on "nursery school" are prone to underemphasize the power and abilities of the five-year-old. His reaching out for new experience tends to upset the tranquillity of the nursery school. On the other hand, teachers whose preparation has been for elementary school, including kindergarten, too frequently tend to consider age five only as a reading-readiness period. Granted that the five-year-old may have a compelling interest in the direction of books, language, numbers, and letters, there is surely no good reason why all of his school life should be made to revolve around it. Nor does there seem to be any good reason why he should be denied all opportunity to follow such an interest, along with the many others he has.

With this in mind, one might well add to the requisites of a teacher of young children that, as part of her understanding of human development, she must be alert to the processes involved in the acquisition of the skills which are demanded of children in a reading culture such as ours.

TEACHERS NOW WORKING WITH YOUNG CHILDREN

To ascertain the number of teachers in the United States now working with children under six years and to evaluate their training is difficult indeed. An examination of the varying situations in which teachers of young children are employed will give some indication of the present picture.

Nursery-School Teachers

Some of those who can be called "nursery-school teachers" work in research centers and demonstration schools connected with colleges. It can be assumed that these people will have at least the Bachelor's degree and a considerable amount of training in child development. Next come the nursery-school teachers in private schools. According to the Educational Policies Commission, in 1936 there were 285 private nursery schools, operated largely for a wealthy clientele.⁵ Unfortunately, except where registration of such schools is required (one state, as of December, 1945),⁶ there is no guarantee that teachers are really qualified to work with young children. Some of the problems relating

⁵ Educational Policies Commission, *Educational Services for Young Children*, p. 14. Washington: Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, 1945.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

to teacher personnel in the private institution can be gained from the experience of the day-care unit of New York City.⁷

Another group of teachers work in philanthropic institutions such as day nurseries, social settlements, orphanages, and hospitals. Some of these programs are almost entirely custodial, but others are staffed by teachers qualified to provide good educational services.

Programs, such as the W.P.A. nursery schools which numbered 1,650 in 1936 and the Lanham nursery schools which numbered 2,000 in 1945,⁸ must also be taken into consideration. Many teachers, originally trained in other areas, served in these schools, found the work most congenial, and may now identify themselves as "nursery-school teachers." Where the supervision was adequate and where sufficient in-service training was given, many of these people undoubtedly may now be professionally able.⁹

Kindergarten Teachers

Another group of teachers of young children are those who work in public school kindergartens. The Educational Policies Commission estimates that 25 per cent of the five-year-olds have the services of a kindergarten.¹⁰ The backgrounds of these teachers may be estimated from a consideration of the certification requirements for kindergarten teachers. Nine states provide certification for kindergarten teachers, usually including primary teachers of Grades I to III. In five states, three of which do not provide any special certification for kindergarten teachers, the requirements for professional courses emphasize child growth or human development.¹¹ The amount of college preparation required to teach in the elementary schools varies widely. Nineteen states require four years of training beyond high school; four states require three years of training of college grade; fourteen states require two years of training beyond high school; nine

⁷ Leona Baumgartner and Others, "The Day Care of Little Children in a Big City," p. 33. New York: Child Welfare League of America, May, 1946.

⁸ Educational Policies Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁹ For a description of such on-the-job training of teachers see, Eleanor Beach and Carl H. Kumpf, "Teacher Development in Nursery School," *School Life* XXVIII (December, 1945), 24, 30.

¹⁰ Educational Policies Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹ R. C. Woellner and M. A. Wood, *Requirements for Certification of Teachers and Administrators for Elementary Schools, Secondary Schools, Junior College, 1946-47*, pp. 2-25. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946 (Mimeographed, eleventh edition).

states require one year of training beyond high school; and two states require less than one year of training beyond high school.¹²

This picture of inadequate preparation of many of those who are already employed is further complicated by the present over-all teacher shortage and by the increasing demand for services for young children.

ACUTE SHORTAGE OF QUALIFIED TEACHERS

Emergency Certificates

While strides have been made during the present century in raising significantly the qualifications for teaching young children, so many emergency certificates have been issued during the war years that, in spite of high certification standards, schools have suffered from a very serious lowering, in actual practice, of teaching standards. In many areas it is a question not of choice of whom to employ but of ferreting out anyone who is willing to teach. In 1944-45 one in every ten teachers in the United States taught on a substandard emergency certificate as against one in two hundred in 1941-42.¹³

Enrolment in Teachers' Colleges

Nor is the picture for the future encouraging. If there were a group of sturdy, young teachers to look forward to within the next few years after they have completed their preservice preparation in teachers' colleges, one could be more hopeful. But at the present moment there is no overcrowding of the teachers' colleges comparable to that of other professional and technical colleges, liberal-arts colleges, and universities. While enrolment figures of teachers' colleges for 1945-46 are not available, common observation indicates no upswing great enough to offset the steadily diminishing enrolment during the war years, an enrolment which in October, 1944, as based on returns from 141 teachers' colleges and normal schools, had shrunk to 53 per cent below the enrolment for 1941-42.¹⁴ Lewis Ward Humphrey, secretary of the committee on appointments of teachers at the University of Illinois, predicts a period of five to ten years before the supply of properly prepared teachers for elementary and high schools equals the demand. He bases his prediction on three conditions: that two-thirds of the teachers who left the profession for

¹² D. M. Blyler, "Certification of Elementary-School Teachers in the United States," *Elementary School Journal*, XLV (June, 1945), 578-89.

¹³ Leaders' Letter No. 30, January 11, 1945, National Education Association.

¹⁴ Leaders' Letters, *op. cit.*

other work will not return to teaching; that the shortage that has been increasing for the past three years cannot be overcome quickly; that the number of teachers in training during the past three years is far below the prewar level and that it takes four to five years to train a teacher.¹⁵

Effects of Increasing Birthrate

Had the downward trend in the birthrate which was characteristic of the present century continued, the imbalance between supply and demand in the teaching field might gradually have decreased. But it is predicted that the upward spurt of the birthrate in the late 1930's and in the 1940's will increase the number of children between five and fourteen years of age by about two and a half millions between 1945 and 1955 and that the greater part of this increase will take place in the areas least able to finance adequate educational facilities.¹⁶ Unless the situation changes, it looks as if we are facing a decade in which there will be more children of elementary-school age to be taught by fewer and less-qualified teachers.

Demand for All-Day Care of Children

The demand for teachers, particularly for children under six, has also been increased by the need for all-day care of children of working mothers. In New York City alone—and it was not designated as a defense area—there were 18,325 children under six years of age who were enrolled in day-care centers during the calendar year 1945. The present tendency among women to combine remunerative work with homemaking, added to the growing realization of the benefits to children under six of being with companions of their own age, indicates a need in the immediate future for many more teachers who are prepared to work with nursery-school children. Recent state legislation reflects the trend between 1942-45:

Seventeen states lowered admission age to public schools below six.

Fourteen gave permissive legislation to establish nursery schools.

Ten gave permission to use local school funds for nursery schools.

Ten authorized state funds to be used for kindergartens.

Ten authorized state funds for child-care programs.¹⁷

¹⁵ "A Shortage of Teachers Predicted for the Next Five to Ten Years," *School and Society*, LXIII (January 26, 1946), 60.

¹⁶ Newton Edwards, "Educational Implications of Population Change," *Education Forum*, X (March, 1946), 287.

¹⁷ "State Legislative Action for Young Children," *School Life*, XXVIII (November 4, 1945; January, 1946), 30.

Inadequate Teacher-Training Facilities

To date, the training of teachers for the nursery-school years is done largely in a few private teacher-training schools and in home-economics departments of state colleges and universities. Few state teachers' colleges have as yet directed their attention to the specific preparation of teachers for these years. The need is realized, and some programs are being planned; but the lowered enrolments during the war years have made differentiation of the curriculums very difficult.

Both Emergency and Long-View Planning Needed

We need more teachers—more teachers for more preschool children for more hours of the day. Looking at the matter practically, in the light of the number of unqualified teachers in the field and the small likelihood that they can be replaced by better qualified teachers, common sense dictates a vigorous in-service program as a matter of first consideration. There is much, besides necessity, to justify it. Valuable teaching material can be salvaged through such training for there are potentially good teachers among those holding emergency certificates. Often they bring to the classroom a reality born of rich life experiences that is all to the good.

But while this reconditioning job is on its way, long-view plans need to be laid for providing a continuous stream of new and highly qualified teachers of young children. Such plans include a clear and forceful interpretation of education and the role of the teacher. Educators must make themselves responsible for the general acceptance of Henry Wallace's words that "Education is the most important single activity of civilized man."¹⁸ Education will be properly supported only when its significance is realized by the man on the street. The best young people will enlist in the ranks of education when they realize its import for the future of civilization.

RECRUITMENT AND PREPARATION OF TEACHERS OF YOUNG CHILDREN

In order to meet increasing demands for teachers of young children, many young people now entering college must decide on this as their profession. We must bear in mind, however, that in all probability we shall continue to draw heavily on other sources, such as teachers of older children and youth and liberal-arts graduates who had not anticipated education as their profession but who have been

¹⁸ Henry A. Wallace, *Sixty Million Jobs*, pp. 80, 81. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1945.

drawn into it through a developing interest in young children. Consequently in-service education and education on the graduate level assume equal importance with preservice education.

Selection of Candidates for Teacher-Training

Teacher education must concern itself with an attempt to interest high-school people in the education of young children. Such education must be seen to have a continuity with education of older children and youth. Some possibilities for interesting high-school students are revealed in a study conducted at Mt. Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Increased understanding of the significance of education led to a marked increase in the number of students wanting to teach.¹⁹

Teacher preparation certainly cannot afford to violate the continuity of the educative process. An understanding of the college student will be greatly enhanced if relationships are established with the schools he has attended. There should be the closest articulation with the high schools which send students to the college. Contact with vocational counselors in attempting to come to a common point of view as to the kind of student that should be guided toward teaching is essential.

What should be the intellectual ability of the candidate for teaching? The teachers' colleges have tried increasingly to be selective in admissions. The low enrolment, however, has made this practically impossible in recent years. A recent study indicates that students in teachers' colleges are significantly, but not greatly, inferior in ability to those in other colleges, the latter averaging four points higher in Otis I.Q. The mean Otis I.Q. among Freshmen in teachers' colleges during the past ten years approximates 109, or 1 S.D. above the mean for the population in general. The average intelligence of the student in teachers' colleges is 75 per cent above the people in the United States as a whole.²⁰ Candidates with intelligence of this quality, who seem likely to emerge from adolescence with a good degree of personal stability and who appear to have a genuine concern for children, should offer teacher education a real challenge. As the Commission on Teacher Education has pointed out regarding present teachers:

[Such candidates] come predominantly from families modest in circumstances. . . . It cannot be assumed that they have had ready access to the great

¹⁹ Harry V. Herlinger, "And Gladly Teach," *Occupations*, XXIII (December, 1944), 147-51.

²⁰ A. E. Traxler, "Are Students in Teachers' Colleges Greatly Inferior in Ability?" *School and Society*, XLIII (February 16, 1946), 105, 106.

works of art or music or that they have been saturated in literature of the highest quality. . . . They are likely to come from hard-working, substantial stock and to share the strengths and weaknesses of the great bulk of our people.²¹

These factors can be assets or liabilities, depending on the direction teacher education takes. Teachers can see education leading all people toward better living, or they can see it as a privilege for the elite.

Preservice Preparation for Teaching Young Children

Any suggestions for the preservice education of teachers of young children must be viewed in the light of the present situation of teacher shortage and inadequate preparation of many teachers already employed. Any college which approaches its task realistically will see itself obligated not only to equip new teachers for the field but, in that process, to share in the current struggle to improve the education of young children. Broadly speaking, the needs in teacher preparation are continued emphasis on the understanding of children and their growth but with a more profound social orientation and greater attention to ways and means of teaching children both the principles and techniques of democratic living.

Teacher Education Tied to Other Social Fields. To meet these needs, teacher education must abandon its isolation. It must be tied as closely as possible to the education of all other students preparing to enter fields concerned with human development and social progress. Students preparing to become teachers, social welfare workers, specialists in health, recreational directors, and political leaders should share in the same common background. The community should be their common laboratory. Here they would work mainly in their separate fields but with much interchange and participation in matters of common interest. In joint seminars they would pool their experiences, set their goals, and recognize the necessity of co-operative action in the solution of human problems.

Besides the practical work in the community and its related seminars there are certain broad-area courses cutting through subject-matter lines which all of the students would have in common. Such courses would include one in human growth and development, bringing together the major findings of biology, psychology, sociology, and anthropology; one in the social, political, and economic problems of today in which students would see these areas in their relationships

²¹ American Council on Education, Commission on Teacher Education, *Teachers for Our Times*, p. 9. Washington: American Council on Education, 1944.

and would gain insight into the major problems of war and peace, labor and management, minority groups, population trends, rural and urban relationships, political ideologies, crime and delinquency, and social security; one in which the major findings of science are discussed and their implications for civilization grasped; one in the arts in which students would become acquainted with the interpretations being made today by the artists in all fields; and one in philosophy in which living philosophies are analyzed and their effects as determinants of cultural patterns studied. The practical community field experiences would be closely related to all of these core courses and would reinforce each other in helping students arrive at their own system of values.

Emphasis on Democratic Principles and Techniques. To meet the major need of developing ways and means of aiding children in acquiring the principles and techniques of democratic living, all aspects of the students' preparation would illustrate democratic principles and techniques. These would animate the administrative and the instructional procedures of the college. The knotty problems of democracy in action would be faced squarely. Where authority resides, the place of the expert, the best bases for shared responsibilities, rights versus privileges—these are only a few of the problems that are inevitably met when students and faculty work together for common goals. We have still a long way to go in the achievement of a truly democratic college organization. We cannot prepare teachers to inculcate democratic principles and techniques in children unless they, themselves, through a vital experience, have known the true freedom, not of "rights, privileges, and immunities" but of shared responsibilities and rights in a group dedicated to the pursuit of "opportunity for the common man."

To ascertain the possession of such social qualities as have been indicated in the preceding section as "firsts" among the qualifications of a teacher is not simple. Certainly they cannot be assumed to exist because a teacher has had certain academic or professional courses. What has been done to date by authorities in ascertaining the social orientation of teachers has been largely negative in character, aimed at uprooting subversive tendencies rather than at locating constructive social approaches and points of view. Hence, we have little more than observation and deduction to give an indication of the prevailing social point of view of the teacher of young children today. At least as much effort as is put into getting students of proved qualifications in education and intelligence should surely be put into finding those teachers

with clear-cut social attitudes, strong character, and healthy personality.

Individualized Programs. In such a democratic college there would be a common framework, in this case the field experiences and the core courses, which all would share and through which values are evolved, goals set, and a common bond of interest and effort forged. But beyond this common framework there would be wide latitude for meeting individual needs and interests. Respect for personality, inherent in the concept of democracy, demands that this should be. Every program would be individualized in terms of the status of the student with reference to the goals at which he is aiming. Thus, a student who has had little or no experience with young children would be given more experience in recreational groups, camps, and care of children before being permitted to teach in the classroom.

Student Teaching in Community Schools. Most significant in a student's preparation for teaching is her experience in student teaching. This should be no "ivory-tower," campus-school experience but, rather, experience in a school that is indigenous to the community. So long as preparation for teaching was confined within the walls of the classroom, so long as emphasis was placed upon techniques of teaching as the significant part of a teacher's preparation, then the main criterion for the selection of a laboratory school was the worth of the classroom teaching that went on within it. Hence, came the campus laboratory schools to which good teachers were brought to exemplify the latest methods, which were equipped with the newest things in ventilation systems, furniture, and teaching aids, and which were attended by children of faculty members and by other children in the community whose parents were intelligent and ambitious enough to see certain advantages in such a school. In the meantime, there was usually a town school on the other side of the wall, often poorly equipped and poorly furnished, which the rest of the children of the town attended. There have been those who have long seen the paradox of this situation, and there have been attempts at working out relationships between local school boards and teachers' colleges, whereby students are taught in the local schools under the supervision of local teachers. Those who have tried it have generally found it a difficult experience but not an impossible one. However, difficult though it may be, it is the only realistic approach to the preparation of teachers who will make their teaching of children contributory to the solution of the fundamental problems of today.

Students need to have the experience, while teaching, of participat-

ing in the development of a curriculum adapted to the needs of the children and of the community the school serves. This is the foundation of their preparation. All else is subsidiary to it. It is the experience through which they will most directly come into the realization of the deepest social implications of their work.

The point in her total training program at which the student begins her teaching should depend on her readiness for it—on what she has to offer to the situation. What she does when she begins her student teaching should depend on the same thing—what she has to offer that is needed in the school. It should be clear, however, that the best way to find out whether one is going to be a success with young children is to work with them. Much wasted energy on the part of both the college and the student could be avoided if, fairly early in her college career, the student could begin to have opportunities of various kinds to be with children.

Need for Better Understanding of the Work of the Teacher. A high proportion of the very best teachers is found among those who teach the youngest children. They approach their work scientifically; they realize how deeply their attitudes will influence children for life; they know how delicate the task of guiding young children is; they appreciate how vast a fund of knowledge in all the areas of subject matter they must have to be able to guide children in answer to their questions into paths of exploration and discovery; they understand that their own work must be creative if the creative impulses of young children are to be nurtured toward their continuous development and joy in their expression.

There still prevails, however, the popular idea that teaching young children means little more than taking care of their physical needs. Young girls still are surprised when they enter teachers' college to find that they are expected to develop a broad background of general education, and very often they are disappointed when they find that more is expected of them than merely learning the practical details of caring for children. There is need for bringing about a deeper understanding outside the profession of what it really means to teach young children.

Need for Articulation between Nursery Schools and the Grades. Another need, somewhat analagous to the first, rises from the confusion that exists as to the processes appropriate in the nursery school and kindergarten and those that are appropriate in the grades. There is a popular idea that the process in the nursery school is primarily that of a permissive freedom to grow, while in the grades the process

is one of directed learning. There seems to be plenty of time for natural growth in the former, but suddenly, when a child is called a first-grader, he must be taught and taught hard. A hiatus has resulted that needs to be closed. The teacher of the primary grades needs to develop more of the watchful waiting of the nursery-kindergarten teacher, to devote more time to the care of physical needs, and to give more attention to the use of things children say and do which may serve as leads to experiences. The nursery-kindergarten teacher needs to incorporate the greater definiteness as to goal and content of the primary grades. But it is most important in the preparation of all teachers of young children that the nature of the growth process be emphasized: that growth is continuous, that growth and learning are synonymous, and that self-activity is the foundation of basic principles which should guide the preparation of teachers for young children.

Better Understanding of Individual-Group Relations Needed. Particularly acute amid the strains and stresses of today, particularly acute, too, in the thought and feeling of the young teacher, is the confusion resulting from lack of clarity as to the relationship of the individual to the group. So often we hear the conscientious young teacher stating his dilemma in some such terms as: "How far should I let the needs of a child interfere with the welfare of the whole group? To what extent shall I let aggression have free play? If I give an individual child what he needs, I lose my hold on the group!" Again and again young teachers feel completely frustrated in their early years of teaching. So often they find themselves in situations in which they are compelled to avoid doing what they consider best for an individual in order to preserve the stability of the group. It is not uncommon to hear some young teachers say, when they reach this stage, that they are going to give up classroom teaching and go into clinical work. Some of them probably should, if they have uncommon gifts of understanding of the individual human being. But, for many, this merely spells an escape from an unsolved problem.

The problem of control is so general that it should be given a place of prominence in the preservice preparation of teachers for young children. Students will meet it almost immediately when they enter the classroom. They will tend to adopt the solutions used by the teacher in charge, for in this, as in all other problems, what happens during their student teaching has greater influence than any other part of their training. Hence, the great importance of the closest possible coordination between the theoretical and the practical aspects of their preparation. This problem in particular needs to be discussed both in

student-teaching conferences and in courses in mental hygiene, child development, and philosophy. The impatience of the student for an immediate answer needs to be curbed, and he must be helped to see that only gradually through such discussions, his own solitary thinking, and experience will he gain the insight and the wisdom to cope with it.

Confusion as to Approaches to Child Development. One major source of difficulty in the preparation of teachers of young children is the difference in approach among students of child development. In the short time that has elapsed since a beginning was made in the scientific approach to the study of human growth and development, many schools of thought have arisen, and new and conflicting hypotheses have been established. There are those who would take the purely behavioristic approach, collect data of human behavior as objectively as though they were studying the action of water on rocks or the movements of an amoeba. To them the overt act is all that matters. It is what the child does that counts. Others are as meticulous in gathering data as are the behaviorists, but they are concerned not only with what the child does or what has been done to him but with what happens to him in his inner feeling. To such observers it is not so much what happens in life that matters as what happens to the individual as a result of events—the way he meets problems, his emotional reactions to them. Others stress the drives behind behavior and would have us search out the inner springs of human behavior as the best means of understanding it. There are many modifications of these main approaches. In addition, there are wide variations in the degree to which emphasis is placed by students of child development on events of the past in their influence on the present; some students are concerned almost entirely with the immediate events; others probe deeper and deeper into the past and into the inner consciousness of the child.

Confusion as to Approaches to Child Guidance. Just as there are different approaches to the study of child development, there are varying approaches to the guidance of child behavior. Some, imbued with the fear of future consequences of repression in childhood, adopt a "hands-off" policy, stressing the importance of having a child live naturally at each stage of maturation so that he may move untrammelled into the next. Others, attaching more significance to development as resulting from the interaction of organism and environment, would pay more attention to providing the kind of environment most conducive to desirable growth. Some would pay more attention to directing growth toward the next stage of development than would

others. Some would give free rein to a child's aggressions and hostilities; others would anticipate and try to prevent their appearance; others would redirect them toward other objects; others would try to direct the child's energies into constructive channels so as to minimize destructive behavior. Some would do little and some much explaining to children of the meaning of their behavior.

The college teacher, charged with the responsibility of preparing teachers for young children, faces here a difficult problem. The student meets many baffling situations in his study of teaching procedures, and there is inevitable confusion concerning conflicting psychological theories. Most certainly the beginning student should not have his enthusiasm dampened by long class discussions on conflicting theories of learning. What seems best in the beginning is to focus his attention on children. He should get thoroughly acquainted with children before he reads about them. His gradual interpretation of their behavior, along with his building up of basic concepts of development, is dependent on the background he acquires under the guidance of his instructors. The important outcome of his preservice preparation is an "at-homeness" with children and a fundamental understanding of their behavior and motivations.

It is inevitable that the student will be influenced in the direction of the school of psychological thought represented by his instructors. The diversity is not to be regretted. If the student learns to approach the problems of child development scientifically, if he is given to understand that all aspects of scientific psychology are in an early stage of development, that we know very little positively as yet, and that as a true student of childhood he will participate in exciting discoveries as the years pass—then we need not be afraid, at the beginning of his training, of a certain amount of assimilation of a particular approach. A college imbued with the scientific spirit will never develop satisfaction in a set pattern of psychological thinking.

Need for Understandings in Science. A particular need in the preparation of teachers of young children is an understanding of the world of science. Too many students think of science in terms of the textbook units which they were taught. They need to observe, to experiment, and to explore in a way which will free them to appreciate and guide the curiosity of young children. The changing seasons, plants and animals, mechanical contrivances, streets and buildings, farms and factories are not only important interests of young children but out of them can grow understanding essential to effective living in a modern world.

Need for Understanding of Children's Power. Somewhere in our efforts to understand young children as children and not as miniature adults we seem to have developed a protective attitude which goes beyond reasonable limits and tends rather to hamper children's growth. Students will need to see how far the interest of five-year-olds who have had group experience can carry them, how deeply they will explore in science, how highly they can organize their play, what a variety of stunts they can perform with their bodies. These are not the activities of children in a sterile environment of scissors, paper, and crayons. Nor are they the activities of children whose teachers are frightened of their ideas; nor yet of children whose teachers would set no limits. They are the activities of youngsters who are given space, a variety of material, opportunity to explore their environment, and the guidance of teachers who feel as one who remarked, "The longer I live with children, the more I learn to trust them."

Need for Expressive Activities. Experiencing and expressing the ideas and the feelings resulting from experience are the two interweaving processes of development. The expressive process, therefore, should be given equal scope with experience in the preparation of the teacher of young children. The student's own expressive powers, often deadened by the time he reaches college, need to be revived and exercised on his own maturity level. There should be opportunity for all mediums—words, clay, paints, wood, metal, music, and the union of all these in the theater. Unless the student himself has known the excitement of creative work, he is not likely to release the creative power of children; but, having known it himself, he will not deny it to children. Then he will be ready to study expression at different maturity levels and the use of suitable techniques and materials.

Techniques Needed. At the present moment the swing of the pendulum in the preparation of teachers of young children is well in the direction of a broad cultural base and fundamental understandings and away from specific techniques. Certainly the older atomistic emphasis with its numbers of distinct special-methods courses was inconsistent with the psychological facts of learning. But to leave a student, who is entering the teaching field, inspired with the significance of his job and the ideals of attainment but with little understanding of the way to realize his ambitions is often the real cause of those difficulties in control to which he attributes his frustration and discouragement. There is need at present to work out a combination of breadth of view and technical competence. The solution lies in definiteness in student teaching and in the co-ordination of the student's

teaching experiences with college courses and seminars. Indeed, if there were a single concept representing the basic need in the preparation of teachers of young children, it might well be *co-ordination*.

Emphasis on Health. Since physical well-being and health of the young child are almost completely in the hands of the adult, special emphasis should be given in the preparation of teachers for young children both in the basic understandings of physical and mental health and in the mastery of the skills needed in properly caring for the health of children. Such emphasis would include the recognition of symptoms of disease, first-aid, nutrition, and mental hygiene.

Experience in All-Day Care of Children. The present increase in centers for the all-day care of children and the need for these centers to take over many responsibilities of the home mean that every student preparing to teach children should have some experience in the care of children throughout a twenty-four hour period. And this presupposes consideration by the teachers' college of a student-day of twenty-four hours. Ruth Andrus, in outlining next steps in the public schools, points to the need for such inclusive form of preparation:

The selection and preparation of teachers in the field of nursery-kindergarten education poses questions of fundamental significance in teacher preparation both in regard to the experience to be provided and the utilization of courses and specialists. Since the education of young children is concerned with providing the best possible twenty-four hour daily living for the children, the same consideration must be given to students preparing to be teachers.²²

Experience at Older Age Levels. While there is always danger of too narrow specialization, it is of particular importance that the teacher of children under six know what happens after that. The hiatus between nursery-kindergarten and first grade will only be removed as the teachers in these groups come to understand each other's problems. The establishment of a certificate in early childhood education in one state, requiring that students have experience in three levels—nursery, kindergarten, and primary—promises much for the improvement of the education of young children.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING OF TEACHERS OF YOUNG CHILDREN

As has been indicated previously, the problems of in-service education are closely allied with those of preservice education. All that has been said in the foregoing section is applicable here and, hence, will not be repeated. Differences that do exist are mainly in terms of

²² Ruth Andrus, "Next Steps in the Public Schools," *Progressive Education*, XXIII (February, 1946), 135-38.

procedure. The urgency of the situation, for example, demands short-outs, more immediate emphasis on skills and routines, and greater individualization because of the greater variation in background of the teacher in service as compared with the college student. But the ends to be reached are the same, and the same insights are demanded.

The teachers of young children in many public school systems are now facing several areas in which they may be asked to do either what they do not understand or do not believe in. No teacher can be expected to do a good job for a young child unless she is convinced, first, that it is good for him to be in school and, second, that she is qualified to help him. There are many potentially fine teachers who would welcome an opportunity to find out more about younger children, if there were anyone qualified to help them with the problem. Unfortunately, many elementary-school supervisors are completely lacking in actual experience with children under six. Some kindergarten supervisors have never worked with children under five, and, even then, such experience as many may have had with five-year-olds was twenty years ago. This is an area in which tremendous changes in understanding have come even as recently as five years ago. In addition, many teachers are beset by administrators and supervisors who see education of young children always in terms of its future benefits. Thus, it becomes character education or a kind of early vocational preparation. Most devastating, because it is most concrete, is the emphasis on "reading readiness." Faced with this, the kindergarten teacher may feel forced to revolve her program around whatever experience seems most likely to get her group over the hurdles of the reading-readiness test with the highest scores. At its best, her program loses some of the spontaneity and depth of interest of the children; at its worst, the children become, for all practical purposes, slaves to the reading-readiness workbooks.

Whether the in-service training of the teacher of young children comes inside the school system or whether she seeks it outside in summer session, evening courses, or workshops, there must be adequate recognition of the problems with which she is dealing. She must be able to find someone, whether supervisor or consultant, professor or workshop director, who either knows young children or can direct her to helpful sources of information. Her first concern will not be "What would be the ideal program for these children?" but rather, "What can I do with what I have?" To learn that one teacher ought not handle more than twenty five-year-olds, that every room for young children should have an adjoining washroom, and that unit blocks are one of the best materials for creative play will not satisfy her

if she has a group of fifty in a school building in which the toilets are in the basement or on the other side of the building and if the only blocks available could be carried in a market basket with ease. If she can get help in arranging that room so there can be several doll corners, in finding waste materials which kindergarten children can use for science and creative purposes, and in clearing space so that music and rhythms can be really expansive, then she will be in a mood to move ahead and, with the parents, to tackle the larger problem of too many children, ill-adapted buildings, and little equipment.

The nursery-school teacher in a child-care center or day nursery is in a similar spot, though her situation may be less glaringly wrong. She, too, needs a consultant or a supervisor who has had enough experience to know how it feels to work long hours with today's children and who will respect the teacher's ability to work out many things for herself.

TYPES OF POSITIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONNEL

We may expect to see the development of many services requiring staff members with varied backgrounds as more adequate provision is made for the care of young children. The unit for early childhood education which has been proposed for public school systems, in addition to its corps of teachers, may have its own nurse and will certainly have its own cook and custodial help. The nurse will have her own professional background, which may include some work with healthy young children, but she will benefit from and contribute to the in-service program for teachers. Experience with the W. P. A. and the Lanham Act suggests that cooks and custodial help may profitably share in an in-service program since, in a sense, everyone who works with young children teaches them. If there is to be a parent-education worker for such a unit, she also should be very close to the program of the children and should have had experience with them.

In day nurseries or child-care centers much the same picture holds true. The social worker may or may not have had group experience with young children, but she will need to keep closely in touch with the program.

There are various health and mental-hygiene centers which will require the services of trained nursery-school teachers. In addition to training in their own field, such teachers will need additional work in the special field in which they are engaged. The child development clinic which combines the services of nursery school, psychiatrist, and pediatrician is one example of this. A comprehensive community health plan such as that developed in Rochester, Minnesota, is an-

other. Still different is the nursery school for physically handicapped children housed within a hospital or other institution.

Nursery education may also be expected to offer service to other professions. For example, one graduate school requires those preparing for psychological services to have had teaching experience with young children. Senn has proposed that pediatric education of the future include more work in health projects of the nursery, elementary, and secondary schools.²³

What will be the degree requirements for positions in the various educational services for young children? So far as the teacher in charge of a group is concerned, the trend seems to be toward a minimum of a Bachelor's degree, with teaching certificate granted on the basis of course requirements in child development and curriculum, plus supervised student teaching. However, one must face the facts of the situation and acknowledge that, with the present teacher shortage and the many obstacles to making such training widespread, it will take years before classes of young children are, in general, taught by teachers of such competence. In the meantime, that large group of young people who want to work with children but have little interest in the more profound aspects of the work might, as an emergency measure, be trained as assistants. If this were done, their preparation would be entirely practical, any theory that they are taught being given in direct connection with the classroom work. Care would have to be taken that they be utilized only as assistants and that their preparation be clearly distinguished from that of regular teachers. If they proved particularly able, provision might be made for them to take more advanced work.

Of teachers holding the Master's degree some will be graduates of liberal-arts colleges, receiving their professional training at the Master's level. Others will be experienced teachers. Still others may have had training but no experience. It would seem desirable that the content of work done for the degree should be varied according to the background, experience, and aspirations of the candidate. Certainly no one who expects to work with young children should be permitted to hold a Master's degree indicating competence in that field unless she has had an opportunity to demonstrate successful work with children. This may necessitate an extension of the time ordinarily considered necessary to complete the degree, but it is an imperative need for those who are inexperienced. Experienced or trained teachers may also wish to participate in student-teaching programs. In any

²³ Milton E. Senn, "Role of Psychiatry in a Children's Hospital Service," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, LXXII (July, 1946), 95-110.

event, work on this level should be so directly related to classroom problems as to help students to return to their schools as better teachers.

Many teachers will want to take Master's degrees in fields which are related but not directly connected to classroom teaching. Such fields include guidance, psychological testing, parent education, and administration and supervision. Here, careful counseling and good planning between the fields involved are essential. Does the new field offer the teacher an opportunity for placement which will be more satisfactory than her present one? Does the new field offer an enrichment of understanding which will contribute to continued success in classroom teaching? Or does the new field offer a way of avoiding some of the thorny problems with which classroom teaching is beset? It is important that both the teacher and her counselors be aware of her underlying motives in selecting a field of specialization. We must also deal realistically with the fact that not only greater prestige but also greater remuneration frequently goes to those in other fields than classroom teaching. Small wonder that some of the most able teachers are lost to the classroom by the time they acquire the Master's degree.

Problems surrounding the candidates for doctoral degrees are not too dissimilar. Any candidate who is going to contribute to the improvement of educational services for young children must know and be able to deal with the problems confronting teachers. This would seem to point to the degree of Doctor of Education, with its broad background directed toward professional competence, as having particular value for this field. On the other hand, the need for research is a continuous one, so that the Doctorate of Philosophy is also significant. However, it seems likely that here, too, the most important work will be done by those who are most acutely aware of the many complex factors involved in the education of young children.

SUMMARY

The present demand for extended educational services for young children offers a tremendous challenge to teacher education. Not only must new teachers be trained but a more vital program of in-service education is also essential. Teachers of young children must be more adequately oriented socially, must have a functional understanding of growth and development, and must be equipped to work not only with children but with parents and other members of the community. This places renewed emphasis on the need for greater co-operation between teacher-education institutions and other agencies and for closer co-ordination of theory and practice.

CHAPTER IX

SITES, BUILDINGS, AND EQUIPMENT

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A school building exists for but one purpose—to serve as an instrument of the educational process. Its value is in direct proportion to the extent to which it makes a positive contribution to that process. Although it must be safe and healthful and comfortable for the habitation of children, these are attributes that belong to any building for public occupancy. They are attributes that should serve as only the basis for, and not the end of, planning. In the past we have been inclined to regard them as ends in themselves, placing too little emphasis on those aspects of a school building that distinguish it from all other buildings.

We have also been prone to rely on precedent. While there is much in the history of school planning that can help us with the future, we must not look backward as we face today's and tomorrow's educational problems.

In planning a school for young children, particularly for those

below kindergarten age, we are fortunate in the comparative dearth of precedent at our disposal; fortunate because, by that circumstance, we are forced to face the problem squarely, constructively, analytically. In this situation lies the greatest hope for imaginative and creative planning—planning that searches out the needs, whatever they may be, and sets about to meet them.

Accordingly, nothing in this chapter should be construed as being in the nature of a standard for future planning. The problems dealt with are set forth in other chapters of this yearbook. To plan a school for young children, the designer must have a knowledge of more than the materials of construction and their use. He must understand children—how they grow, how they learn, how they react to various stimuli. He must know *what* the school attempts to do, *why* it does so, and *how* it accomplishes the task. Only with these understandings can the architect of a school building for young children hope to achieve success.

THE SITE

The site upon which a school for young children is erected may be as important to the program as the building itself. Neither is complete without the other. An otherwise excellent plant loses value if it is inconvenient or dangerous of access for those who are to use it. Its suitability for its purpose may be diminished immeasurably by unpleasant or hazardous surroundings. The absence of outdoor facilities to complement satisfactorily those indoors may curtail desirable activities.

From at least one standpoint, the site can be regarded as being of even greater importance than the building. Whereas the building may be altered, enlarged, modernized, or otherwise improved, its site often must remain a fixed quantity. An adjoining street that is dangerous or noisy cannot be closed off simply to suit the convenience of a school. The homes of potential pupils cannot be uprooted and regrouped at will. Encroaching business and industrial areas cannot be dispersed.

Even in the matter of size, the site often must remain unchanged. The acquisition of contiguous properties by right of eminent domain is both expensive and difficult in the face of opposition from owners. It is, moreover, a right that can be exercised only by public schools. As for acquisition by outright purchase, experience has revealed repeatedly the amazing increase in value of originally inexpensive properties, once a school has been established near by. As a result, the enlarging of a site may become prohibitively expensive.

It is wiser to curtail plans for the building itself than to attempt to economize by selecting a site that is not essentially satisfactory. Whereas, time after time subsequent developments have revealed a site selection to have been penny-wise and pound-foolish, rare indeed is the case where one has proved in the long run to have been too idealistic.

Environment

The suitability of a site for a school, just as for a home, is very largely the product of conditions that exist about it rather than within it. The qualities of the surroundings to be sought are similar in most respects—attractiveness, cleanliness, quiet, and safety.

Attractiveness is an illusive quality—and illusive, too, are materialistic reasons for seeking it. In the absence of clinical evidence to the contrary, however, we are morally bound to assume that young children, like their elders, are sensitive to beauty and ugliness, to order and squalor, and that they react accordingly. If their first impressions of school and social life are to be reassuringly pleasant, the surroundings in which they are gained, likewise, should be pleasant. Such qualities are generally associated with residential areas marked by quiet streets, shaded sidewalks, and houses that, regardless of cost, exhibit a pride of ownership.

The school that is to be a positive force for social betterment often must be situated in a low-economic neighborhood. Even under these conditions, however, care should be exercised to avoid the more squalid areas in favor of one that is more nearly suitable as an environment for children.

The school's surroundings should provide for the child the utmost in physical and moral safety. Measures can be taken partially to offset dangerous conditions, but only at the price of constant vigilance and anxiety. The possibility always remains that safety measures eventually may fail. Traffic is probably the most common source of danger. From all directions children come toward that street upon which the school is situated. At such a focus the chances for accident increase tremendously. Even while school is in session, complete reliance cannot be placed in the security of protective fences, for there can be no wholly adequate assurance that the older children, particularly, will not take dares, will not retrieve balls, will not explore.

Streets are not the only potential hazards which may surround a school. The near by sand bank that invites the child to dig a tunnel may bury him under a cave-in. Deep ponds, swift streams, even normally tiny brooks swollen by spring freshets have taken their toll.

Abandoned buildings bid for investigation by inquisitive young children who are not mindful of dangers there. Industrial plants, garages, and dumps are pitfalls for the inexperienced. It is never possible to avoid all sources of accident. They are everywhere. But certainly it is not well to court tragedy by ignoring the most obvious possibilities of danger.

In this day and age it might not appear that environment could greatly affect conditions of health. Whereas, we need not be greatly concerned about "evil swamp vapors," nevertheless, it is well to remember that near-by, low-lying land may give rise to a host of mosquitoes and other insects that are both annoying and dangerous. Such areas should be avoided if continued drainage and decontamination cannot be assured. The same may be said for those dumps, barns, and sheds that are the breeding places of flies and rats or that emit smoke and obnoxious odors.

Many school activities demand quiet. The mid-morning rest or the after-lunch nap of the younger children suffer if horns are tooting and truck engines are roaring outside the windows which remain open to admit fresh air. Activities that demand quiet cannot compete against disturbances, noise-breeding noise in an ever mounting spiral of confusion and tension.

The school site should be situated, then, in a neighborhood that is removed from busy streets and highways, from railroads, from industrial and business areas, from swamps, dumps, and barns. Near-by water should be safe or amply protected. There should be no towering tanks or belching chimneys to mar the landscape and pollute the air. On the contrary, the school's surroundings should be as clean and quiet, as restful and attractive as those which one would choose for one's own home.

Accessibility

The location of any school with respect to the homes of the children it serves is always of prime importance. This is especially true of the school which is intended to serve very young children. These cannot be expected to walk more than a block or so to school, even when conditions of safety and weather are ideal. For those of five and six, half a mile is generally the maximum practical radius of travel. Even these distances are out of the question for walking during rainy and cold weather.

Unless a school for young children is to be served by a comprehensive transportation system, it must of necessity be situated in the heart of a heavily populated area of small extent. Even so,

many children will have to be accompanied to school by parents or older children—and in inclement weather, conveyed there. This inevitably means that some children who are most in need of nursery-school or kindergarten education will be deprived of its benefits simply because their families cannot accompany or convey them.

Where the school is not situated in a heavily populated area, most of the children must rely upon some sort of vehicular transportation. Routes have to be especially extended to reduce to a minimum the need for walking to pick-up points and waiting in the cold and rain. Moreover, where very young children are involved, it generally has been found desirable to limit the number of children in a single load to seven or eight. Even though the groups are kept small, the presence of an adult other than the driver is necessary in order to maintain satisfactory conditions. Indeed, there are some authorities who believe that the disadvantages to very young children of subjecting them to transportation away from home may outweigh the advantages they might derive from nursery-school education.

For those children who walk, conditions of safety must be given the closest attention. A condition that involves little danger for a child of six or seven may possess grave hazards for younger ones. Routes to school should not lie along or across busy or speed-inviting thoroughfares. They should not lead across railroad tracks or bridges or street intersections that are not under close police supervision. They should not transverse industrial areas or business districts where young pupils may become involved in trouble.

Obviously, it is rarely possible to select a site that does not involve some hazards for some pupils. Every effort must be made, however, to balance the gravity of those hazards against the numbers that will be exposed to them, and so arrive at a compromise that offers the greatest measure of safety.

The school erected in a relatively heavily populated neighborhood of small area has one great functional advantage over the school whose children are scattered. It will be in a better position to achieve close working relationships with the children's homes. Where the school is near by—an element of a compact and well-defined neighborhood—there are far better opportunities for the parents to become acquainted with the teacher and the work of the school. The teacher has better opportunities to know the child's home environment and so to understand his needs and to enlist the active co-operation of his parents.

In selecting the site for a school, the future is as important as the

immediate present. Our cities everywhere are embarrassed by the existence of school buildings situated in what were once residential neighborhoods but now largely deserted. They are ghost schools, forsaken and half empty, while in newer neighborhoods the buildings fairly bulge. In selecting a school site, then, we must remember that during its useful life migration will be taking place. Trends in business and industrial expansion should be studied closely. Detectable changes in neighborhood characteristics should be weighed. If the school is not to be left behind, those changes must be anticipated in the location of the site.

Physical Characteristics

Without doubt the chief criticism of school sites is that they are, in general, much too small. School authorities have evidenced little conception of the amount of space required, not only for the proper design of the building but also for the outdoor facilities that go to make up a satisfactory school plant. Fortunately, however, the school for young children does not present as much of a problem as most others, for the demands of space-consuming play activities are not so great for children up to six years of age.

In selecting the site it is well to have the advice of the architect who will be responsible for the design of the building and for the development of the grounds. Size cannot be thought of apart from a number of other characteristics, such as orientation, position and types of streets, kinds of surrounding buildings, exposures, directions of approach, shape, slopes, etc. It will be possible for the architect to determine fairly rapidly the possibilities for development that are possessed by any given site without going into exhaustive detail. In roughing out a plan he will allow for the following:

- a) Space for the building itself. Although this will vary with local conditions, it will usually be found that from four to six thousand square feet of ground area per group room will be needed. This will provide for the space required by such building elements as verandas, corridors, toilets, administrative and service areas, and courts.
- b) Sufficient space between the building and the streets and property lines. The amount of space necessary will be determined by such factors as the orientation of the classrooms, types of near-by structures, noisiness of streets, and possible points of access.
- c) Areas for automobile drives and turn-arounds and for the parking of parents' and teachers' cars.
- d) A service court for the delivery of supplies.

- e) A garden area.
- f) A clothes-drying yard.
- g) Correctly proportioned and located playgrounds of adequate size, differentiated in terms of the needs of children of various ages.

It is doubtful if any standard can be developed that will hold good for the infinite combinations of conditions that are to be found. In general, however, for the school that does not go beyond Grade I, a total site area of about one-half acre of usable land per group room will be found to be a minimum. Under some conditions this area will need to be considerably enlarged.

The site selected should be regular in outline—with not too much difference between its length and breadth. An irregular site may result in left-over corners and angles that cannot be effectively utilized. One that is too shallow or too narrow will not permit a satisfactory layout for either the building or the grounds. A site whose short dimension is from two-thirds to three-fourths of the long one will generally be found the most satisfactory.

Turf is generally accepted as the most satisfactory fair-weather playing surface. Trees, shrubs, hedges, and grass are of practical as well as aesthetic value. The soil, then, should be fertile enough to assure healthy plant growth. Otherwise, a good deal of expense will be involved in providing loam and fertilizer to correct natural deficiencies. Care must be exercised, too, to avoid ledge rock that will require blasting, filled ground that fails to offer satisfactory bearing for the building, and swampy areas that are not only poor for foundations but which must be drained to be useful for play. Too often the money saved in the purchase price of a piece of ground has later been spent several-fold on grading, draining, blasting, and on piling or mat foundations. It is far better to put that money to more productive use.

The site should be fairly level for the most part, but there should be enough slope to carry off the surface water. If the slope is to the east or south, the morning dew will dry more rapidly. Steeply sloping ground is not suitable for a building whose ground floor is near the outside grade at all points. Nor are steep slopes suitable for those outdoor play areas where children use blocks or wheel toys. If steep slopes do exist, they should be well away from the building and principal playground areas; otherwise, terracing to obtain level ground will increase the costs of development and result in a multiplicity of levels that are most inconvenient in use.

Development

In developing a school site it is necessary that the building and the out-of-doors be planned integrally. Each is an inseparable part of the other.

First, the building must be so oriented with relation to the sun that its group rooms have the most satisfactory exposures. These vary with the different parts of the country. In the south where winters are mild and springs and autumns are warm or hot, northeasterly or even northerly exposures are better. In colder climates, easterly or southeasterly exposures are preferable. Moreover, the group rooms should face out on the playgrounds rather than on highways. Not only is there objection to the noise and dust and lack of privacy of a street but it is important that the play areas adjoin the classrooms to permit the close integration of indoor and outdoor activities. The street exposure can best be reserved for other elements of the building that do not require large open windows and the maximum of quiet but which should possess the greatest degree of accessibility. These include the kitchen and storage areas, the main entrance, the health unit, staff rooms, and the parents' library. It will be seen, then, that the orientation of the group rooms, their relationship with the playgrounds, and provisions for access to the building very largely predetermine the shape of the building and its location on the site and are controlling factors in other aspects of site development.

Sufficient distance should be allowed between the building and property lines to minimize noise and dust. Necessary set-backs from streets will depend in large measure on the traffic conditions, but fifty feet should be the minimum, and greater distances will often be desirable. As for adjoining properties, desirable intervening distances will depend on the nature of their use. Whereas, a residence with a lawn around it will not be a source of concern unless its trees cast unwanted shade, the blank brick wall of a store or office building can be extremely unattractive and troublesome. Since a school cannot control the manner in which adjoining properties are used in future years, intervening space should be provided for the most unfavorable contingencies.

Space should be set aside for a drive and turn-around, with enough length so that several cars or station wagons may discharge or take on passengers at one time. In no case should drives be so arranged that cars have to back up in order to turn around. In some few instances it may be necessary to have children alight at the sidewalk of the street. Generally, this is an unsatisfactory arrangement be-

cause of the hazard involved where cars swing toward and away from the curb in traffic. There should also be a parking area for the cars of teachers, of other staff members, and of parents who visit the school. A service court convenient to the kitchen, receiving room, and heating plant should permit the delivery of food, supplies, fuel, and laundry as well as the removal of ashes and waste by trucks with a minimum of disturbance to school activities.

As has been pointed out, the outdoor play areas should comprise a strip of ground immediately outside the group rooms. For two-to-five-year-olds, particularly, these play areas should be, in the main, simply extensions of the classrooms themselves. Since play yards should be available at all times, it is desirable that the area for each group be set aside for its use alone without the need for scheduling its use by other groups.

Among young children play habits and abilities at the various age levels vary much more than those of older children. For this reason the areas designed to serve each of the age groups must be differentiated from the others and their respective limits defined. In the case of the two-year-olds who are inclined to play singly, or in very small groups at quiet activities—in the sand box, pushing wheel toys, piling up blocks—this definition of their play-area limits should amount to actual separation from the more strenuous games of the older children by means of a low fence, a hedge, or shrubbery. The play areas used by the three- and four-year-olds, respectively, need not be so separated but may be “zoned” by the placement and duplication of play facilities. Again, the area used by five- and six-year-olds can be used jointly, although, in addition to the space set aside for quiet play and the use of apparatus, a larger open area should be provided for the space-consuming games of the older children—circle games, ball games, running games, etc.

As for the amount of playground to allow for the various age groups, one hundred square feet per child is probably sufficient for the less space-consuming activities of the two-year-olds. Moreover, the smaller area, which does not permit children to wander off by themselves, will assist teachers in their supervision. As the age of the child increases, however, so does the tendency to vigorous games. Thus, three- and four-year-olds may profitably use 125 to 150 square feet per child; and five- and six-year-olds, 175 to 200 square feet.

In proportioning the play areas, it is better to limit their depths away from the building to one hundred feet or so. This will tend to keep children nearer the building itself, especially if the play apparatus

(other than see-saws and swings) are grouped there—and thus nearer to the toilets and to the teacher who may, on occasion, have to supervise the activities of children within the group room and on the playground at the same time.

The various play areas will have certain features in common. Whereas, turf—close clipped to facilitate the drying of dew—should make up the bulk of the playground surface, a part of the area should be provided with types of surfaces for wet-weather use and for special activities—those that will not become soggy and that will dry rapidly. Whereas, concrete and asphalt paving is smooth and dries rapidly, it is hard and tough and increases the danger of injury. Certain materials, such as cork or tanbark mixed with bituminous materials, result in greater resiliency, but such surfaces must be laid by experienced workmen and are expensive. Tanbark alone—or even wood shavings, well rolled or tamped—is dry and springy (and should be used under climbing apparatus) but has the disadvantage of being rather “messy” where young children are inclined to play on “all fours.”

In addition to wet-weather surfaces there should be paved runways for larger wheel toys—trucks and cycles. These runways should be meandering so as to discourage “scorching” with its resulting accidents and to provide for the fun of steering a curving course. Such runways may well extend between the play terraces and the outdoor storage sheds, about which more will be said later.

Each group will need a sand box, set well away from the tanbark area so that the sand may be kept clean. There should also be digging areas where children may grub in the soil. Wading pools also are useful for all groups. These should be very shallow and supplied with a continuous flow of water and provided with means for frequent draining and cleaning. Where they are situated near the sand boxes, water and sand may be used together to make sturdier castles and tunneled highways. Except for the two-year-old children (all of whose facilities should be grouped fairly near their toilet entrance) the pools and sand boxes may be set at some little distance, twenty to twenty-five yards or so, from the building.

As for equipment, about which more will be said later, the climbing areas need to be located first. For the three- and four-year-olds a fixed climbing frame may be centrally situated between their separate areas so that it can be used by both groups. The same arrangement may be used for the five- and six-year-olds. The climbing frame for two-year-olds is in miniature and should be portable so that it can be moved from spot to spot, in sunshine or shade, as needs dictate. Other

fixed apparatus, such as see-saws and swings, should be segregated to prevent collision accidents. Small sheds for play and equipment storage should be situated at the extremes of the play areas, in such a way that children will not be able to hide behind them.

With regard to planting, mention has already been made of the use of hedges to define the play areas of the various age groups. These hedges should be kept low so that visibility will not be impeded, and, in most cases, prickly shrubs should not be used. There should be deciduous trees to afford shade here and there, particularly for the sand box, but not so many that all sunshine is shut out, the number and arrangement being varied in accordance with the needs in the various parts of the country. The six-year-olds' area for group play should be free of trees which would interfere with their games.

Trees (particularly evergreens), walls, and buildings, too, may be used to advantage to provide windbreaks that will aid tremendously in sheltering play areas from the prevailing cold winds of spring and fall and in reflecting the warm rays of the sun. Shrubbery can be used to screen the play areas from streets and adjoining properties, reducing noise and affording privacy. Again, shrubbery can be used to form a simple labyrinth where children may play hide-and-seek among mysterious cul-de-sacs.

Between the group rooms and the outdoor play areas there should be a paved and covered terrace. The floor of this terrace should be level or practically level with the floor of the group room, for in reality it is but an extension of the group room itself. Here certain activities such as block building, modeling, and painting, which are normally carried on indoors, can be transferred to the outdoors and protected from the direct glare of the sun. Such a covered terrace can serve also for free outdoor play on rainy days in warm weather. In addition to its primary purposes, a paved terrace helps considerably to keep the group-room floors relatively free of sand and mud.

Several other facilities are worthy of brief mention. One is a hillock, situated to one side of the site, perhaps, where children may enjoy the energy release of climbing and running down again. Another is a garden patch where the older children may dig in the soil and gain an introduction to the miracle of germination and growth. Finally, it would be well to set aside at each school, especially at those in the more congested districts, a small park area, accessible from the street, where the mothers of the neighborhood may come with their sewing and their baby carriages to visit and to watch the school's children at their play—a friendly place of trees and shrubs, flowers and settees,

that will give reality to that unity which should exist between the home and the school.

THE BUILDING

General Characteristics

The child of two years of age is entering upon a difficult period of his development. He is called upon to adjust to a multitude of people, things, and situations that did not exist in the home which, until now, has been his world. Venturing from the security and intimacy of his immediate family, he is expected to learn to work and play with others, to share and co-operate, to subdue his selfish impulses. If the child is not to become emotionally engulfed, the adjustment he is called upon to make should be as smooth and as gradual as possible.

The change should not be made the more abrupt by a school or a building that contrasts more sharply than necessary with the home. It should not be so large that he is confused and loses his self-identity among so many. He should not be spiritually dwarfed by the building's overawing dignity and austere formality.

Certainly institutionalism in any of its manifestations is out of character with childhood. The school for young children is not a suitable vehicle for a display of civic ostentation. Of necessity it must overshadow the average home, but the discrepancy can be lessened by making it conform as closely as possible to residential scale by employing low wings and irregular outlines to break up formidable massiveness, by avoiding forced bi-axial symmetry, conventionalized details, and useless ornamentation. The niceties of architectural styles are probably of far less importance to a child than that the general character of the building be informal, friendly, and familiar to him.

We have no scientific evidence that in this direction lie buildings which the child will find more inviting. Perhaps we have not considered that his preferences and reactions are important enough to seek them out. Until we do, we cannot intelligently contend that he possesses none. We can only base our course upon a reasonable probability and use adult judgment of what is fitting.

Turning from aesthetics to more material considerations, the very appearance of permanence can be and often has been a serious disadvantage. The longevity of school plants has constituted an impediment to the progress of educational development. All over our country, buildings that were inflexibly built and of too obvious structural soundness are thwarting improvement in educational programs. The very

aspect of solidity which they possess acts as an insurmountable obstacle to their replacement.

The education of very young children is, itself, in its infancy. Time will bring many developments and will bring them rapidly. It is foolhardy to repeat the mistake of assuming that we, in our infinite wisdom, are capable of fixing the pattern of education for the generations to come.

Construction, then, should be such as to permit the highest degree of adaptation to change. Heavy masonry walls that support imposed loads should be reduced to a minimum or altogether avoided. Partitions should be readily movable. The plan should be so arranged that additions to the building can be made later to provide either more group rooms or such service facilities as were omitted initially. These provisions for expansion cannot be vague or left to chance. The form which such additions are to take should be specific and incorporated in the plans when the building is first laid out so that all elements of the ultimate building will be satisfactorily co-ordinated, so that the exits and access points will be correctly placed for safety and convenience, and so that the lighting and ventilation of both the original units and the additions will be unimpaired.

Facilities and Their Disposition

A listing of the principal elements of a school for young children follows, together with a few notes on their disposition in the building. In subsequent sections, certain of these will be taken up and treated individually in greater detail. Space limitations have, in a number of cases, necessitated a positive recommendation without discussion of alternatives.

- a) *Group rooms* are the largest and, of course, the most important elements of the school building. It is around them that the building is designed. There should be a separate room for each group of children, the groups being divided according to age and development. Each group room provides its children with the facilities for work, play, rest, toileting, dressing, and, usually, for eating. Each should be individually accessible from the building's main entrance and should open directly to an outdoor terrace and thence to its play yard.
- b) The *dining unit* consists of the *main lunchroom*, when provided, the *kitchen*, and the *food-storage facilities*. It should be centrally situated with respect to the group rooms. The kitchen, while maintaining its central position adjoining the dining room, should be segregated sufficiently so that cooking odors will not permeate the building. It should be so

situated, moreover, that it is readily accessible for the receiving of supplies and the disposal of refuse.

- c) *The administrative unit* includes the *office for the director* of the school and his secretary, a *conference room*, where possible, a *health suite*, and a *teachers' room*. The office and the conference room should be situated just inside the public entrance to the building where those who enter will find it immediately. The health suite, too, should be near the entrance, for to it will come the parents for consultation on child-health problems, infants from outside the school, mothers to call for those children who show signs of illness and are isolated from the others. The location of the teachers' room is not particularly vital, except that it should be isolated from the playgrounds and group rooms and yet be conveniently central.
- d) *A parents' library* should also be situated conveniently to the public entrance. Here will be the reference books and pamphlets used not only by the staff but by the parents as well. Where funds are limited, this room can well be combined with the conference room, since both are for the use of groups of parents and teachers under conditions that often involve the use of books and pamphlets.
- e) *A laundry* should be provided in each building. Even though principal items, such as table linen and blankets, are sent out for laundering, there remains a host of smaller articles for which the convenience of laundry facilities in the building is important. Here again, the location in the building is not particularly vital except that it must have convenient access to an outdoor drying yard and should be tied in with other service facilities.
- f) *A caretaker's suite* is a desirable adjunct for most schools. It consists of an apartment—living room, bedroom, kitchen, and bath—which may be occupied by a couple providing custodial services for the plant. It should have its own separate outside entrance.
- g) *The custodial unit* consists of the heating plant, a receiving and storage room for building supplies, storage for outdoor tools, and a workshop for small repairs. It should, moreover, be conveniently accessible from the caretaker's suite, if one exists.

All of the foregoing units should be arranged on one floor level with the exception of the heating plant and the storage space for fuel. Stairways and steps are an impediment to the operation of a building. They are a source of danger to young children in their movement through a building. They are an inconvenience in the moving of equipment, supplies, and food through a building. Under no circumstances whatsoever should rooms for the use of pupils be placed below ground level or so high above it that opportunity for free and rapid egress of small children from the building with a minimum of assistance is

not possible. Where changes in floor levels are unavoidable, consideration should be given to the use of ramps in place of stairs. Where they are gently sloped and provided with nonslip surfaces, they are safer and make possible the movement of such things as food dollies and heavy equipment.

The Group Rooms. It has been pointed out that the group rooms, in large measure, establish the design of the building. This is because of their size, the demands of orientation, their relationship with outdoor facilities and with other elements of the building.

The size of the individual group rooms is dependent in large measure upon the numbers to be accommodated by each. Experience has shown that, as the age of each group increases, the numbers comprising the group can also be increased. Two-year-old children, for example, are more likely to be overstimulated or upset by the presence of too many children. Moreover, being less able to care for themselves, they require more individual attention from their teacher in their play, their dressing, and their toileting. As the age increases, self-reliance as well as the ability to mix with larger groups also increases.

There is no unanimity of opinion regarding the numbers which should comprise a group of each age. The answer will depend, in large measure, upon the social background of the children, the number, skill, and experience of the teachers, and other similar factors. In general, however, the number of children present in any group should not exceed the following: (These figures are for numbers of children in a group—not the number of children per teacher. Two teachers or more per group, especially for the younger children, is common practice.)

Age 2	14 to 17 attending
Age 3	18 to 22 attending
Age 4	22 to 24 attending
Age 5	up to 25 attending

The *space allowance* per child will depend somewhat upon his age or, in other words, upon his work and play needs. In any case, where the group rooms are used for resting, the space per child cannot fall below that required for the setting up of cots. This is generally accepted as thirty-five square feet—roughly an area five by seven feet—to allow space around each cot for separation and access. Some additional space per child is desirable, however, particularly for the youngest groups where the number of pupils is small but where the facilities they require are not diminished thereby. As for the older

pupils, their larger size, their larger furniture, and the nature of their activities require more "elbow room." Thus, forty or more square feet per child would not be excessive—and it should be borne in mind that it may not always be possible to maintain groups of minimum size. Thus, it will be seen that the group rooms, exclusive of toilet rooms, dressing rooms, sleeping or dining alcoves, observation booths, storage closets, and the like, should run from about seven hundred square feet for the youngest groups to about one thousand or more square feet for the five-year-olds.

The next major factor to be considered in laying out group rooms is the matter of *orientation*. In this country climatic conditions vary so widely that no single solution would be everywhere acceptable. In general, morning sunshine before the day becomes hot is pleasant and desirable. In the north, a southern exposure will make the room more cheerful. In some warm sections, however, a northern exposure or one east of north will be preferable. In general, western exposures should be avoided since, in most sections of the country, they are too hot during the late afternoon and make the control of light during the midday nap more difficult.

Much can be done through the design of the building to make possible the enjoyment of a given exposure without suffering its disadvantages. Even with a southern exposure, eaves or awning louvers can be constructed in such a way as to admit the sloping rays of morning and winter noonday sunlight while excluding them in summer when the sun is high. Much has been written about this type of design in connection with "solar heating." It is advanced here not as a possibility for heating but simply as a means for the control of light and the reduction of overheating through solar radiation.

The whole problem of *school lighting* is a knotty one. The need of the children as well as the aim of the designer is the admission of abundant light to all parts of each room without glare, with possibilities for the control of direct sunshine and for the complete dimming of the room for nap periods. Obviously, low windows arranged under a porch roof along one side of a room twenty-five or thirty feet deep will not produce satisfactory conditions of light distribution. Glare, caused by the difference between the general brightness level of the room and that of the windows, can be diminished by (a) reducing the light transmission of the windows themselves and (b) increasing the window areas so that the total amount of light admitted and, thus, the general level of illumination in the room is increased. There is an increasing tendency on the part of school designers to plan

buildings so that rooms have windows in two or more walls. The increase in outside wall surface tends to increase building costs, but the results are well worth the extra expenditure, if it can be afforded. An increasing use is being made of directional glass blocks that reduce glare by deflecting incoming sun rays upward away from the line of vision toward the ceilings, whence it is reflected to provide better distribution of light through the room. Since glass blocks are translucent rather than transparent, they cannot displace sheet glass entirely. Window panels should be left at eye level so that the occupants will be able to see the out-of-doors.

If small children are to see out while seated, window sills will need to be low—very low by comparison with adult standards. Particularly in milder climates, windows can be extended to the floors—but protection should be provided the lower lights through the use of guards or wired or tempered glass. This arrangement permits the windows, either counterbalanced or rolling, to be used as doors which open wide so that the out-of-doors and the indoors become one.

Light control can be accomplished by means of light-colored, washable, translucent draperies on traverse rods or by means of venetian blinds or roll shades where it is necessary to diffuse the direct rays of the sun while at the same time admitting light. The control cords for venetian blinds and draperies, however, must terminate above the reach of the children in order to reduce breakage.

It is of fundamental importance that group rooms, including their alcoves, balconies, and adjoining toilet and dressing rooms, should be arranged so that all parts are visible from any point. The large, main area of the group room can be subdivided to provide play corners by the use of low movable cases, cupboards, and screens on castors, the tops of which are well below the eye level of the teacher. All children, and especially the two-year-olds who have yet to learn co-operative group play, at times prefer secluded nooks where they can get away from the incessant presence of others. Such nooks or temporary alcoves are useful, too, for the differentiation of activities—block building in one, housekeeping in another, and perhaps picture-book reading in a third.

Those walls of the rooms which are not used otherwise should be employed for shelves and cupboards in which may be stored the materials and toys used by the children. Many of these should be open so that children may select articles at will—but shelves and cupboards with doors that latch, out of the reach of the children, are also necessary to accommodate books, not currently in use, and such

other articles and materials which the children should not be free to use except under the supervision of the teacher. There should also be deep, tray-like shelves for the accommodation of large sheets of paper, shallow drawers for the storage of paper and pictures, and closets where may be kept bulky toys which will not fit into shelves and cupboards.

In one corner of each room, shelves should be designed for the accommodation of picture books. These should be low, so that children may choose those books that appeal to them. A well-lighted reading table with chairs should be placed conveniently near-by. There may be cubicles or box lockers in the group rooms—one for each child. In these may be kept the toys and other personal belongings of the children. Each cubicle should be marked with the child's name and with a symbol he can recognize as his own. The same symbol—a duck or a cat or a train—should be used to identify all items of equipment which each child uses alone, such as his cot, clothes locker, and washroom hook.

Each group room used by two-, three-, and four-year-olds—and by five-year-olds as well, where possible—should have a balcony set in an alcove. These are useful for a variety of purposes, such as for large muscle development of the two-year-olds who love to climb the steps and descend again on a slide provided for that purpose, for quiet activities away from the larger group, for spontaneous dramatizations, for accommodating day-to-day projects that may be left there undisturbed. For the two- and three-year-old groups the floors of these alcoves should be raised four or five feet to make stair climbing and the use of the slide possible. The space under the balcony may be utilized for cot storage or for play corners. For four- and five-year-old children, the alcove floors may be raised only a foot or so, and the climbing steps and slides accordingly omitted.

The *ceilings* of all group rooms and their accessory spaces should be finished with acoustical materials to effectively reduce noise and resulting confusion. The materials used should be highly efficient and should be capable of repeated redecoration without any appreciable lessening of efficiency. Perforated tiles are probably the most satisfactory from this standpoint, though many persons will prefer the appearance of acoustical plaster or smoother types of tiles.

Walls may be of any of a variety of attractive and suitable materials. Where plaster is used, it should be smooth and should be painted to improve its appearance and ease of cleaning—or it may be covered, above the reach of the children, with washable wallpapers or

fabrics in interesting, colorful designs. The light-colored plywoods are very pleasing and clean-cut, though fir should be avoided because of its tendency to check. Some of the soft-finished, fiber wallboards have also been used successfully—but they are best confined to upper walls, away from the danger of damage and soiling.

Floors of linoleum are probably the most satisfactory—provided the linoleum used is thick-cork, battleship linoleum. This material, however, as well as rubber and cork tiles, should not be laid on concrete subfloors which are in contact with the earth. For this purpose, asphalt tile is probably the most satisfactory material, offering a resilient, easily cleaned, and water-resistant surface. Wood floors which are noisy and more difficult to maintain are generally less favorably regarded for nursery-school use. Where employed, however, generous provisions for expansion should be allowed. If swelling and cupping is to be avoided, it should never be laid above a space that is at all inclined to dampness. Wherever composition floors are used, variegated patterns are advisable to do away with the annoyance of unsightly dust tracks.

In general, *decoration* should be colorful but with strong hues confined to small areas. Ceilings should be near-white for better reflection, and the walls should be in light tones. Only flat paints—never glossy ones—should be used on walls and ceilings. The woodwork of doors, trim, and cabinetwork may be finished with semigloss enamel, however, as an aid to cleanliness. Enameled woodwork is, as a rule, far more colorful, pleasing, and domestic in character than varnished woodwork, whether light or dark. Attractiveness of rooms will be greatly enhanced where care is taken to carry out well-conceived color schemes that include walls, woodwork, furniture, and floors. Permanent decorations, such as murals and floor designs, are usually more interesting to the adult visitor than to the child who sees them constantly. Simplicity should be the watchword if palling is to be avoided. Wall decorations can better take the form of pictures that may be changed often to provide variety.

Consideration should also be given to supplementary facilities. Adjoining each group room for the two-, three-, and four-year-olds, and immediately accessible from it, should be a *toilet room* and a *dressing room*. These areas should be separated from the group room itself and from each other by partitions, the upper parts of which are glazed, starting at about the four-foot point, so that the teacher may have an unrestricted view of all areas at one time without visibility being permitted the children. In some cases an arrangement of lockers

to screen the toilet area from the dressing area will be found satisfactory. The toilet areas should be convenient to and, preferably, directly accessible from the playground or terrace.

Opinions vary with regard to the number of *toilet fixtures* that should be provided. It appears probable, however, that there should be at least one water closet for each five or six pupils in the two-to-four-year-old groups. These should be "baby-sized" units for all three ages, with open-front seats, except that one fixture in each room should be junior size for use standing up. The provision of urinals should be avoided until the segregation of sexes in the older groups. For the two- and three-year-olds, the individual water closets should be shielded from one another by shallow wing partitions, standing clear of the floor to facilitate cleaning, and without doors. Each compartment should be roomy enough so that the teachers may assist the children. The water closets for the four-year-old group and, of course, for the older groups should be not only partitioned but equipped with doors—all partitions and doors being low enough so that the teacher may see over them.

Lavatories, preferably in numbers equal to the waterclosets, should be arranged in the same area occupied by the waterclosets. They should be set very low, in proportion to the heights of the children who are to use them. They should be supplied with both warm and cold water, the temperature of the warm water being thermostatically controlled at its source to remove the danger of scalding. Spray heads on mixing faucets will facilitate washing under running water. Spring faucets should not be used, though the delayed action type of spring faucet is less objectionable than the ordinary kind. In any event, handles should be the lever type rather than the wheel type so that they may be more readily grasped and operated by young hands. Mirrors should be placed above the lavatories, care being taken to see that they are at a height suitable for the children who are to use them. To avoid congestion, however, additional mirrors should be placed elsewhere—either in the toilet or in the dressing area—to allow plenty of time for the "hair combers" without delaying the "washers." Around the walls of the toilet area and, if need be, on screens between the lavatories, there should be hooks, set low and marked with identifying symbols, on which may be hung the children's wash cloths, towels, and even their combs.

The *toilet area* should be finished in materials that promote cleanliness. Acoustical ceilings are desirable. Walls should be of glazed tile—at least as high as a child can reach, if funds will not permit entire

tiling. In this case, the space above should be painted plaster. Cement plaster walls below wainscoat level should be used only where measures of extreme economy are called for, and in these cases the plaster should be enameled so that it may be easily washed. The most impervious and otherwise suitable floor material is essential. With appropriate materials, properly pitched to drains, the floor can be flushed down periodically with a hose to promote cleanliness that should prevail.

In the *dressing-room area* there needs to be a locker for each child enrolled, with several extra ones to allow for heavier than normal enrollments. These lockers should also be marked with the children's identifying symbols. For the two-to-four-year-olds the lockers are usually open fronted with a lower section three and one-half to four feet high with hooks for the hanging of garments. Above the main section, but still within reach of the children, there should be a compartment for their personal toilet articles and, above that, larger cubicles divided by shelves to accommodate extra bed clothing, underclothing, and towels. Overshoes may be kept on the floor of the lower sections, which should be raised six to eight inches. This base should be extended for the two- and three-year-olds so that they may sit on it while they put on overshoes. Older children can sit on benches provided for that purpose. The dressing area, in addition to being next to the toilet area and adjoining the main room, should be conveniently near the door leading from the corridor to the group room. Such an arrangement is a convenience when children arrive at school and dispose of their wraps.

Wherever a school for young children is to be used for the training of teachers, or where it is expected that the program will include cooperative work with parents (and that should certainly be the rule), provision should be made for *observation booths* which overlook each group room for two-to-four-year-olds as well as the main dining room, where one is incorporated in the building. The observation booth should be so located that it commands an uninterrupted view of the entire group room and dressing area. If possible, the toilet area should also be visible. The floors of the booths need to be elevated above the group-room floors some three and one-half to four feet to provide the necessary lines of sight, the space beneath them being utilized for the ever-needed storage cupboards. The booths should be entered from the corridor only, with the door latches set high enough so that they are well out of the reach of the children who should not have access to them except under the supervision of a teacher. The interiors should

be large enough to accommodate five or six adults, if possible, seated comfortably. The partitions separating the booths from the group rooms should contain glazed or screened sash extending from about three feet to six feet above the floor of the booths. Running beneath this window on the inside should be a shelf or counter for notebooks and purses. The glass used for glazing the sash should be the so-called "one-way" glass which permits vision from whichever is the darker side toward the lighter one. For this reason the interior of the booth must be dimly lighted and painted black. Where the fine-mesh wire is used (eighteen or twenty strands per inch) it needs to be painted a light color on the group-room side to prevent vision to the interior. Being small, the booth must be well ventilated if it is not to become unbearably stuffy. From this standpoint, screening has an advantage over glass. But a glazed booth, with ventilating and with sound-transmitting louvers which can be operated from the inside, makes it easier for observers to come in and take their places without being heard from the group room. In any case the booth's floor should be thickly carpeted to deaden sound. Children know, of course, that adults see them from the booth, but this is of little consequence so long as their presence can be kept below the children's levels of consciousness.

Sleeping rooms, alcoves, or porches adjoining the individual group rooms are most desirable. Especially are they needed for the younger children who require more frequent and longer nap periods. Unless space is set aside specifically for sleeping, the task of repeatedly setting up cots in the main room and again folding and storing them is time-consuming and laborious. Moreover, where the main group room must be used for sleeping, there can be little allowance for the varying rest requirements of individual children. So important are separate sleeping areas for the younger children that they should be provided even at the expense of such other desirable building facilities as the dining room, the custodian's room, or the parents' library.

Sleeping rooms or alcoves should adjoin the toilet areas. They should be located for quiet, without windows that face out on noisy streets or adjoining properties or upon service yards where truck deliveries are made. The rooms should be designed in such a way that they may be cross-ventilated, even flooded with outdoor air, without diminishing the possibilities for keeping them shaded sufficiently to encourage sleep. Since it is here that bedding is used, there should be convenient and adequate storage within the area for blankets and sheets.

Dining Facilities. Whereas, a separate dining room is desirable for the older children of perhaps four years or more and can be used for a variety of other school activities, such as meetings of a large number of parents or community entertainments, it is of questionable value for the younger children. Many authorities believe that it is preferable for the younger children to have their meals in small groups within their regular group rooms, with food being brought to them there on dollies or serving tables.

As has already been noted, the dining room and kitchen adjoining one another, should be centrally situated with respect to the several group rooms. Where possible, the dining room should be designed so that two or more of its walls are to the outside to furnish the utmost in light and ventilation.

The dining room should be large enough to seat at least half of the school's enrolment in the older groups at one time. Since it is important to avoid crowding among young children, the number of square feet of floor space per seat should equal comfortable standards for adults—nine or ten square feet.

Floors should be of resilient and easily cleaned materials. If asphalt tile is used, it should be the grease-resistant type. In general, other finishes suitable for group rooms are suitable also for the dining room. The room should be attractively decorated and treated with acoustical materials.

Although children should eat in comparatively small groups, the tables should be large enough so that they are not huddled together in tight little bunches with their heads together and prodding each other with their feet. A good arrangement is the use of tables at least four feet square, seating not more than eight, including a teacher. These larger tables can be made up by placing together two smaller tables which are more readily folded and stored when it is desired to clear the room for other activities. A storage closet or wall cupboards should be designed specifically for that purpose. A low platform at one end of the room will further adapt the dining room to alternative uses.

Serving arrangements in the dining room should provide for the picking up of trays at a serving window opening from the kitchen, as opposed to a serving line where a selection of displayed food may be had. The serving window, with a generous apron or counter on each side, should be long and wide enough so that several trays can be placed in it at one time and low enough so that children may serve themselves. A separate, soiled-dish window opening to a dish-washing

unit is most advantageous. Where children eat in their group rooms it will be found desirable to move the food and dishes on wheeled serving tables. Under this arrangement provision should be made for the accommodation of the serving tables in the kitchen while they are being loaded and for their storage when not in use. And, as already noted, the floor between the group rooms and the kitchen should be level, uninterrupted by steps or ramps.

The observation booth that overlooks the dining room should be larger than those used for the group rooms. If possible, it should be capable of seating a dozen or so people and should, of course, be entered from the corridor.

Where the dining room is omitted from the building, those group rooms which do not have separate sleeping areas should be somewhat enlarged. This is desirable because usually the nap immediately follows the lunch, and cots need to be set up while lunch is in progress. There should, therefore, be sufficient space in the group room to accommodate the luncheon tables and the cots at the same time. Where group rooms are used for lunching, space should be provided for the storage of those extra tables which are needed only for that purpose. If these tables have folding legs they may be stored on edge in grooved guides provided to receive them in cupboards built under the observation booth or the balcony.

Health Unit. The health unit, situated near the entrance, consists of a nurse's room, an isolation room, and, desirably, a waiting room. Of these, the principal room is that used by the nurse and, on occasion, by the doctor. It should be equipped with a desk, several chairs, files for records, a bookcase, instrument and medicine cabinets and tables, an examination table, a work counter with a sink, electric outlets, and, if possible, a dental chair. Where funds are available it is advisable to separate the room into two, using one for consultation and office work and the other for examinations and first aid. There should be a toilet and lavatory in connection with this room. The waiting room should be separated from the office to insure privacy for conferences and examinations, and it should be well ventilated and equipped with several chairs. In addition to this unit's ordinary school use, it should be assigned to serve as a community maternity and child-health center.

Where a nurse is in constant attendance, the isolation room should adjoin the nurse's office and be separated from it by a glass partition equipped with a blind on the office side. Where the nurse is not always present, the isolation room can best adjoin the director's office so that

the secretary will be able to keep an eye on the sick child. In either case, the isolation room should be arranged so that it can be entered directly from the corridor as well as from the adjoining room. It should be an attractive place with a pleasant view from its windows. While containing a cot, it should also be equipped with toys and books for the child that is not too sick to amuse himself while waiting to be taken home. Appointments and finishes should be such that they can be easily cleaned and even sterilized, but every precaution should be taken to avoid giving the room a hospital-like appearance.

The Administration Unit. As has been previously noted, the office of the director should be situated immediately inside the principal entrance to the building. Where possible, it is advisable to subdivide the office so that there is a private room for the director, where interviews may take place, and a general outer office for the clerical work and filing equipment. The common mistake of making the general office an inside room without windows for light and ventilation should be avoided. The director's private office should have an adjoining toilet.

Every school building should have a teachers' room with an adjoining toilet and, if possible, an alcove furnished with one or two cots. This room should be attractively decorated and provided with comfortable, relaxing furniture. It is advisable to include lockers—one for each teacher—to supplement teachers' closets in the group rooms. The toilet room, adjoining, should be equipped with dressing tables and mirrors. In addition, there should be a shower and dressing compartment. In addition to the regular shower head at shoulder height, it is wise to add a second similar head at about a four-foot height for those occasions when it may be necessary or desirable to bathe a child.

The parents' library, which may be combined with the conference room, should supplement the health unit as a community center for prenatal care and instruction in problems of parenthood. It needs to be large enough to accommodate the entire teaching staff or a group of a dozen or so parents. There should be a conference and work table, storage for folding chairs, shelves for books relating to childhood development and education, and racks for magazines. This room also should be situated at a point convenient to the principal entrance.

THE EQUIPMENT

Outdoor Equipment

The outdoor play equipment needed by young children is marked by its simplicity. For the most part it consists of boxes, boards, and

trestles which can be carried about, piled on one another, and climbed upon. Much of it is equipment that can very readily be constructed in the custodian's workshop or in a local mill from simple drawings. It is not necessary that a plank laid between two boxes or trestles look to an adult like the George Washington Bridge, for the children's imaginations will take care of the discrepancies. Big, light-weight boxes piled on one another can become a towering skyscraper or a cabin in the woods—depending on the child's play needs of the moment. Laid end to end, they become a fascinating streamlined train.

Storage Sheds. It is essential that facilities be provided for the storage of outdoor play equipment at night and during the winter months when it is not in use. Convenience will be greatly increased if these facilities are distributed in such a way that they will be near the several points where needed. Perhaps the most satisfactory solution has been the construction of several small sheds that serve not only as storage houses but also as playhouses when they are empty of equipment. They may be quite small, when there are several to take the place of one large one, and may be thus hidden in among shrubbery and made to blend much better with the landscaping. Generally, these sheds may be built about twelve to fourteen feet long by about four feet wide and four feet or so high, with a slightly sloping roof upon which children can climb. Ladders or steps should be provided so that this is possible. The ends and most of one side should be equipped with doors or removable panels so that they may be opened wide to facilitate the introduction and removal of equipment and so that they may be better adapted to play. The boxes, trestles, and wheeled toys can be placed in them in the afternoon when the children are through with their play, so that deterioration due to exposure to the elements may be reduced.

Climbing Unit. Climbing frames can be bought from equipment-supply houses. Unfortunately, these are usually made of metal. Many authorities, however, prefer wooden climbing units. The wood does not become uncomfortably hot to the touch in the sun, as does metal, and the rungs, being larger than those of metal—one and one-half inches or so in diameter—and less slippery, are more easily gripped by the children. These rungs are let into wooden posts set securely into the ground. For the four- and five-year-olds a frame about seven by ten feet and about seven feet high is sufficient. Rungs should be set about eighteen or nineteen inches apart. For the two- and three-year-olds a smaller portable frame is better than a fixed one. This can be about a six-foot cube with rungs about one inch in diameter,

built upon sills that act as skids when the unit is moved. Care should be taken to keep the wooden units painted or rubbed with linseed oil occasionally so that they will not weather and raise splinters.

Sand Boxes. Children of all ages up to six enjoy playing in sand. There should be at least one box for each group. The sand boxes should be of generous size—approximately eight by ten feet—and may be constructed of either wood or concrete. Wooden sand-boxes should be made of rot-resistant woods, such as cedar or cypress, and, during the winter in northern sections of the country, should be emptied and put under cover. Concrete boxes may be emptied and covered when not in use for long periods. Although covers for such large boxes are a nuisance to remove and put into place again each day, they are generally necessary in order to protect the sand from stray animals. Convenience will be increased by hinging the covers or by building them on tracks so that they may be slid back and forth. In their open position the covers should be designed to serve as seats and play surfaces. It will generally be found that concrete boxes are the cheaper. For proper placement of the boxes the ground should be excavated several feet and back-filled with gravel to assure good drainage, before the sand is put in.

Wading Pools. As already noted, these should be quite shallow—six to eight inches with a curb around the edges to reduce the chances of an accidental ducking. They should be equipped with an overflow pipe and a supply line so that a continuous small trickle of water through them can be maintained to prevent stagnation and to preserve cleanliness. In addition, they must be equipped with drains so that they may be completely emptied at intervals for cleaning. Pools should be of fairly generous size—one hundred to two hundred square feet—so that children may have sufficient room to sail their boats or to wade. Concrete construction is, of course, necessary.

Miscellaneous. The miscellaneous equipment for outdoor play includes the following:

- a) *Boxes* in a variety of sizes from six inches square up. They should be sturdily constructed with slightly rounded edges, smooth, and painted for protection against weathering and splintering. Some of the larger-sized boxes should be open on one side.
- b) *Trestles*, or sawhorses, in pairs and in a variety of sizes from one to four feet or so high and three or four feet long. Cleats or rungs should be secured to the sloping legs like ladder steps to support the ends of planks and boards at various heights.

- c) *Planks* of one and one-eighth inch stock, three or four feet long and a foot or so wide. Cleats should be attached near the ends to prevent them from sliding off supporting boxes and trestle rungs.
- d) *Building boards* of seven-eighths inch stock, three or four feet long and four to six inches wide, without the cleats which are attached to the planks.
- e) *Packing cases* in a variety of sizes and shapes, finished free of sharp corners, splinters, and protruding nail heads. Slats should replace one of the solid sides in some of the packing cases.
- f) *Wooden barrels*, with one or both ends open.
- g) *Storm pipe*, twenty-four inches or so in diameter, for crawling games.
- h) *Climbing ladders*, two feet or so wide and in a variety of lengths up to eight feet.
- i) *Walking planks*, much like the other planks except that on one side blocks about seven inches long, and slanting away from the center, are attached in a "foot track" pattern.
- j) *Lock box*, placed near the sand box for the storage of sand toys, such as spoons, shovels, dishes, and pails.
- k) *Work bench* for outdoor activities.
- l) *Swings* of two kinds—the ordinary type, suspended by two ropes for the older children, and the three-or-four-rope, self-propelling, enclosed-seat type for the younger children. The two-rope type should have a rubber-tubing or rubber-protected seat, and its rope should be made in two sections clipped together about six feet up, so that the seats may be detached to prevent their unsupervised use.
- m) *See-saws*, particularly the safer "rocking-horse" type. Children can make their own see-saws, however, with the planks and trestles listed above.
- n) *Slides* can be of the manufactured metal variety. Excellent results are obtained, however, with planks that have been painted, varnished, and waxed to a smooth surface, one end propped against a box or trestle. These slides have the advantage of being inexpensive, easily portable, nonrusting, and cool in the sun.
- o) *Wheel toys*, such as wheelbarrows, tricycles, wagons, push trucks, and boards equipped with large castors—all in a variety of sizes.

Pet Pens. Pens and runways for a variety of pets—cats, dogs, fowl, sheep, and others—may be provided as items of outdoor equipment in milder climates or, in colder ones, may be designed as a semi-attached annex to the building. All pens should be sturdily constructed to protect the pets from marauding animals and should be weather-tight and readily accessible for cleaning. Provision should

be made in connection with them for the storage of food, and water should be conveniently available.

Baby-Carriage Shelters. These shelters are needed to accommodate the carriages when mothers bring their babies to the building. Although these can be built separately as items of equipment in the form of detached shelters, they may better be designed into the building itself. They should be located at the main entrance to the building, at grade level or approached by an easy ramp. Open porches generally are unsatisfactory since screens should be provided to prevent snow and rain from blowing in on the carriages.

Built-in Equipment

There are few items of equipment which should be built into a school, aside from those which are for purposes of storage. Equipment which is to be *used* is generally more satisfactory if it can be moved about where and when needed.

Sinks have been mentioned in connection with the group rooms. Each such room should have a sink equipped with both warm and cold water. It should be emphasized that these should be *kitchen-type* sinks rather than lavatories, janitor's sinks, or laundry trays. They are best set into counter tops, as are those in a modern kitchen, and set low for the convenience of the children rather than the teachers, except in the room of the two-year-old group where they should be at a height suitable for the teacher.

Display counters are needed for the accommodation of pictures, exhibits, plants, aquariums, growing boxes, etc. They should be built low, in proportion to the heights of the children, and covered with linoleum, slate, or some other material which is not harmed by sun and water. A generally satisfactory location is along an outside wall, beneath the window sills.

Work benches should be constructed with hardwood tops, such as maple or ash, and left unvarnished but perhaps treated with a penetrating seal. They may be built as counters, against a wall, or as tables which may be used from all sides. The tops should be heavy, the construction substantial, and provision should be made for attaching vices and for clamping objects to the overhanging edges of the top surfaces. Shelves should be supplied beneath them for materials and unfinished projects, and near-by cupboards should be designed for the accommodation of tools and supplies.

Paper trays are needed in sufficient numbers for the storage of a variety of large sheets of paper. These trays may consist of a series

of six or eight sliding or adjustable plywood shelves spaced three inches or so apart in a cabinet with doors. Much of the paper commonly used is twenty-four by thirty-six inches, and the tray or shelf surfaces should be large enough to accommodate sheets of this size in a flat position without curling. Additional shelves are desirable for storing the pictures the children have completed.

Filing cases should be provided in each group room for the storing of charts, bulletins, papers, and pictures. The vertical file which is usually provided in a teacher's desk is not sufficient. Moreover, vertical files are less satisfactory than are shallow drawers in which material may be laid flat. Recesses should be built in to accommodate these cases.

Bookcases are needed not only for the large picture books, at heights that children can reach, but also for those books not immediately in use. Whereas, the active library shelves should be open so that their contents may be visible and accessible to the children, the shelves for book storage should be closed and accessible only to the teacher. It is desirable to build the shelves for large books like magazine racks so that the book fronts are visible to the children.

Cupboards equipped with shelves in as great an abundance as possible should be provided for the storage of the great variety and large amounts of teaching and play materials and supplies that are needed in schools for young children. Dependence should not be placed upon cases to be purchased and placed in the rooms after they are finished. Such a course is generally more expensive, and the results are less attractive and are generally poorly adapted to specific storage needs.

Teachers' Lockers. Each group room should be provided with a closet or a locker for each teacher where her playground wraps, hand-bag, and other personal property will be conveniently accessible. The door latches should be above the reach of the children.

Problems of Design and Construction

In the opening sentences of this chapter it was pointed out that the whole problem of planning and equipping schools for young children is still very largely in an experimental stage. Improvements will follow naturally from the experience gained through trial and error. While it is doubtful that architects and engineers can ever hope to discover the one right answer to each of those problems that involve human judgment and preferences, there remains a real need for objective research which will give direction to their efforts.

Human beings cannot be subjected to the controls which may be placed upon laboratory animals. For that reason the results of certain experiments, such as those which have sought an "optimum" level of illumination, are often negative or of doubtful validity. Again, many of the most vexing problems the designer faces cannot be answered in terms of absolutes. One answer, quite satisfactory under one set of conditions, may be less satisfactory under another set.

In his endeavor to anticipate the needs of young children, it would be helpful to the designer if systematic study could be made of certain problems with a view to revealing what factors are important and how they are important. What number of children, for example, comprises a group of the most satisfactory size when consideration is given to their ages, the number of teachers, and the program? Similarly, how much floor area should be allowed for groups of various sizes and ages? How many toilet fixtures should be provided? What are the relative values of dining rooms, sleeping alcoves, libraries, and observation booths under different sets of conditions? These and similar problems, which are primarily educational, need to be attacked by those within the educational profession in order that the designer of facilities may have guidance.

Most of the problems which are clearly within the province of the architect or engineer are more substantial. One of the most pressing of them all has to do with the means of reducing construction costs to a point which will make schools for young children economically feasible in more communities and which will encourage their establishment. As the educational program has expanded, all school buildings have grown progressively more elaborate and costly. Those for young children are especially so in proportion to the numbers they accommodate. Of necessity, areas per child are large and facilities varied due to the nature of the activities involved—active play, toileting, sleeping, eating, washing, manipulation, observation. Reductions in costs of construction should not be accomplished at the expense of these activities, nor should such economies result in lessened safety, healthfulness, and comfort or in increased maintenance and operation costs. There is a growing need for serious research into ways and means of eliminating costly nonessentials, of simplifying construction, of employing less expensive materials, of providing for change and replacement as obsolescence threatens.

The heating of schools for young children leaves a great deal of room for improvement. Cold floors, drafts, stratification, fluctuating temperatures, and the unevenness of heating throughout buildings as

the sun and winds shift—all are problems that still are present to varying degrees. Radiant heating holds promise in connection with the first three—but this system is, unfortunately, still so unperfected that the results to be obtained through it cannot yet be predicted with certainty. It is a system that can be safely employed, however, as an adjunct to more conventional forms of heating, in order to warm the floor surfaces upon which young children play and work.

Allied with heating is the problem of ventilation. The amount of fresh air to be introduced into rooms occupied by pupils, the best method of introducing it, and correct velocities and temperatures are still matters of debate among engineers. We are in need of further objective data on these problems. We are in need, too, of ventilating systems which do not depend for their satisfactory performance upon either a multiplicity of complicated mechanical devices or upon manipulation by teachers whose minds are occupied with other duties.

Finally, the whole problem of illumination, both natural and artificial, is in need of further research. In this regard, architects and engineers are faced with inescapable compromises which leave much to be desired despite the methods finally adopted. There are still no wholly satisfactory means for enjoying the warmth and cheerfulness of direct sunshine in winter, while escaping its unwanted heat and brilliance in summer without, at the same time, curtailing illumination. Whereas, many large windows are desirable to provide high levels of evenly distributed light, they tend to chill the air near them in winter and to multiply the difficulties arising from specular reflection and glare. Surfaces, to be easily cleaned, must be dense and, therefore, highly reflective. As a result, specular reflection constitutes a problem in connection with artificial as well as natural illumination—glare from floors, furniture, walls, blackboards—which is now practically impossible to overcome. The devices that have been used to overcome these difficulties—visors over windows, double glazing, etc.—have proven expensive and only partially effective.

PLANNING FUTURE PROGRESS

The foregoing treatment of the question of physical facilities for the education of young children of necessity has been brief almost to the point of superficiality. An attempt has been made to touch upon those aspects of planning that are peculiar to nursery schools, largely disregarding those common to all school buildings. Many controversial subjects have been dealt with in a manner that will undoubtedly arouse differences of opinion. In a field so new to the

United States, this is to be expected and, in the main, desired. For the most part, those facilities which have been in use and are still in use are makeshift conversions. There is far more knowledge of what *not* to do than of what should be done—of what is *wrong* rather than of *how* to make it right.

As we develop experience in planning buildings intended from the beginning for nursery-school purposes, many of these differences may be resolved through the exchange of ideas and information. For an architect, in conjunction with a superintendent of schools or a lay building committee, to undertake this function alone is to ignore a most valuable source of constructive assistance. In most instances it is the teachers who have the most direct and intimate knowledge of building needs. Their work brings them face to face with those needs every day. They are in a position to give sound advice not only on the basic aspects of a plan but also on those innumerable details which, in the aggregate, are so important. When suggestions are invited, they should be followed through to the point where their authors may assist in their interpretation, and, if they must be modified for reasons of economy, as so often happens, the problem of modification should be referred to the source of the original recommendation. A teacher may make recommendations initially which, while most desirable, are too expensive. That teacher can often be of the greatest service in helping to work out the best solution within necessary limitations. Where the building will contain, or can be built to contain, facilities which may be adapted to the service of community interests, representatives of those interests should be called into the planning. These people often can make practical suggestions which will result in a building that is useful for youth and adult organizations, well-baby clinics, and other activities for the general good. By recognizing such worth-while activities in the design and availability of its building, the school multiplies its opportunities for service to the community and, in turn, profits through the added support it receives from the community.

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CHAPTER X

RECORDS AND REPORTS; OBSERVATIONS, TESTS, AND MEASUREMENTS

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Observations, tests, and measurements and the forms in which they are recorded and reported are not *ends* in themselves; they are *means* to ends, instruments for the attainment of important purposes. The educational philosophy of the school or other institution caring for young children determines the role which these instruments play in its total program. In a "laboratory school" affiliated with a university, which exists for experimental and research purposes as well as for the education of the pupils enrolled in it, the program of tests and measurements and the records kept would be expected to differ from the testing, measuring, and recording carried on in an ordinary public school. In short, the purposes and objectives of any institution determine the nature and use of its records and reports.

Purposes of Observations, Tests, Measurements, Records, and Reports. Why do we observe, test, and measure children and record the results? These are very detailed and laborious procedures which would not have grown to their present importance in education had they not been considered very useful, perhaps essential, in attaining significant objectives. These purposes are of two types—general and specific. There are two major, general purposes—*service* objectives and *research* objectives. Under service objectives might be included all efforts to facilitate the understanding and wise handling of children through knowledge of the children and their environments and experiences. Under research objectives are included all efforts to make carefully planned and controlled studies of young children in order to gather facts and data which may be used in various ways to increase scientific knowledge.

Sometimes research and service objectives are combined so that in practical work with children experiments are carried on to find improved methods of dealing with children. Various methods of teaching or handling children are tried out, and efforts are made to evaluate

these methods. Such projects carried on in the practice of education, combined with efforts to evaluate them through research techniques, have played an important part in the development of a *science* of education.

Specific Purposes. Data gathered for research purposes may, of course, have no practical objectives. However, studies of individual children or groups of children, whether made for service or research objectives, involve ascertaining and recording similarities and differences in the children studied. Such data are usually secured for the following specific, practical purposes:

1. To secure knowledge about a group.
 - a) To serve as a guide in planning appropriate programs for these children.
 - b) To help evaluate and improve the curriculum and the extra-curriculum activities for these children.
 - c) To serve as a basis in using groups as an aid to adjustments of individual children.
2. To secure information about an individual child.
 - a) To help teachers, parents, and other adults in their understanding and wise guidance of the child, now and in the future.
 - b) To be used in adjusting the child to the school and the school to the child through school programs, placements, curriculum adjustments, and so forth.
 - c) To secure evidence of the pupil's growth and development as he progresses from one "level of development" to another, considering his growth and development in terms of four relationships:
 - (1) In relation to his own capacity and previous growth.
 - (2) In relation to the school group of which he is a member.
 - (3) In relation to children in general in his own age group.
 - (4) In relation to his own "probable" or "expected" future growth and development.

FUNCTIONS, FORM, AND CONTENT OF RECORDS

Since the purposes of records determine their form and content, the criteria for a satisfactory record may not be the same for all situations. The primary purpose of maintaining cumulative record forms for individual pupils is to help adults—especially teachers—in their guidance of each child. Wise guidance is based upon recognition of individual differences. Those who are responsible for the education and training of a child must gather facts about his physical, mental, social, and emotional development, must strive to discover his capacities and limitations, abilities, needs, desires, interests, attitudes, and other significant personality traits.

In discussing the general principles which justify the keeping of cumulative records, Wendell C. Allen (1) says:

Complexity in education as well as in the lives of individuals points to the need of gathering together and maintaining in a form conducive to constructive use those facts about each person in a school which will, when reviewed, give a reasonably well-rounded and correct impression of his personal development. For this purpose, a cumulative record is necessary. Its form and the nature and volume of its content may be different at each educational level. The specific purposes for which it is used will vary from year to year and from school to school, but the basic purpose of the record, its use as a tool in promoting an individual's fullest development as a responsible member of society, remains constant. Thus viewed, the cumulative record is an expression of the educational philosophy of a school. Its content and use indicate the things which a school staff consider to be important.

The facts gathered in regard to each child are *recorded* in order that such knowledge may be available to those adults who are responsible for the education and guidance of the child. Records should be *cumulative* to reveal the child's growth and developmental trends. Cumulative records are essential and basic to any sound guidance program.

A secondary function of cumulative records is to make available data of various kinds for socially useful purposes. Illustrative of such usage are studies of health and growth, studies of behavior trends at various age levels, studies of characteristics of children of certain backgrounds, comparative studies of boys and girls, and studies of problems of school administration.

When records are designed for research purposes, the specific problems to be studied, of course, determine the nature and content of the records to be used.¹

General Characteristics of a Good Record System. Although the criteria for satisfactory records may vary in different kinds of situations and for different objectives, there are general characteristics which apply to most good record systems. These are:

1. That an individual cumulative record (preferably a record folder) be started for every child upon his entrance to a school or child-care group.
2. That such records be simple, accurate, and not too difficult to maintain.
3. That most of them be readily available to teachers but that certain types of information be kept in special, confidential files available only to special personnel.²

¹ Various methods of observing and recording for research purposes are discussed by Margaret Mead (14:678-700).

² One of the most important issues to be considered in the development of more adequate school records is the *confidential* nature of the information which

4. That the record be cumulative, extending from preschool through high school or college, transferred (at least in a summary form) from school to school when the child transfers.
5. That records should present as complete a picture as possible of the child and his environment.
6. That records should show a broad picture of the child in relation to his own capacity and growth, in relation to the group of which he is a member, and in relation to children of his age in general.
7. That *facts* and *opinions* should be distinguished from each other in the record.
8. That the records should be, on the whole, uniform through a school system, so that a comparable picture of the child is shown from year to year.
9. That data gathered in individual records should *constantly function* in the guidance of the individual child.
10. That records should be used to help parents as well as teachers and others who have the responsibility for the care and guidance of a child to understand the child. (That does *not* imply that records should actually be shown to parents.)

Records for Public School Units. As Allen pointed out in the statement quoted earlier, a school's educational philosophy is expressed in its record system, the content and use of its cumulative record being indicative of what the school staff considers important. However, a number of factors enter into the determination of a school's record

records are likely to include. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon this question in training teachers in the preparation and use of records. Records should be readily available to teachers, but the records should always be kept in locked files not available to others except for special purposes. In the preparation and presentation of case studies, actual identity of children and their families should be carefully disguised, except for the few staff members actually dealing with the child or family under discussion. If these precautions are not taken, parents will be increasingly reluctant to reveal to the school matters of an intimate nature which may be important to the school to know in dealing with a child's problems.

Some material in records may be of so highly confidential a nature that it should not be included in the regular school records used by teachers but should be in locked files available only to selected administrative and guidance personnel. This applies especially to confidential materials about families of pupils and to reports of predelinquent or delinquent, prepsychotic or psychotic behavior of pupils. It is important that such facts *be recorded*, since it is the *cumulative* picture of a child's behavior rather than any single incident which is likely to give warning that a really serious personality problem is developing and that preventive or corrective measures should be undertaken to forestall some episode which may prove tragic to the child himself and to the community. It is also important, however, that such information about a child should not leak out through school records, injuring his reputation in the community and making it more difficult to correct incipient tendencies in a neurotic or antisocial direction.

system, including finances and personnel, since the maintenance of good records requires time and effort.

There is a tremendous range between the minimal and optimal records actually found in use in public schools. The first comprehensive survey of cumulative records used in schools is reported in the *Handbook of Cumulative Records* issued by the U. S. Office of Education (17). The National Committee on Cumulative Records was appointed by the Office of Education, with Dr. David Segel as chairman. Readers are advised to consult the committee report (17) for a full discussion of records. Inquiries were sent to all school systems in the United States in cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants and to all county superintendents of schools. As is usually the case in such surveys, most of the school systems *not* having cumulative records did not return a report. Of 3,028 cities to which the inquiry form was sent, 1,230 responded; of 3,072 counties, 544 replied.

The results of this survey indicated that 41 per cent of the cities and 18 per cent of rural school systems had cumulative records. From the data gathered it was, therefore, estimated that at least 30 per cent of the public elementary and secondary schools of the country (nearly 69,000 schools) have cumulative records.

It may be assumed that many kindergartens are included in these data; whether or not public school nursery units are included cannot be ascertained from the material available in the bulletin. In any event, none of the privately supported nursery schools would be represented in these figures, and no comparable study of records used in nursery schools and preschool centers has been made.

The tremendous range of differences in regard to the comprehensiveness of these records is suggested by the following selected illustrations. The only items which were included in the records of more than 80 per cent of the schools reporting were: residence of pupils, school marks, name of parent or guardian, and school attendance. Only 39 per cent included a record of physical disabilities, only 29 per cent recorded the language spoken in the home, and only 1 per cent recorded contacts with social agencies.

Items Recommended for School Record Forms. After making a careful study of cumulative records for schools and giving careful consideration to the data gathered in this survey, showing the items actually used in school records, the National Committee on Cumulative Records made a list of items which should be considered for inclusion on school record forms. Some of these items are obviously not appropriate to records of *young* children, but, if the record is cumulative,

there should be some provision for ultimate inclusion of such items when the child reaches the school level at which these items become relevant. Also, it should be understood that the committee did not recommend that all of these items be used by all school systems. It recognized that the cumulative record is a tool which should be adapted to the needs and possibilities of the individual school system and that only those items which a school system believes it can maintain and use should be put into its cumulative records.

The items recommended for consideration in planning a school record were classified into the following broad categories. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are not appropriate for records of young children.

Personal

Name	Sex
Date of birth	Color or race
Evidence of birth date	Residence of pupil and/or parents
Place of birth	

Home and Community

Names of parents or guardians	With whom does pupil live
Occupation of parents or guardians	Birthplace of parents
Are parents living or deceased	Language spoken in home
Ratings of home environment and/or economic status.	Marital status
	Number of siblings, older and younger

Scholarship

School marks by years and subject	Record of reading
Special reports on failures	*Rank in graduating class (with number in class)

Test Scores and Ratings

General intelligence test scores	Other test scores
*Achievement test scores	Personality ratings

School Attendance

Days present or absent each year
Record of schools attended, with dates

Health

Complete health record, ³ to be filled in by physician or nurse
Record of physical disabilities
Vaccination record
Disease census

* For illustrations of health records, see (17: append.). These include height, weight, and long lists of specific items regarding physical condition which should be included in a thorough physical examination.

(If a physician or nurse is not available for examining school children, a rating of the health of pupils may be made by the teachers, the type of rating depending upon the extent of the education of teachers in health matters.)

Anecdotal Records

If anecdotal records are to be used, a special form should be developed. Anecdotal reports may be kept easily if filed in a folding type of cumulative record or in envelopes where records are kept in this manner.

Miscellaneous

- * Employment record during school years
- * Vocational plans
- Counselor's notes
- * Extra-curriculum activities
- * Follow-up record after leaving school
- Space for notations by teachers and others

Records for Schools for Young Children. For optimal use in nursery schools and other centers for the care of children of preschool age, some modifications of and additions to this "standard" list of items would probably be necessary. During the wartime emergency program for the care of young children, various organizations prepared materials to aid local groups in their operation of child-care centers. The maintenance of at least some record form was recognized as an essential administrative procedure and forms of varying complexity were suggested.

Examination of one such booklet prepared by a committee on child care of a state war council (6) furnishes a good illustration of the special type of records advocated for centers devoted to the care, development, and protection of young children.

Examination of any good set of record forms used by a well-established nursery school will indicate some of the modifications of and additions to the "standard" list recommended by the National Committee on Records which a nursery school would want to consider in setting up its record system. They will vary from those advocated for W.P.A. Nursery Schools (16) to those suggested for "Preschool Laboratories" (24).

A Cumulative Record. To make a child's record truly cumulative, some summary of what has been recorded for him at each level of development must pass on with the child. In many ways the preschool and kindergarten-primary years are the most important years

of an individual's life. His experiences during this period are determining factors in the development of his life patterns. Records of these early years are of paramount importance in understanding a child's later development, but they are available for only an infinitesimal proportion of children. Even in those instances in which a nursery school, infant welfare station, or other center for the care of young children does have some record of these early years, they are rarely passed on in any form to the kindergarten or first grade when the child enters elementary school. This is the first of a series of weak points in what should be a connected chain of school records.

In order to provide a genuinely cumulative record, provision must be made for articulation between all school levels. Points for special consideration are:

1. Integration of nursery-school or other preschool records with those of kindergarten-primary grades.
2. Integration of the total elementary-school record as the child progresses through school.
3. Summary of significant data from elementary-school record to pass on to high school.
4. Summary of high-school record to pass on to college.
5. Use of total school record for vocational and other guidance purposes at end of school life or at any time during school life when the use of such material may prove beneficial to the child.

Sources of Cumulative Record Data. Data may be obtained in various ways and from different sources. Much of it the teacher of young children can obtain from their parents; some must be secured from the physician or school nurse. Tests and measurements of various kinds will yield certain types of information, and the extent of data of this kind will depend upon the psychological and other personnel services available for the study of children. The teacher's chief source of knowledge of the individual child is observation of the child himself in different types of situations. Last—but not least—there is the information which the child himself may give to the teacher. Observations, tests, and measurements will be discussed later in this chapter.

USES OF RECORDS

As indicated earlier, there are various purposes for which records may be developed. These purposes determine the nature and use of records in any situation. There are many possible functions which records may serve. Nevertheless, it is a deplorable fact that in all too many situations they are scarcely used at all! Often records are laboriously gathered, filed away, and left to grow dusty and yellow

with age—a sad commentary on the fact that people mistake these instruments which are *means to ends* for *ends in themselves*. There are about a dozen major uses of records which can be briefly discussed here.

Helping Teacher Understand Child. Perhaps the primary purpose of records is to help each teacher to understand and to deal wisely with every child who comes under his or her guidance. The teacher will turn to the record for basic facts about the child's family background because no child can be understood without some knowledge of the family background from which he emerges and the home environment in which he lives. The young child's teacher should be familiar with the youngster's developmental history. She should know whether his development has been "normal" or whether it has been unusual in any way. Knowledge of a child's physical history will help a teacher to maintain and protect the youngster's health.⁴

The parent's report of the progress of the child in mental development and in habit training, information regarding the range of the child's previous social experience and his reactions to other children, and knowledge of a child's play activities, including those with radio and movie programs, will help the teacher to understand the child's reactions and to make the transition from home to school comfortably and easily. The understanding teacher and the alert parent will want to exchange information regarding the behavior problems which the child presents at home and in school.

It will help the teacher to know what previous school experiences a child may have had and to know what his earlier teachers have learned about him that will be helpful to a new teacher in gaining a quick understanding of him.

Test data, anecdotal records, evidences of work the child has done—all of these will help the teacher to understand the child. What the teacher herself puts into the record will be helpful; many a teacher is amazed to read in January her own recorded impressions of Johnny when he joined her group the preceding September!

Helping Parents Understand the Child. Another important use of records is to help parents or other adults responsible for the care of

⁴ In most schools the detailed health record is filed separately from the cumulative pupil record. It is usually kept in the office of the school doctor or nurse to make it convenient for them in periodic examinations of children or in routine check-ups on physical conditions after illnesses, etc. *Information of significance to teachers should be abstracted and copied onto the individual cumulative pupil record* so that a child's teacher will, at all times, be aware of any physical condition that should be given consideration in dealing with the child.

a child in their understanding and wise guidance of that child. While most of us are likely to think of the primary purpose of a school record as helping successive teachers to understand the child, perhaps the teacher's greatest contribution lies in using this knowledge ultimately to help parents understand the child and to help the child understand himself.

Records can be invaluable in home-school contacts if the school personnel know how to use its records wisely and constructively in dealing with parents. No school device is more effective when wisely used, but no material is more likely to antagonize parents if wrongly used. On the whole, no school record should just be handed to parents for them to look over. Selected parts of records should be shown to parents by a member of the school staff who is competent to interpret this material constructively. In its whole approach to the parent, the school must be guided by what is known of the parent and by the way he is likely to react to the information given him; especially must the school consider the effects these parental reactions may have upon the child.

Much of the objection to records on the part of the parents (and even on the part of some school people themselves) is based on the fear that an unfavorable impression, crystalized in a record form, may not only follow but even precede a child as he goes through school—and all because he “got off on the wrong foot” with some particular teacher. A fear of these negative effects of records has no place in a school which understands these dangers and deliberately avoids them. Avoidance of them will lie largely in the spirit and philosophy of the school personnel, but certain techniques will also prove efficacious.

For example, some positive, favorable comments should be made about a child in practically every instance before negative or unfavorable facts are recorded. Every child has “assets” as well as “liabilities.” Especially in dealing with parents, the favorable items should always be presented first, thus making the undesirable items about their offspring more acceptable to fathers and mothers.

It will also be helpful if parents can be assured that the child's new teacher will not be prejudiced against him by the negative comments of a preceding teacher. This point brings us to a question about which there are differences of opinion. Will a record which contains reports of personality and behavior problems help a child's new teacher to help that child or will it bias the teacher in his judgment of the pupil? The danger of this latter result is considered so serious that it is actually cited, occasionally, as an argument against using cumula-

tive records in schools. As teachers develop increasingly professional attitudes, the danger of such negative effects becomes less and less.

Records which will help parents to see their child with reasonable objectivity should be used to help parents follow the child's school progress and his personality development. They should be used thoughtfully, with care and discretion, beginning at the nursery-school or kindergarten level and continuing throughout the school years.

According to the modern view in child guidance, no child is likely to be achieving so nearly to capacity or adjusting so satisfactorily that greater achievement or better adjustment in some phases of his development may not be possible. Therefore, records should be kept for *every* child so that under wise guidance each one may develop to his highest potentialities. However minor the problem or the need for guidance, to a parent it will be important because it concerns the welfare and happiness of his own child.

While parents are almost entirely dependent upon the school for information as to their child's development in scholastic achievement, that is not the only area in which the school should function as a major source of guidance to parents.⁵ It is to the school that parents must look as their chief source of information concerning their child's reactions as a member of a group other than the family. From the school they should get considerable information about his physical health, his mental health, his special interests and abilities, his handicaps or special disabilities. To the school also, they must look for much of their information on the child's developing character traits and habits of work. Few parents have any real knowledge of child development or child training; few parents have any agency other than the school to which they can naturally turn for help in these fields. The school, with its trained personnel, should make every effort to meet parental needs for guidance in the guidance of their children. Whether the problem be nail-biting, thumb-sucking, inability to get along with other children, or a special reading disability, the school which accumulates careful, objective records should be able to be helpful to parents in solving problems which are common among growing boys and girls.

⁵ Parents as well as teachers may keep records which will be very helpful in the guidance of a child. Despite the fact that studies of parent reports indicate that often they are subject to considerable unreliability, they have genuine values. Systematic observations of their own children are extremely revealing to parents. They often gain insight into their own and their children's behavior in a measure difficult to achieve by any other method. In addition, their reports *can* furnish reliable information which is very valuable to the school in understanding the child and which cannot be obtained by the school in any other way. The writer has found this technique very useful in many cases,

It is in this opportunity to learn about his child in relation to a group of children of similar age that a parent can be helped to see his child with reasonable objectivity, so that he does not hold unreasonable expectations for his child. Group records in which *other* children are not identifiable may be, in some instances, an effective technique for this purpose.

For example, parents are often inclined to blame a first-grade teacher for their child's failure to make the progress in reading which is made by other children in her group. If a table or a chart showing the relative "readiness" of all members of the group for first-grade experiences is shown to such parents, they are likely to gain new understandings of the situation. If these parents see that their child was only in the tenth *percentile* on an objective readiness test given to his class shortly after the group entered the first grade, they will understand that he cannot be expected to progress as rapidly as most of the children in the group.

It is obvious that the use of cumulative pupil records in dealing with parents is a matter of great importance. Records become highly effective instruments to aid schools in the guidance of both parents and children when data are wisely and constructively used; but they are not tools to be lightly or casually handled. Records are basic and essential to the newer type of parent-school co-operation. But the record must remain only an instrument to serve parent and school in their co-operative efforts to help the child.

Discovering Needs, Abilities, and Interests. A third important use of records is to help discover the needs, abilities, and interests of each individual child and to aid in finding ways of meeting them. It is obvious that the individual characteristics and differences of children must be ascertained and recorded before they can be made to serve as a basis upon which meaningful and purposeful learning experiences of pupils may be planned. It is also obvious that these characteristics of children must be discovered by teachers and others who study children and that again the record is only an instrument or tool which can be used to facilitate this process. But the ways in which it can serve these ends are many and varied.

In the first place, much of the information gathered about a child continues to be significant for many years. If it is in the record, it is at once available to every teacher to whom the child comes as a new pupil whom the teacher must *learn* before she can *teach* him successfully. Some of these facts may keep teachers from making serious mistakes in regard to new pupils whom they do not yet know. The

discoveries and opinions of her predecessors and some knowledge of the ways in which they have been able best to meet the needs, interests, and abilities of a particular child will be a great help to the teacher who comes in contact with a young child (usually as a member of a large group all of whom are "new" pupils to her) for the first time and starts to work with him in a new situation to which the child must also make a new adjustment.

Furthermore, it is difficult, in working with children, to distinguish between traits and characteristics which are relatively stable and constant in a child and those which are of fleeting or of only very brief duration. The careful recording of those needs, abilities, and interests which discerning teachers have thought significant enough to preserve in some written form can provide the cumulative evidence through which the relatively constant traits and characteristics of an individual can be distinguished from transient ones. Either kind may have a distinct importance, and a trait which would ordinarily be of brief duration may become a quite constant and fixed characteristic because of the way it is understood and dealt with, but it is important to know what we can of the constancy of any need, ability or disability, and interest. A good cumulative record is essential to determining the persistency of such traits.

Securing Evidence of Growth and Development. Only a cumulative record can give evidence of whether a young child is developing normally. Data concerning physical growth, motor development, language development, emotional needs and behavior patterns, social adjustment—in fact, data concerning all important aspects of a child's growth and development—should be recorded periodically in order that growth may be carefully checked from time to time. To make the measurement of growth as accurate and reliable as possible, the records should include as much objective data as possible. Much of such data will be in the form of tests of various kinds. Since objective tests are not available for many aspects of physical, mental, social, and emotional development, subjective evidence will also have to be included in records. Teachers' judgments, children's own judgments and self-inventories, anecdotal and descriptive records, and questionnaires and ratings of various kinds will augment test records as evidence of yearly increments of development.

Children's own judgments of themselves and of each other constitute sources of data which may be valuable if used with great care and discretion. As boys and girls reach the intermediate and upper-grade levels of the elementary school they can participate in the

recording and reporting of their own growth and progress (17:87-89; 20:28-30), but it is usually not considered desirable to make *young* children very conscious of their school records.

Behavior descriptions and anecdotal records, based upon direct observation of behavior over a period of time, are found in many school records. The "time-sampling" method (4) has been used quite widely in studies of young children. In this procedure the child is observed for definite short periods of time; the child's behavior during each period is looked upon as a "sample" of his usual behavior, and a large number of such samples are taken on different occasions.

"Anecdotal" records are of somewhat more recent development, having come into use in a number of schools during the past twelve or fifteen years. The anecdotal record is a specialized form of incidental observation, in which some aspect of pupil personality or behavior which seems significant to the observer is recorded. There is no standardized technique for writing anecdotal records, but they usually contain brief descriptions of pupil behavior or report some episode in the pupil's life which is regarded as significant by the teacher. They are usually recorded by teachers but may be written by any competent observer. Objectivity is the essence of a good anecdote, but the novice is likely to mix fact and opinion, and evaluation and interpretation are likely to be interspersed with specific, concrete descriptions of what a child said or did. An anecdotal record should contain a description of actual behavior in the situation observed. In this regard it may be contrasted with rating scales, which provide records only of the summary interpretation, usually made at stated intervals, of the behavior observed. The anecdotal method is essentially cumulative. Over a period of time many incidents are recorded; as the data are assembled and studied, they are eventually interpreted in the light of other information also gathered about a pupil. They usually are used in conjunction with other forms of records. Anecdotal records, if properly prepared, provide rather highly objective information which may be used as a valuable supplement to personality rating scales or other behavior description forms or to any other established school record forms.⁶

⁶ The nature and use of anecdotal records, including limitations and cautions to be considered in their preparation, the advantages and values to be derived from their use, and their feasibility as a technique in the public school, are discussed in the following references:

Ralph W. Tyler, "Techniques for Evaluating Behavior," *Educational Research Bulletin*, XIII, (January 17, 1934).

Lawrence L. Jarvie, and Mark Ellingson, *A Handbook on the Anecdotal Behavior Journal*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940.

It has already been noted earlier in this chapter that the school (and parents ultimately, in most instances) must try to view the child's growth and development in terms of three relationships: with his own capacity and previous growth, with the school group of which he is a member, and with children in general in his own age group. What are the reasons for considering these three relationships?

The first—the relationship with his own capacity and previous growth—is the one which progressive-minded educators stress and it is, on the whole, the most important. What we strive for is that every child work at the level of his own best capacity and that he constantly grow and develop. The child's "own best capacity" does not refer only to his "IQ." Each child has well-rounded, varied potentialities in his make-up. He has physical, mental, social, and emotional capacities, all awaiting opportunity for growth and development. If, in these varied aspects of development, the child shows progress in relation to his own earlier levels of performance and if he appears to be performing at the highest level of which he is capable for the time being, his growth and development may be regarded as satisfactory. The child who is accomplishing this is a successful child, whether or not he achieves as much as other children of his age or members of his group.

As Kate Wofford⁷ has pointed out, the comparison of the child *with himself* is considered more important for child growth than his comparison with others. "In modern education evaluation is fair because growth in children is measured (a) from a point of view of previous maturation and (b) as a point of departure toward the highest possible future achievement of the individual." The child is, however, a member of a group, and we cannot completely ignore the relationship of his achievement to that of other members of the group. If, when working at his top capacity, a young child lags conspicuously behind his fellows in the amount of his accomplishment, he may, despite our best efforts to avoid it, develop feelings of inadequacy and inferiority which seriously interfere with his happiness and adjustments. Or, vice versa, a pupil's achievement may so conspicuously

C. F. McCormick, "The Anecdotal Record in the Appraisal of Personality," *School and Society*, LIII, (January 25, 1941), 126-27.

Arthur E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance*, chap. vii. New York: Harper & Bros., 1945.

Staff of the Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel, Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*, especially chaps. i, ii, iv, and xii. Washington: American Council on Education, 1945.

⁷ Kate Wofford, *Modern Education in the Rural School*, p. 184. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938.

surpass that of his group that he becomes smug or bored and lacking in incentives to put forth his best efforts.

The third relationship is important because the child ultimately must adjust to a larger world than that of his school situation. His later achievement will be evaluated in terms of the accomplishments of his fellows in general. In some instances it is especially important that this be borne in mind. For example, consider a child with the low-average scholastic aptitude of the sort reflected by an IQ of 90. In a favored community where the average IQ of pupils is 110, this child with an IQ of 90 is at a distinct disadvantage and may actually seem to be mentally dull. But when compared to children in general, that child has average intelligence. Viewing this question from the reverse angle, one sees that such a child may appear to be intellectually quite superior if he lives in an area in which the population tends to a mental level below the average. In a neighborhood in which the residents have had meager educational, economic, and intellectual opportunities, a boy or girl with just average mental ability may be very outstanding in accomplishments. To let such a pupil gain an exaggerated notion of his abilities may mean disappointment and perhaps serious maladjustment when he gets into high school or out into the world of business and industry, if he finds that in that larger sphere he cannot fulfil what were unwarranted expectations.

Discovering and Meeting Special Needs. One important use of records is as an aid in discovering the needs of gifted pupils, slow-learning pupils, and children with special abilities, disabilities, or needs of any kind; records can also be helpful in trying to meet these special needs. Education has particular responsibilities to children who deviate from their fellows physically, mentally, and emotionally, and who, therefore, cannot be expected to adjust to the learning situations of their groups unless some special provisions are made for them. The existence and the needs of these exceptional children are best revealed through individual cumulative records. Whether the child be one with superior intellectual ability, a slow-learning child, or an individual with other types of special abilities or disabilities, no other school device is so likely to indicate the needs, potentialities, and progress of the exceptional child. Only a school with records which constantly reveal the special abilities and disabilities of children can hope to meet their special needs, and the effectiveness with which they are being met can be made evident, over a period of time, only through the adequacy of records which describe each such child's own reactions, growth, and progress.

Discovering Personality and Behavior Difficulties and Their Underlying Causes. Records are particularly useful for the child with special social and emotional needs. Anecdotal records, reporting significant behavior incidents and indicating the extent of his progress in adjusting to situations which challenge him, become a major source of guidance in teachers' efforts to meet such individual needs. This keen, directed observation of children which record-keeping stimulates makes teachers increasingly sensitive to children's needs and difficulties. It is a well-known fact that many of the most serious personality problems of children may pass almost unnoticed in a classroom because the symptoms of the child's problems are not in the form of behavior which is disturbing to the teacher or the other pupils. Only through careful records kept for *every child* are such difficulties revealed. Continuous recording of shy, withdrawn, day-dreaming behavior builds evidence of personality trends which should be studied and treated and which, without records, might never get attention. Individual records of children in their early years should be used to detect any personality or behavior difficulty which may lead to serious problems later. Early treatment of minor difficulties may prevent the development of later major problems.

Most school maladjustments result from a *constellation* or group of causes. Many of the items in cumulative records throw light upon such factors and frequently furnish clues for the discovery of underlying causes. The most effective methods for modifying undesirable personality and behavior trends and for eliminating school failures of various kinds are those in which the causes of the difficulties are eliminated. Records not only help to reveal causes but also promote an understanding of the child so that the teacher may be able to help the child work out his own maladjustments and conflicts. To help a child become able to help himself is the essence of mental hygiene.

Determining School Placement. The possession of full, individual, cumulative records is very advantageous to a school in deciding questions of group or grade placement. In present-day education careful consideration is given to such placements because of their important effects upon children. Adequate records are needed to furnish a sound basis for deciding such questions. Whether a child should remain with his group or whether he should be placed in another,* whether he should advance with his group or have some exceptional grade place-

* Use of record data when parents seek a change of group is described by Willard Olson in "The Parents Request an Extra Promotion," *Childhood Education*, September, 1941.

ment—all such problems of promotion, nonpromotion, and acceleration constitute an area fraught with difficulties for almost all schools. Decisions regarding each child's school placement should be made in the light of the child's whole history and all the concrete facts which seem relevant to the questions involved. For this a cumulative record is essential. The principal objective of any school placement is the best adjustment possible for the child. When parents are made aware of the child's whole school history and the consideration being given to the child's own welfare, they are likely to be co-operative in whatever placement the school recommends as a constructive plan for the child. Records are invaluable in helping parents as well as the school staff to get a sound perspective on the total picture.

Serving as a Basis for Confidential Reports to Outside Specialists or Clinics. Schools frequently seek the help of outside specialists or clinics in trying to solve the baffling problems sometimes encountered in children. A child with a serious personality or behavior difficulty may be referred to a private psychiatrist or to a child guidance clinic for examination and perhaps for treatment. A pupil with unusual reading difficulties may be referred to a specialist or a clinic dealing with special reading cases. Pediatricians may be consulted about undernourishment, possible glandular disorders, or other problems primarily physical. School records constitute very valuable and helpful material on which to base confidential reports in cases of such referrals to outside sources of help.

Schools should also learn to utilize the information gathered by outside specialists, clinics, and other social agencies to increase the school's understandings of its pupils and the home backgrounds in which the children live. Social service exchanges may be utilized for this purpose when social agencies can depend upon the school to be trusted in its use of such confidential information.

Reports to Other Schools. Much will be gained for children and for schools when all schools have individual, cumulative records and use them to send essential information to any other school to which a child transfers. Much time can be saved and many mistakes avoided in adjusting a child to a new school situation if the school has some knowledge and understanding of the new pupil and his history when he enters.

Serving as a Guide in Curriculum Planning. The modern school tries to plan its curriculum in terms of the needs, interests, and abilities of children. These programs are not rigid; they are flexible; and one of the most challenging problems for every teacher from nursery

school upward is how to adjust instruction to the wide range of abilities, needs, and interests found in any group of children. Individual records are a great help to teachers in making plans that will adequately meet these individual differences.⁹

Evaluating the School Program. Every school's program should be constantly evaluated for its effectiveness in achieving its educational objectives for all of its pupils. Is the curriculum what it should be? Are the pupils achieving the objectives set up by the curriculum? If not, why not? Are the instructional procedures adapted to the learning abilities, needs, and interests of the children? Careful records for all children are essential if answers to such questions are to be found.

In fact, records should be utilized to furnish the data upon which many basic administrative policies are built or upon which changes in such policies are instituted.

Providing Data for Research Studies. The importance of carefully planned and meticulously kept records to yield data for research seems self-evident. Many records are designed primarily for research purposes, but most records used in schools and other centers for the care of young children are primarily service instruments, occasionally yielding research data as a by-product. There are in some public-school systems bureaus or departments of research which carry on research studies of the records gathered in the schools.

Using Records for In-service Education of Teachers. Arduous tasks and responsibilities for keeping records should not be summarily imposed upon teachers. Teachers should participate in developing the record system and the forms to be used. Since it is intended that they be the principal users of records, teachers should be consulted as to whether the proposed records contain the information they would like to have. Administrators should provide a program for in-service training of teachers in both the assembling and the use of records.

⁹ A large new area of record keeping has developed in recent years with the increasing flexibility of the curriculum. When stereotyped curriculums are abandoned, it becomes important to record the curriculum used for each group of children; this is known as "curriculum recording." The limitations of space make it inadvisable to try to deal here with this large topic, but a considerable number of references dealing with this field are available.

Closely related to curriculum recording is another large, relatively new area of record-keeping sometimes referred to as "group records." Limitations of space preclude any adequate discussion of this topic, also. Some references on it are available. A good reference will be found in (13: chaps. ix and x). However, as the authors of those chapters point out, records attempting to deal with the dynamics of *groups* should be preceded by guided observation and critically evaluated anecdotal recording of the behavior of individual children.

On the other hand, the use of records is in itself a potential source of in-service education of teachers. The responsibility for recording what he or she observes greatly sharpens the teacher's observations of children. Anyone who has served as a consultant to either parents or teachers has had ample evidence of this fact. If parent and teacher are asked to record carefully the behavior of the child whose problems baffle them, they often report that as a result of such careful observation of the child they themselves have been able to solve the problem.

Also, reports about children which have been written by other teachers stimulate the teacher who reads them to an appreciation of what a keen and discerning teacher may observe and understand in a child. In addition, from the reading of good records teachers become increasingly aware of sequences of growth and development, of relationships between certain kinds of behavior and the causal factors which produce them. They also become more sensitive to facts of interpersonal relationships as illustrated in the different kinds of relationships which a child may establish with different teachers. These are only a few illustrations of the alertness and understanding which good record-keeping and keen record-reading promote as in-service education for teachers.

REPORTS

One of the areas of greatest progress in the education of young children in recent years is found in methods of making reports to parents in regard to their children. As in the case of records, the purposes of reports will determine their nature and content. It was pointed out in the discussion of school records that one of their most important functions is to serve as a basis for reports that are made to parents concerning the school progress and adjustments of their children. The type of reports which a school can formulate will, therefore, depend somewhat upon the kind of records which it keeps. A school's methods of reporting to parents reflects, perhaps even more than its record system, its underlying educational philosophy and the professional competence of its whole staff. The "traditional" type of school with its arbitrary, inflexible, uniform standards of achievement for all pupils and its disregard for almost all phases of development except scholastic achievement and "conduct" will have a type of report which expresses its values and objectives. The more progressive, "modern" type of school which recognizes individual differences and adjusts school programs and objectives to them and which strives to integrate the acquisition of fundamental skills and knowledge with the development of desirable personality and behavior patterns will natur-

ally strive to develop methods of reporting which reflect these newer objectives. However, since both records and reports represent *practice*, these forms tend to lag behind theory. It is a laborious task to develop reporting techniques that satisfactorily express recent educational theories and simultaneously serve the practical objective of telling parents what they want to know about their children. The transition from the old to the newer type of reporting has been very well expressed by Ruth Strang:

The records and reports of fifty years ago were made for the purpose of judging the child rather than guiding him. His achievement in school subjects was recorded in terms of standards set for his age or grade. His height and weight, if they were recorded at all, were compared with the so-called normal weight which, in many cases, was not the optimum weight for a particular child. Falling below the standard represented failure; rising above it spelled success, regardless of whether the level achieved was appropriate to the individual child.

Records made in terms of general standards of achievement obviously encourage competition. Children, and even their parents, were often more interested in knowing whether their marks were higher than those of playmates than in finding out whether they had progressed since the last marking period. It was difficult for children and parents brought up under this form of record-making to think of growth in any other terms than marks.

Moreover, the marking system was limited to certain aspects of achievement—the school subjects. Although “effort” and “deportment” were items frequently included on the old-type report card, they tended to have a rather narrow reference to specific school behavior. In short, the early form of reports tended to be censorious in intent, to encourage competition, and to be limited to a few aspects of child development (20: 6-7).

This description of what Strang called “records and reports of fifty years ago” is included here because it describes the reports which are still characteristic of a deplorably large proportion of schools today. However, much progress has been and is being made in both the form and the use of records and reports. Whatever type of report is used, the teacher who makes the report should review the child’s school record as preparation for the report. Suggestions will be found in the *Handbook of Cumulative Records* (17:56).

Recent Trends in Reporting. In a bulletin on *Reporting to Parents* the New York State Association of Elementary Principals (21) stated that during the five-year period from 1930 to 1935 more than half of the city and village superintendencies of New York State made some revision of their system of reporting to parents. They stated that the process of revision was being continued so that by 1938, when the

bulletin was issued, "there is the widest possible variation in practice, from the use of the old-fashioned monthly report card with its percentage marks to dependence almost exclusively upon the personal interview method of reporting" (21: foreword).

Similar trends could probably be reported by most states, in varying degrees and to different extents. The two outstanding trends in reports for young children are (1) the use of an informal or letter-type report to supplant the more formal type of reports, (2) the use of parent-teacher conferences as substitutes for written reports. It is not possible within the limited space available here to discuss these new forms of reporting in detail. Specific references (8; 20:16-17; 17:55-57; 21:90-93) in which they are discussed will be found at the end of this chapter.

There are, however, certain important problems which most schools encounter in using newer types of reporting which should be pointed out here:

1. In the transition from old to newer types of reporting, both teachers and parents must be "educated" in the use of the newer forms. If a school moves too rapidly into new forms without adequate consideration of parental understandings and interests, a reaction against newer practices may develop. If teachers attempt informal letter-type or conference reporting without adequate training and preparation, unsatisfactory or even antagonistic parent-teacher relationships may develop. The New York Principals' Bulletin referred to earlier stresses the necessity for "making haste slowly"; In chapter vii of their bulletin they suggest a specific series of steps by which a faculty should undertake "continuous development" (a term preferred by their committee to "revision") of their reporting procedures.
2. Should the methods of reporting used for young children differ from those used for older pupils? If so, in what ways should they differ and at what age or grade levels should transitions to different types of reports be made? In recent years there has been a growing tendency to report to parents of children in the kindergarten-primary grades on a different basis than to those of children at later grade levels. Obviously, nursery schools and child-care centers would have to use a different basis of reporting than was represented by the traditional "marking" method of elementary schools. This different basis for reporting to parents of young children is to be expected, for differentiation is essential at different developmental levels and even for different children, if reporting is to be good.

There is, however, a danger in this differentiation if it becomes a trend toward minimizing the information given to parents of young children. There are some schools in which "real" reporting begins at the end of the first grade; in others it begins as late as third grade. In many ways, ade-

quate reporting concerning his development and progress is more important for the young child than for the older pupil. Among the reasons for this are: (a) that the young child is still in that formative stage of development when his environment and experiences are strong, determining factors in the development of his life patterns of personality and behavior; and (b) that the foundations upon which basic skills are built—even such academic skills as reading, number concepts, and the like—are being laid in these early years.

3. What are the relative values of written reports and the conference method of reporting? The principals who co-operated in the New York report were of the opinion that the personal interview is the most approved means of reporting to parents (21:46, 90). However, the report advocates that differentiation in the methods of contact used in making reports should be encouraged. Reporting through conferences was especially favored when rather lengthy material is to be covered; conferences also offer the greatest opportunity for informing parents of the basis of comparison being used in making reports—such as the national grade standard, the achievement of the child's own class or group, or the child's own growth in achievement and adjustment.

Obviously, both types of reporting have advantages and disadvantages. Some of them are discussed under "Types of Reports" in the bulletin of the Association for Childhood Education entitled *Records and Reports* (20). One important problem is that of providing an adequate record (for the individual, cumulative pupil record) when the conference method of reporting is used. It is important that some report of the interview be added to the cumulative pupil record.

4. One of the most perplexing problems which arises in modern reporting trends has already been suggested at various points in this chapter—namely, the question of what basis of comparison shall be used in reporting a child's growth and development. Shall the comparison be with his own previous record, with the attainments of his own group or class, or with nation-wide standards for children of about his own age? In the opinion of the writer of this chapter, it seems clear that the teacher must bear in mind all three types of relationships in reporting to parents (the reasons for this were stated in discussion of *records*). However, the way in which these several relationships shall be presented to parents and what emphases will be given must depend upon the individual situation and, particularly, upon the parental understandings of and attitudes toward their child. Most schools which have ignored all but the child's own growth in reporting to parents find that at some time the parents are likely to return to reproach the school for not having told them "the truth" about their child's inadequacies, at a time when the parents might have seen that "something was done about it." Furthermore, it is the school's responsibility not only to accept those limitations in the child which cannot be overcome but to help the parents understand and accept them. This can be done only by facing them, not by denying them.

OBSERVATIONS, TESTS, AND MEASUREMENTS

In the discussion of records it was pointed out that records are forms for making facts about children available for various purposes and uses. The different sources from which the information that goes into records is obtained were indicated. The three major sources of record data supplied by the school itself are observations, tests, and measurements. There is a vast body of literature dealing with these three topics, even if one limits the material to that which deals with young children. Any attempt merely to list outstanding studies of investigators who have carried on extensive research in observing, testing, and measuring young children would provide material too lengthy for the space available in this yearbook. The only procedure which seems feasible is to indicate briefly some of the outstanding recent trends in these areas.

Observations. Observation of the individual and his environment, in various kinds of situations, is the most common and obvious method of learning about children. It is both the method most commonly used by all teachers and also the basic method of science. Observations may be made in natural or in controlled, laboratory situations. For experimental studies of children, observations of their behavior are made in standardized situations. Earlier in this chapter the systematic recordings of *time-samples* in observations of behavior were differentiated from the *anecdotal* records in which observations of any behavior incidents which seem significant to the observer are recorded. A third common form of observation is often referred to as *situational analysis*. In this method the child, or a group of children, is observed in various types of situations, and the reactions of different individuals in different types of situations are recorded.

All observational methods present many problems. In the first place, it is difficult to compensate for their subjective nature; often several observers are used and their reports checked against each other in an effort to secure objective observations. Secondly, it is difficult to determine optimal methods of recording observations. A wide range of devices—from simple check lists and diagrams to long, specific descriptions—has been utilized. Problems of much greater complexity are presented in the tasks of classifying, analyzing, and interpreting what was observed and recorded. Even when mechanical devices record exactly what children do and say, it is often difficult to secure agreement of investigators in regard to interpretation of what they all see and hear when the moving picture or the record of conversation is repeated for them.

In spite of all these problems, observation is likely to remain the most commonly used method of teachers in their efforts to study and understand young children. Many more opportunities for firsthand observations of children should be provided for student teachers during their training period. No amount of listening to lectures about children or reading in books about what other investigators have found out about them can be an adequate substitute for the student teacher's own observations of children in many varied situations. Every prospective teacher should be trained to be his own "investigator" of children, since every good teacher must be continuously alert to recognize likenesses and differences in children in all areas of development—physical, intellectual, social, and emotional (15: part iv). Since no two children are ever exactly alike, the teacher must become aware of the individual personality pattern of each pupil. To understand and guide any child effectively, the adult who deals with him must first learn to *see* that child in all his uniqueness, recognizing him as a person who must be studied and understood both in terms of his own individual make-up and in his relationships to others.

There is no substitute for direct observation as the foundation for such understanding of a child. Those who have worked with teachers in an in-service training program involving directed observation of pupils have found that the increased awareness, sensitivity, and understanding developed even by experienced teachers through such special training in observation greatly enriches their professional competence. The rapidly growing use of the anecdotal type of record discussed earlier in this chapter indicates general recognition of the value of recorded observations.

Tests and Measurements. Every school feels the need of some techniques for objective and quantitative testing and measurement. Whether the techniques represent the more traditional efforts to measure the capacities, abilities, and achievements of pupils or the more recent attempts to test their personalities and to evaluate various phases of the school's program, the value of a testing and measuring program is directly dependent upon the use which is made of test results and measures obtained. If lists of test scores are merely filed away, little benefit can accrue from them. Tests are tools which, in the hands of wise educators, are basic to the understanding and wise guidance of children at any level of the educational process. If tests are unwisely used, however, they may actually prove detrimental instead of beneficial.

There are two general purposes for which test data may be used

—research and service. In order that test results may be adequate for research purposes, tests must be carefully selected, administered under well-controlled conditions by trained personnel, scored with great accuracy, and interpreted by psychologists who have special training and competency in this field. Tests which are given to improve the “service” of the school—that is, to provide for better pupil growth and adjustment and to improve the school’s curriculum and its teaching—should of course be administered, scored, and interpreted as competently as possible, but a school may benefit by using the best facilities it has available even though these may not measure up to the standards necessary for a research testing program.

The publications dealing with tests and measurements applicable to early childhood constitute a vast literature with which this chapter cannot attempt to deal in the space allotted to it. It is not possible even to list the many distinguished investigators who have made outstanding scientific contributions to our knowledge of child development. For such specific information and data readers are advised to consult various professional journals (notably *Child Development Abstracts*), other yearbooks of this series which have dealt with child development and with tests and measurements, and the many published books dealing with these subjects.

The basic tests most commonly used for young children¹⁰ today are the so-called *mental* tests (which, for very young children, are developmental examinations that test motor behavior rather than what is later considered “intelligence”) and *readiness* tests (2:10-13). There are other types of tests which are rather widely used for young children, including several which utilize projective techniques.

The term, “projective techniques,” was introduced in an article written by Lawrence K. Frank.¹¹ In projective techniques the personality is conceived as a dynamic process, expressed in the way an individual organizes his experiences and reacts affectively to them. One of the most widely used projective tests of personality at the present

¹⁰ A comprehensive list of “Mental Tests and Rating Scales for Infants, Nursery-School and Kindergarten Children: Behavior and Development Inventories” is contained in *A Bibliography of Mental Tests and Rating Scales*, p. 6, by Gertrude H. Hildreth, published by the Psychological Corporation in 1939 (second edition).

¹¹ Lawrence K. Frank, “Projective Methods for the Study of Personality,” *Journal of Psychology*, VIII (1939), 389-413. For a rather comprehensive discussion of projective techniques, the reader is referred to the article by Helen Sargent, “Projective Methods: Their Origins, Theory, and Application in Personality Research,” *Psychological Bulletin*, XLII (May, 1945), 257-93.

time is the Rorschach Test. This test, however, is not yet ready for wide, general use with young children. As Hertz, an outstanding worker in the field of Rorschach testing, points out:

The validity of the method has yet to win complete scientific acceptance. . . . The validity of the patterns in terms of these younger age groups has never been established. . . . Certainly we have no right to assume that patterns validated on psychiatric material apply likewise to children.¹²

Similar warnings on unwarranted use of this test are given by Krugman:

In spite of all the experimentation done with children on the Rorschach, there are still many gaps in our knowledge about children and their performance on that test. We are learning everyday that factors considered pathological with adults are normal with very young children. . . . Not enough clinically validated research has been done to differentiate between the performance on the Rorschach of preschool children, primary children, lower-grade children, preadolescents, and adolescents.¹³

Play techniques (15: parts i, ii, iii) are of the projective type and are naturally very applicable to young children. These more recently developed methods and techniques are all still largely in the realm of exploratory research, and, for the most part, they are more adapted to clinical than to educational or school use at the present time. *Tests of Primary Mental Abilities*¹⁴ have been extended downward to the period of early childhood. Achievement tests, so widely used at later school levels, are not adapted to use with young children. If measures appropriate to the achievements of early childhood could be developed, however, they might prove very useful in schools which enrol children at nursery-school, junior-, and senior-kindergarten levels.

Mental tests. Without going into the nature-nurture controversy and the whole much-discussed question of "the constancy of the IQ," there are certain points that should be mentioned here. In the early days of preschool testing there were psychologists who maintained that one could predict from the IQ of a two-year-old nursery-school child whether or not that pupil would have the intelligence to go through college, so stable was the IQ believed to be. There are few psychologists today who would attempt to predict a future IQ from a test given in infancy. Anderson has pointed out that:

¹² Marguerite R. Hertz, "Rorschach: Twenty Years After," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXIX (October, 1942), 529-72.

¹³ Morris Krugman, "The Rorschach in Child Guidance," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, VIII (March-April, 1943), 80-88.

¹⁴ *Tests of Primary Mental Abilities for Ages 5 and 6*, by Thelma Gwinn Thurstone and L. L. Thurstone. Tests and Manual published by Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, Ill. (Age equivalents for ages 3 to 9 are available.)

Infant tests, as at present constituted, measure very little, if at all, the function which is called intelligence at later ages. Preschool intelligence tests, while they are instruments of some value and usefulness, measure only a portion of that function. Whether it would be possible to develop tests at these levels which measure more of that function, remains to be seen (3:377).

It appears to be the opinion of most psychologists working at the preschool level that a mental test of an infant provides a fairly accurate appraisal of the child's developmental status at time of testing but does not afford a basis for predicting mental status after the period of infancy has passed. This may be due to the fact that test scales used for infants consist largely of relatively simple motor and perceptual tests that have never been found to correlate highly with intelligence at later ages (9: 375).

Goodenough (11), in reviewing studies of the intellectual development of children published from 1931 to 1943, finds that there is rather a large number of infant and preschool scales for measuring intellectual growth which show reasonably high self-correlation when the testings are separated by short time-intervals but that, thus far, no tests have been devised that show a significant correlation with the measured intellectual status of the same children in later childhood and adolescence. By the age of six or seven years the developmental process has become fairly stabilized so that intelligence quotients obtained at these ages show almost as high a correlation with final status as they ever will.

Elsewhere Goodenough (14: 468) points out that the findings based on empirical evidence clearly indicate that *the younger the child at time of testing, the less accurate will be the prediction of later status from earlier status*, with an absence of relationship between mental-test standing before the age of 18 months and later test performance. "After the appearance of speech, the tests begin to have predictive value, although the amount of confidence that can be placed in the results as indices to the child's ultimate level of development continues to be small up to the age of four or five years."

Some investigators seem to have found somewhat greater predictability of later test intelligence from tests given in the early years. Hallowell (12: 285) reports a study in which 250 children were first tested at one, two, or three years and retested at from five to thirteen years. She reported that, with age increase, greater "validity correlations" were obtained and that the "validity correlations of a three-year group, secured from preschool tests and later Binet and performance tests, are very similar to correlations reported for older and school-age children."

Gesell (14: 326-27) followed the mental-growth careers of thirty children, first tested as infants and young children, into their teens or later. He reports that in no instance did the course of growth prove whimsical or erratic and that in only one case was there a marked alteration of trend. In all others the general trend ascertained by the early examinations was maintained. He states:

When there is a fairly even balance between the endogenous and the sustaining or exogenous factors, the trends of mental growth, whether subnormal, superior, or mediocre, are likely to be most consistent.

The concensus of opinion among psychologists, however, is that all preschool scales which have thus far been standardized appear to have very limited predictive value; they measure primarily the intellectual development of the child at the time of testing. Therefore, intelligence tests for preschool children should be used very cautiously. Their value is largely dependent upon the skill of the examiner in getting the child's interest and co-operation. Since reliability and validity of the tests ordinarily increase with age, tests given toward the end of the preschool period form a better basis for predicting later intelligence than do tests given during infancy.

Readiness Tests. A somewhat recent and very important emphasis in education is found in the concept of readiness (2; 10). Like many other principles which apply to all kinds of education at all levels, readiness received its first recognition in the area of early childhood education. It is most commonly thought of in connection with reading readiness, but it applies quite as properly to the toddler's readiness to walk, to being ready for a certain process in arithmetic which may be commonly taught at the sixth-grade level, or to making one's self ready to climb a mountain peak. Readiness means *ability to learn*. It is dependent upon all the factors which determine ability—native capacity, maturation (of physical and psychological functions), effects of environment and experience, dynamic factors of motivation, and social factors of need.

Various tests of readiness have been developed, especially tests of reading readiness or of readiness for the first grade, which are beginning to be rather widely used in kindergartens and in first-grade classes. Many educators are finding such tests more predictive of success in learning to read than are such measures as physical development, chronological age, or mental age. However, readiness tests, like all tests, should be used cautiously and analytically. There is a great tendency for schools to sieze upon such a test as the complete and final answer to their problems. All too often such a test is given to

children whose school placement is then determined solely on the basis of the test results. Those above a certain score are placed in regular first-grade groups; those with that certain score (or below) are placed in special groups, sometimes designated by such names as "pre-primary" or "nonreading first grades," on the assumption that since the test indicates that these children are not "ready" for reading they should not be exposed to reading experiences.

Great injustices may be done to young children by such use of readiness tests, especially if nothing further is done to help them get ready to read, on the assumption that maturation will come with time and one need only await the passage of time for readiness to develop. Readiness and maturation¹⁵ are not synonymous; yet it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between them. Some writers limit the term "maturation" to results of the interaction of genes and internal environmental conditions. They regard maturation as the process underlying development in which *structural growth* takes place *independent of specific environmental influences*, such as training, observation of performance of others, or exercise of sensori-motor structures. Behavior patterns produced by such structural changes are then said to be unlearned, in contrast to acquired or learned behavior which is produced by structural changes or by functions which depend upon specific environmental influences.

It would simplify the readiness problem if we could regard all maturation as dependent upon biological processes over which we can have no direct control. We could await evidence of the physical and psychological maturity essential for development of a certain ability and then see that certain contributions from environment and experience, dynamic factors of motivation, and social factors of need are added in order to achieve readiness.

Whether or not one can accept such a narrowly defined concept of maturation in regard to more simple sensory and motor functions, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to hold such a concept in regard to such complex skills as reading readiness. Certain degrees of mental, emotional, and social—as well as physiological—maturity are recognized as essential factors in reading readiness, and in none of the first three can we separate inner maturation from the direct influences of external environment. We must, therefore, differentiate between those factors which appear to depend for the most part upon inner maturation

¹⁵ The intimate relationship between *maturation* and *learning* is discussed by Gesell (14: chap. vi). Definitions of *maturation* are given by McGraw (14: chap. vii) with special reference to the cumbersome "maturation-versus-learning" dichotomy.

tion and those which may be helped to mature largely by stimulation from outside. Examples of the former type are visual abilities, such as eye span, eye fixations, interpupillary distance, and binocular vision. Illustrative of the latter type are habits of a left-to-right direction in looking at a page of printed symbols, recognition of words and phrases as meaningful symbols, and the development of a desire to read.

The real task, then, is to ascertain the causes of a pupil's lack of readiness. The implications of non-readiness will vary according to the underlying factors in each case. The child who is not ready to read because he is chronologically young and physically and psychologically immature may usually just be allowed to take his time in reaching the stage of maturity necessary for successful reading. But for any child who lacks the environmental and experiential backgrounds which are essential to readiness for reading or who must be helped to want to read, to feel the need to read, time alone will be inadequate to make him ready. The implications of such non-readiness in any child challenge the home and the school to put into the child's environment and experience those things which have been lacking and which are essential backgrounds and foundations for readiness to read (19: 32-35).

Measurement. There are, of course, many other types of measurement besides mental tests and tests of readiness. There is a very considerable body of research on physical growth and development of young children in which a variety of measures have been utilized. Measures of physical condition have been attempted in studies of the health of young children, but difficulty in agreeing upon objective criteria as adequate measures of health have limited the reliability and validity of such measurements. The most commonly used physical measurements of young children are, of course, height and weight, and it is standard practice in most good schools today to record these indices of child growth.

There is very wide-spread interest today in a type of measurement for children of preschool age which consists of a brief description of what most children of a given age do. An outstanding exponent and contributor to these measures of development is Arnold Gesell (10), who has established age norms and behavioral norms through years of careful investigation and research in the field of child development. Gesell stresses the importance of recognizing that the "norms" are not set up as standards but are designed only for orientation and interpretive purposes. He emphasizes the fact that every

human being is a unique individual and that when we study a child it is primarily to discover his uniqueness. In order to find out in what ways a child is unique, we must know what is usual for children of his age. We must know what most children of that age do; in short, we must know the norms for that age in that culture. That is why the ways in which children are alike and the ways in which they differ are both important.

A "norm" when applied to child development is a specific characteristic or form of behavior which is used as a standard of comparison when children's behavior is observed. In general, what is usual or expected is called "normal," but children of any given age may vary greatly from the standard characteristics or patterns usually found in that age group and still be considered normal. Over and over Gesell urges the cautious use of all kinds of norms, whether they be physical norms of height and weight or "behavioral norms" (in which Gesell includes the four major fields of motor, adaptive, language, and personal-social development). Each child has his own growth pattern and his "personal norm"; it is this that we seek to discover when we compare what he does with what other children do, because the wise guidance of a child is based upon his own maturity level.

It is this type of measurement and this attitude toward measurement which seem to be increasingly characteristic of sound practice in the education of the young child in recent years. No longer are norms used as rather rigid standards to detect "the deviate," with some implication that deviation is undesirable. Those who are responsible for the care and training of the young child today do not seek to make all children alike. They recognize that it is good for a child to be sufficiently like his fellows to be able to get on happily with them, but the uniqueness of his personality is regarded as something to protect and cherish. If the differences found in any child are such that they will handicap the child himself in getting satisfaction from life or in making his contribution to society, home and school should do everything possible to overcome the effects of these differences. If not, parents and teachers should accept the differences, recognizing that in a democracy differences have positive values. It is the task of homes and schools in a democracy to utilize individual differences to nourish and enrich group experiences.

Even individual differences which are undesirable in that they will handicap the child himself are all too often characteristics or traits which cannot be eliminated. Many physical and mental disabilities are handicaps that must be accepted because as yet science has found

no way to overcome them. Those who guide the child with such deviations must not only adapt home and school programs to the child's needs, they must also do everything possible to help the child accept his own handicap and make the best possible life adjustment within his own limitations.

This constructive use of tests and measurements to further understanding and wise guidance of every child is characteristic of present-day progressive education of young children. To quote Gesell and Ilg:

The guidance of development must reckon judiciously with norms in one form or another. In final analysis, the child himself is the norm of last resort. We are interested in his growth. From time to time, that is, from age to age, we compare him with his former self; and this gives us an insight into his method of growth. This is supremely significant because that method is the most comprehensive expression of his individuality (10).

The ultimate purpose of all tests and measurements is to help every child develop to his own highest potentialities. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, observations, tests, measurements, and the forms in which they are recorded and reported are not ends in themselves. Our ultimate goal is to enable every individual to make his maximum contribution to life and to get the greatest possible satisfaction from life. The methods and techniques discussed in this chapter are designed to serve as instruments for the attainment of these important purposes.

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CHAPTER XI

EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with problems involved in the care, education, nurture, and development of exceptional children between the ages of three and six years. Considerable research has been carried on and extensive published materials are available pertaining to exceptional children of school age, but there is very little of either published materials or research related specifically to exceptional children at nursery-school or kindergarten age.

In preparing this chapter the writers have reviewed all materials recently published in educational and psychological journals. They have drawn upon their acquaintance with existing programs in the United States and upon their knowledge of individual differences, of the incidence of exceptionality in its many and varied forms, of the developmental character of the different deviational factors and the extent to which they can be remedied through early discovery, education, and treatment.

Within the limitations of this chapter it is only possible to present evidence of the nature and extent of the problem, to describe some current practices, and to formulate recommendations for meeting the needs of these children more adequately in the future.

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DEFINITION AND CONCEPT OF EXCEPTIONALITY IN CHILDREN

"An exceptional child is one who differs from the average or so-called normal in physical, mental, emotional, or social characteristics or abilities to the extent that he requires specialized care, treatment, or training in order to attain the maximum of his abilities or capacities (14: 7)."

At the extremes in deviation with reference to any one characteristic or ability or with reference to any general or broad grouping of abilities, children are commonly classified as *handicapped* or *gifted*. These are the two major and general classifications of exceptional children. It is possible with present-day knowledge of child development to note certain extreme deviations, such as blindness or crippling, soon after birth. Tendencies toward exceptionality are apparent in many phases of development within the first year, and such tendencies can be established somewhat reliably with reference to many capacities by the time children reach the age of three.

It is apparent that a child may be gifted with reference to certain abilities or capacities while at the same time he may be normal or handicapped in others. Frequently, physically handicapped children possess superior mental, emotional, and social characteristics. It is commonly known that a child may be handicapped at a given time and that the disability may be removed or decreased through treatment, therapy, and favorable nurture. Conversely, the extent of a handicap may increase as a result of neglect, a progressive malady, or unfavorable nurture. The complexity of the problem of meeting the needs of exceptional children is further emphasized when it is pointed out that all the different handicaps and deviations to which the flesh is heir may be combined over all the varying ranges from very slight and temporary (or functional) in character to very extreme and permanent (organic) in character.

On the basis of these principles, it is apparent that programs for exceptional children must place strong emphasis on: (1) finding and identifying all exceptional children at the very earliest possible age; (2) securing adequate and thorough diagnosis to determine their capacities, their limitations, and their needs; (3) following up immediately with competent treatment and intensive therapy to remove or minimize their disabilities; and (4) surrounding these children with wholesome nurture and appropriate stimulation throughout the entire growth period. Programs which serve these major purposes are essential to the well-being and development of all children. They are particularly essential for the handicapped and the highly gifted.

NUMBER AND TYPES OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

Fairly reliable data are available from the White House Conference Report (42) and from numerous surveys in cities, counties, and states throughout the country on the number and major types or classifications of exceptional children. In general, the more recent studies that have been made reaffirm the findings of the White House Conference Report.

From the research at hand we may expect to find ratios of exceptional or atypical children as shown in Table I. These ratios are

TABLE I.—NUMBER AND TYPES OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

TYPES OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	
	Exceptional	Normal
Mentally gifted	2	100
Mentally retarded and slow-learning	5	100
Crippled (including cardiacs)	1	500
Blind	1	2,000
Partially seeing	1	500
Deaf or deafened	1	1,000
Hard-of-hearing	1	25
Behavior problem (maladjusted)	2	100
Epileptic and convulsive disorders	2	100
Glandular deficient	14	100
Defective in speech	12	100
Lowered vitality	15	100

conservative in that they include only those children who are markedly atypical. They do not include those who show minor deviations, nor do they include such minor deviations as left-handedness which occurs in the ratio of 1 to 8.9 who are right-handed (36: 140). These ratios probably represent more nearly the one-third or one-fourth of our children whose deviations are most marked and who later, when they enter school, cannot be educated "safely" or "profitably" in regular grades. The biennial reports of the U. S. Office of Education show that cities which have developed programs for educating exceptional children do not, in general, enrol more than 6 per cent of their children in special schools or classes, yet the White House Conference Report indicates that approximately 22 per cent of all children really need some kind of individualized opportunity or special service at some time during their school attendance. It should probably be indicated that the needs of the less seriously handicapped children may be met fairly adequately in regular grades since, in proportion as schools are well

built and equipped, as pupil-teacher ratios are held down, as health services are provided, and as teachers are adequately prepared, larger numbers of exceptional children can be educated successfully in regular grades. Correspondingly, the number of children who need special class instruction and special remedial services can be reduced.

It should be pointed out that, while the above ratios are the result of research with children of school age, it seems a fair assumption to state that they are essentially valid with preschool children on whom substantial research may not be specifically available, for it is common knowledge that the deviations which constitute exceptionality are not known to occur or develop particularly after children enter school. In other words, it seems a fair assumption that there are essentially as many exceptional children among preschool children as have been found with children of school age.

The above table also presents a marked oversimplification of the problem for it indicates the number of exceptional children on the basis of twelve major classifications. Exceptional children are ordinarily classified on the basis of their major disability or deviation. Dr. Harry J. Baker states that in the Psychological Clinic of the Detroit Public Schools children are classified on the basis of twenty-six major deviations and that, if children were to have no more than three multiple handicaps, a total of 1,024 different combinations of disability are mathematically possible.

The above table is an oversimplification in another respect. "Crippled" children are classified in one group, yet medical science lists 256 different causes of crippling, each cause having a different pathology affecting the nature and extent of disability, each also having a different prognosis affecting the possibility of reconstruction and the possibility of education or rehabilitation. Similarly, there are many causes and types of deafness, of blindness and partial vision, and of speech defects. Psychologically the mentally gifted, the retarded, and the maladjusted constitute an equally involved and complicated problem.

CERTAIN PRINCIPLES OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEED FOR PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

Earlier in this chapter it was indicated that many disabilities can be reduced or often removed through treatment, therapy, and nurture and that, on the other hand, disabilities may become more severe and more permanent through neglect or inadequate care and nurture. It was also indicated that programs, to be adequate, must provide for

finding and identifying the disability at the earliest possible age, followed in succession by thorough and adequate diagnosis, competent treatment, intensive therapy, and wholesome nurture.

Convincing evidence has been presented in earlier chapters to show that basic patterns in the development of personality begin to be formed in very early childhood, that behavior tends to be developmental, that normality in childhood tends to strengthen and perpetuate normality, and that overtness tends to become progressive in the direction of its earlier unfortunate beginnings. All of these principles emphasize strongly that remedial programs for exceptional children are needed and should be developed for children at nursery-school and kindergarten age, when the defects can be removed most successfully, thus freeing the child from the blight of his disability at the earliest possible age and reserving for him every possible year of normal development during the growth period.

PRINCIPLES OF PROGRAM ORGANIZATION AND ESSENTIAL SERVICES FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

Programs and services which are essential to meet the needs of different types of exceptional children should, in general, make specific provision for: *early identification*, or finding them; *prevention*, in so far as it is possible, of accidents, diseases, and unfortunate experiences which may cause disability or affect negatively the strong emotions; *early and complete diagnosis* to determine each child's capacities, limitations, and needs; *education and training* which will challenge each child's capacities and interests and at the same time be adapted to his maturation level and to those factors which may retard or limit learning ability. Finally, all programs for exceptional children must provide for excellence in *nurture* in all the areas of the child's physical health, mental growth, and social experience.

The physically handicapped require, in addition: *medical treatment, convalescent care, prosthesis, and therapy* to remove or minimize their disabilities. For the emotionally and socially maladjusted, *mental health and psychiatric services* should be provided. At adult levels, all types of the handicapped may need *vocational rehabilitation* and *follow-up adjustment services* in order to help prepare and establish them as self-sufficient and working members of society.

Physiologically, it is extremely important that all needed services of medical treatment, convalescent care, prosthetic appliances, and therapy be provided in very early childhood and immediately after the incidence of disease in order to prevent unnecessarily severe and

permanent disabilities. By initiating these services promptly and by making them intensive, we provide for each child a maximum number of years during the growth period for most favorable development.

Psychologically, it is of equal importance that programs for physical restoration and special education be instituted at the very earliest possible age. Experience in the field furnishes strong evidence to indicate that if a disability can be removed or minimized and if, through education, a child can develop the competence that his abilities permit before he reaches the age at which social sensitivity develops, he tends to avoid the extreme emotional devastations of inferiority, frustration, rejection, withdrawing and maladjustment.

A PERSPECTIVE OF PRESENT PROGRAMS

From a general overview of present programs and trends, it is evident that tremendous progress has been made during the last quarter century in developing programs for exceptional children of school age. The gains of this century are so marked in comparison with previous experience that this twentieth century has been characterized as "the first century of childhood."

The gains that have been made, however, are not universal. The programs that have been developed have, in general, proved effective in accomplishing their purposes and in meeting the needs of children. But if we view the present tremendous body of knowledge at hand and the current varied needs of the large numbers of exceptional children in relation to present programs and facilities, it is apparent that vast extensions of existing programs are needed. It must be stated, however, that the rapid development of programs and services that have come in recent years points a trend which carries great promise for the future.

Historically, we observe that the first institutions in the United States for educating blind and deaf children were established about 1815. In the years that have followed, almost every state has, early in its statehood, established residential schools or made other provision for blind and deaf children. Each state viewed the establishment of these schools as a state responsibility. Each state in turn viewed its school with pride after it had been established. Beginning about the middle of the last century the states, in succession, began establishing "reform" or "industrial" schools for juvenile offenders. Almost immediately afterward they began establishing "home and training schools" for the feeble-minded. At the turn of this century, and largely under the influence of Alexander Graham Bell, the states

authorized city boards of education to establish special schools and classes to educate deaf and hard-of-hearing children, and in general the states have paid the excess cost of educating these children.

Since 1900, special programs and services for exceptional children have been developed with increasing rapidity. During the first two decades compulsory school laws were passed; medical treatment was established through "Afflicted Children's Acts" for those children who were ill and whose parents could not afford to pay for appropriate treatment. Special classes were extended to provide for the blind and partially-seeing, the crippled, the deaf or hard-of-hearing, the defective in speech, the undernourished, the slow-learning, and the maladjusted. In 1920 the federal government, in co-operation with the states, established the rehabilitation service for disabled veterans and civilian adults. During the 1920's several states created commissions to carry on special clinics and to finance special treatment services for crippled children. In 1935, through the Social Security Act and with federal aid, these clinics and treatment services (again in co-operation with the states) were extended and made nation-wide. During the last decade some states have extended special classes to provide treatment and education for epileptic children and to furnish visiting teachers and child guidance centers for maladjusted children.

Supplementing all the programs and services of governmental agencies, there are many private philanthropies which furnish excellent services for large numbers of exceptional children. In general the philanthropies center their resources and their efforts on rendering services that public agencies cannot provide under the financial and legal limitations which circumscribe their programs. The philanthropies also develop new programs and finance them through the initial stages of experimentation and evaluation which must precede governmental authorization and support.

In attempting to survey and evaluate all of our present programs and the trends as they may be evident, it appears that: (1) Facilities and provisions are most adequately organized for providing medical treatment and physical restoration for children of preschool age. (2) There is need for parent education to help parents recognize exceptionality in their children in very early childhood, to provide more adequate home-care and nurture, and to secure the services of public and private agencies already established to aid their children. (3) There is urgent need for extending educational facilities for exceptional children at nursery-school¹ and kindergarten age levels. As presently organized our society assumes a great responsibility for child develop-

ment after our children reach the traditional school age, but in general our society leaves the care and upbringing of children to their parents before they enter school. (4) There is need for more extensive and more comprehensive diagnosis of pupil capacities, limitations, and needs during the first year in school as well as for more prompt referral of handicapped children to special schools and classes after they enter school. (5) There is need for establishing educational facilities for exceptional children in localities where they are needed and have not yet been established. (6) There is need for extending and improving the mental health factors of the child's environment in his home, school, and community. To meet the needs of those children who are seriously disturbed emotionally or maladjusted socially, visiting-teacher services and child guidance centers need to be extended. (7) There is need for further professionalization in the preparation of teachers, nurses, social workers, psychologists, physiotherapists, occupational therapists, and of other persons who work in the areas involving child guidance. There is also need for a much larger supply of highly qualified persons in all these professions. (8) Our society is recognizing increasingly that the general welfare requires that our institutions and services must direct their programs so that they function at the level of "prevention" rather than permit human frailties and misfortunes to develop into permanent and serious disabilities which all too often cannot be remedied. This recognition affords promise that all our programs and services for exceptional children will be increasingly effective in the years to come. To really attain this end, all our programs and services must meet each child when his need can first be recognized. With present-day knowledge this need can be pretty clearly diagnosed and defined at the nursery-school level.

APPLICATIONS TO THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

The Mentally Gifted

In general, gifted children have greater powers of insight and understanding and make adjustments more easily than do the normal or the handicapped. When they reach school age they should have enriched educational opportunities and experiences; but they seldom suffer disadvantages during the preschool period for, as a rule, they receive the attention, affection, security, and opportunity to learn from early infancy because of their powers of observation, their understanding and insight into their environment, and their experiences. Their needs center in protection and recognition at their real ability levels in combination with both adequate and wholesome motivation.

The Mentally Handicapped

Among mentally handicapped children the range of abilities varies widely, and in consequence their problems and their needs differ proportionately. In general their powers of insight and understanding are limited. Therefore, they find it more difficult to develop understandings and to make adjustments than do the normal or the gifted. These children often have fairly good visual imagery in seeing likenesses and in dealing with situations within their ordinary experience, but they tend to encounter increasing difficulty in seeing opposites, in seeing relationships, and in dealing with symbols. They also have difficulty in auditory imagery, in understanding ideas conveyed to them through words, especially if the ideas are outside their experience and the words are outside their usable vocabulary. Consequently, these children learn more slowly, especially in situations involving reasoning and dealing with symbols, transfer of training, and auditory perception.

Usually exceptionality is observed in these children by their parents, and they are called to the attention of doctors by the time they are two or three years of age because of delayed development in walking and talking or because of unusual response. Yet, despite these early characteristics and observations, retarded children are believed to be most like the normal in their physical abilities and in their emotional reactions and least like the normal as learning situations become abstract or academic and involve symbols and auditory imagery.

Adequate and accurate mental diagnosis of the extent and nature of mental retardation in very young children is difficult even when the best test procedures are administered by the most competent examiners, for often the child's apparent retardation or lack of response is due to some other handicap, such as hearing loss, cerebral palsy, or limited vision. Too frequently young children are suspected of being mentally retarded on the basis of brief or inadequate observation, and they may be rated as retarded on mental-test performance when, in fact, their limited responses may be due to shyness, insecurity, anxiety, or inability to adjust quickly or easily to a new situation or to the personality of new acquaintances.

In diagnosing mental ability of exceptional children when they are very young, it is apparent that any person forming judgments, either as an observer or a tester, should reach conclusions and make decisions only after all causal factors that may be involved have been recognized and taken into account. The tester must be aware of the

signs of normal development in gross and fine motor co-ordination as they relate to the cerebrally palsied; of the effects of language handicaps resulting in limited response and communication when hearing is impaired; of the limitations in understanding and the distorted concepts that grow out of limited vision; and of the inhibited responses that grow out of emotional and social blockings such as shyness, timidity, anxiety, frustration, or even real fear on the part of the child. All qualified persons working with exceptional children have a great concern that many handicapped children may be diagnosed mentally so inadequately or inaccurately that the child's real capacities, his real limitations, and his real needs may not be discovered. In such an event, remedial programs are often delayed and may be misdirected.

Accurate mental diagnosis is extremely important because, with the truly retarded or feeble-minded, academic learning under traditional school curriculums is progressively difficult as children move from grade to grade. As a result of the practice of "failing" children, many of them become so emotionally disturbed that they are never free from a continually developing pattern of anxiety, frustration, feeling of inferiority, and fear of failure.

The need is obvious. Adequate physical and mental diagnosis at an early age is imperative. Referral to special classes should be made early. Educational programs should be adjusted and made functionally useful at the child's ability level. In the light of present professional knowledge and current social philosophy, it is questioned seriously by many educators that educational programs have the right or should be permitted to perpetuate traditional curriculum requirements quite at variance with the needs and capacities of a considerable number of our children and then follow up with the traditional procedure of "failing" them. There is a vast amount of experience in many cities throughout the United States which shows that, with properly developed educational programs, a large percentage of our slow-learning children can be educated successfully to the extent that they become entirely self-supporting, competent in their occupations, and accepted as socially adequate persons in their communities.

Crippled Children

Children are crippled when through accident, disease, or abnormal development they have suffered a defect in bone or muscle tissue. They are not usually classified as crippled, however, unless the extent of their disability interferes with their education and training or may

later interfere with their choice or competence in a vocation. Judgments cannot always be made with certainty as to whether the cause of crippling or the extent of disability may handicap a child in later life. Early finding, diagnosis, and treatment are especially important in order to prevent, remove, or minimize disabilities.

Crippled children are probably identified and, in general, probably receive more adequate care, treatment, and education than any other type of handicapped child. Parents usually secure medical diagnosis and treatment early for their crippled children. Many of the less seriously crippled can be educated quite adequately in regular grades; but, for the more seriously crippled, instruction in special schools is needed in order to modify procedures and provide the special equipment and the therapeutic treatment which these children require. For these seriously crippled children, educational facilities are far less adequate than is medical treatment, which is available on a nation-wide scale, while special schools are available in approximately only three hundred city school systems in some thirty states.

There is need for extending and improving existing services, particularly for the cerebrally palsied and the seriously, permanently crippled; for providing more adequate educational opportunities in rural areas; and for bringing all of the services of medical treatment, convalescent care, and therapy to these children at the earliest possible age. These recommendations take on particular significance and are more urgent for children who have less obvious but often progressive disabilities, such as weakened hearts, osteomyelitis, fragile bones, or muscular dystrophy.

Children with Weakened Hearts

Often children with heart disabilities are not discovered during early childhood because their handicaps are not obvious. These children often escape serious damage because they restrict the tempo of their activity. But these children should be discovered early. They should have frequent physical diagnosis and careful supervision to protect them against overtaxing their lowered physical capacities. They should not participate in strenuous competitive athletics, gymnasium exercises, or swimming. When the extent of heart disability is marked, these children should be educated in special classes along with crippled or lowered-vitality groups. These children are usually normal in learning ability. Their need for special class placement is chiefly for protection and supervision to reduce the work pressure and tempo of activity common in the ordinary classroom, on the play-

ground, and while going to or from school. Parent education and parent co-operation are particularly important in safeguarding cardiac children, for in a few minutes of unsupervised activity these children could undo the gains in physical health that the school may have built up over a long period of time. Particular care needs to be given these children in an effort to prevent illness of any kind since their powers of recovery are reduced because of their heart conditions.

Children Who Suffer Convulsions

Children who suffer convulsions are usually referred by parents for medical diagnosis and treatment at a very early age. It should be emphasized that many convulsive disorders and so-called seizures are not real epilepsies. Nevertheless, if any convulsive disorder is observed, competent medical diagnosis and treatment should be sought at once.

In general, public programs have probably been less well developed for so-called epileptic children than for any of the other types of the handicapped. Until within the last two decades and in many places today children who suffer frequent or serious seizures are being excluded from school and are left to rehabilitate themselves. During the last twenty years intensive medical research has been centered on diagnosis and treatment. Within the last ten years approximately fifteen cities have established educational programs for epileptics. In Detroit approximately one hundred eighty such children are being educated in a special school under medical supervision and with teachers who have been carefully selected and especially trained.

There is a great and an urgent need for developing and extending services and treatment facilities for epileptic children since, from the standpoint of mental health, epilepsy is one of the most devastating of all human afflictions. The writers believe that parent education is particularly imperative and that treatment should be initiated as soon as seizures are observed. New and special medicants have recently been developed which, if properly administered, will prevent seizures in many children and which will reduce the frequency and seriousness of seizures for many others.

Blind Children

Blind children, as a group, are probably the most seriously handicapped of any of the different types of exceptional children. According to the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, normal children ordinarily receive approximately 87 per cent of their sensory

mpressions through their eyes. Loss of vision constitutes a particularly serious handicap for it cuts off so large a source of the stimulation necessary to the development of mental maturation and capacity for social participation. Through the blocking out of such exceedingly important experiences, the child is seriously restricted in developing natural assurance and ordinary understandings. He tends to be somewhat handicapped in motor control and seriously handicapped in spatial orientation and sensory perception. As a result of blocking out these natural and necessary avenues of experience he tends to become docile, inhibited, and overcautious and to develop fears and emotional disorders rooted in his lack of self-assurance.

Distinction should be made between the child who is congenitally blind and the child who had vision during his early years. Obviously the child who has "never been able to see" is much more seriously handicapped than one who has been able to see and visually comprehend the world that surrounds him. On the other hand, the traumatic shock or neurosis, which is often suffered when a seeing person suddenly loses his vision, is most devastating in its emotional effects. These neuroses tend to be much more serious if blindness occurs during adolescence or in adult life.

Medical specialization in the areas of blindness and vision defects is well advanced among the different medical specialties, and facilities are generally available for alleviating blindness and for restoring partial or full vision, if such restoration is physiologically possible. It is believed that, in general, children who are born blind or who suffer blindness during their early years are referred for medical diagnosis and treatment almost immediately after loss of vision is observed.

There is urgent need for parents who have a child who is blind to secure help in learning how to care for and educate their child. Parents need this help from the child's earliest infancy. Such help should be available and should be secured from medical specialists, the professional staff of residential schools, and teachers or supervisors of day schools for the blind. Every effort should be made to provide necessary protection and to educate the child to live as a blind person in order that he may have as many normal experiences as possible. Overprotection and sentimental sympathy tend to dwarf the development of personality. It seems appropriate as a principle of method in dealing with blind children, therefore, to suggest that, "We should never do anything for a child that he can do safely or successfully for himself," also to suggest that "Society is interested in what

handicapped children can do, not in what they cannot do." The task of parents and teachers in working with blind children from their earliest infancy is to teach them to do all the things that seeing children of their age ordinarily do but, at the same time, to provide the added protections which blind children so obviously need. Expert and intensive use should be made of auditory and other sensory stimuli to compensate and substitute for the loss of vision.

Laws in many states provide that blind children may begin their education in either residential or day schools at the age of three. Unfortunately day schools have been established in relatively few cities and parents are often reluctant to permit their children to go away to residential institutions at so tender an age. The Michigan School for the Blind and, very probably, several other residential institutions conduct summer institutes for parents of blind children. The parents come and bring children ranging in age from infancy through early childhood. Such institutes are particularly advantageous for they help parents learn how to care for their children. They also arrange for diagnosis and treatment.

It is believed that blind children, because of the severity of their handicap, will profit more through nursery-school training than any of the other types of physically handicapped children.

Partially-Seeing Children

Partially-seeing children are far less seriously handicapped than the blind. In proportion, however, to the extent of vision loss and the progressive nature of the eye defect, there is occasion for great concern for the partially-seeing child. There is a public challenge to discover these children early, to secure all possible benefits through medical treatment, to protect these children against common hazards, and to conserve their vision.

Children are generally classified as partially-seeing if they have less than 20/70 vision after all possible refractive aid has been secured. They can see only at 20 feet objects that they should see clearly at 70 or more feet. These children are very seriously handicapped in visual imagery. As illustrations of their distorted visual images these children have many misunderstandings. They mistake b's and d's. They confuse words spelled much alike. They have difficulty in following lines of print. They often conceive a tree to be something like a post with a huge blanket over it rather than a trunk with branches and a myriad of leaves. They may see the poles that support telephone and electric wires but the wires are never visible. They can hear the

plane that flies in the sky but they can never see it. It is startling to know how distorted the visual images of some partially-seeing children really are. A myopic girl who put on her glasses for the first time remarked, "My but things look funny. Things are larger than I thought they were. The ground looks so far away. I keep wondering if my feet will reach the ground. Just think, Daddy, I'm bigger than I thought I was. I'll just have to learn to see things all over again."

Partially-seeing children are also threatened with many more dangers than are their brothers and sisters who have normal vision. They are also restricted in their play and recreation. Often these children cannot see the approaching car. They are in danger whenever they attempt to cross a street. Whenever visual perception involves moving objects, they are at a particular disadvantage. As a result, these children may play checkers but riding a bicycle or playing ball are hazardous and dangerous. In many games they are "left out" or, if they play, they make such flagrant errors that their playmates "don't choose" them. It should also be noted that in many games the risks of accident and injury are so great that partially-seeing children should never be permitted to play them, particularly if they wear glasses.

To improve the vision of partially-seeing children it is important to secure every possible benefit that can be gained through medical treatment and properly fitted glasses. To conserve vision in home and school it is important to plan periods of "eye work and eye rest." Children should not read or do close eye work over a long period of time. Partially-seeing children should have special visual materials such as large-type books, soft-lead pencils, widely ruled nonglaze paper, excellent lighting, and a minimum of detail in pictures, maps, and charts. Particular use should be made of auditory stimulation to compensate for loss of vision. Special group activities should be planned to include these children in order to provide experiences they can engage in safely and to compensate for their tendency to be "left out" in much of their play. Through these procedures and with some added facilities, partially-seeing children can generally make normal school progress and at the same time conserve their limited vision.

Children with Defective Hearing

Children who have defective hearing are classified as *deaf*, *deafened* or *hard of hearing*. Deaf and deafened children are extremely handicapped and of these two groups the deaf suffer a far greater

handicap than the deafened. *Deaf* children are defined and distinguished separately on the basis that they lost all perceptual hearing before they had an opportunity to acquire normal speech and language. *Deafened* children are those who had an opportunity to develop normal speech and then lost their perceptual hearing at some later time. *Hard-of-hearing* children have seriously defective hearing but they do have some perceptual or usable hearing.

Deaf and deafened children suffer a particularly serious lag in learning and in social adjustment because they are cut off from practically all communication. They cannot hear or understand through auditory perception anything that other people say to them. In addition and at the same time they are unable to communicate verbally to other people and be understood by them. This blocking hinders the development of language. Severe emotional difficulties tend to develop because these children so often and in so many ways are unable to make their wants and needs known. Too often deaf children are considered mentally retarded when their intelligence is normal. Too often they are considered disobedient or anti-social when, in fact, their motives are most co-operative and conscientious, but they are unable to understand or to follow directions and make other responses appropriately. Obviously, it is an extreme handicap for any child to live and struggle against all these problems and difficulties from birth and during all his waking hours, at home, in school, and at play when he sees his parents, his playmates, and everyone around him communicating so pleasurably and without difficulty.

It is extremely important that loss of hearing be discovered in very early childhood, that treatment be secured to remove or minimize functional hearing losses, and that accurate diagnosis be secured to measure the extent of the child's loss of hearing.

Next, parents need education and help in planning for the care, education, and protection of these children. It is a double tragedy for these children, or for any handicapped child, if in addition to his handicap he suffers parental or social rejection, neglect, ridicule, or overprotection. These children particularly need parental love and affection and many patient hours of individual attention and help to compensate for the fact that they are rejected by their playmates because they cannot understand and "play the game." The Michigan School for the Deaf and, very probably, many other public and private residential schools have organized summer institutes for parents and their deaf children. These institutes are especially helpful in giving parents the assistance they need.

All types of children who have defective hearing need lip-reading instruction to help them learn to understand what other persons say. Hard-of-hearing children can often get along in regular grades quite successfully if they receive lip-reading instruction, if they are seated in the front of the room, if some extra attention is given by speaking distinctly, and if each person who speaks is careful to face the hard-of-hearing child while speaking. Research findings are not in full agreement as to the advisability of using hearing aids with very young children. There is a general opinion that if a child has sufficient residual hearing that acoustic aids should be used. Fusfeld (16) questions the advisability of using them. Further research should be carried on in this area.

Deaf and deafened children present a far more difficult educational problem than the hard of hearing. With the deaf and deafened it is common to find from two to five years of educational retardation. The extent of retardation is believed to be due chiefly to the child's language handicap rather than to mental retardation, for the extent of retardation has been observed to approximate closely the extent of hearing loss. In addition to lip-reading instruction these children need careful and scientific training by specially qualified teachers in oral speech and in language development. Miss Lillian Keller, Assistant Principal of the Detroit Day School for the Deaf, describes vividly the problem of education of the very young deaf child. She states:

When the deaf child enters the kindergarten at preschool age, he has no idea of speech and, therefore, does not associate names with anything that surrounds him. It is apparent that he must first be taught the most elementary things that come within the daily experiences of the year-old normal-hearing child. This is accomplished through sense-training for cultivation of sight and touch, vibration in feeling the face of the teacher, in lip-reading and through memory-training.

A preschool deaf child remains in the kindergarten for two years. Most of the first year is spent in doing vibration work in lip-reading and sense-training with emphasis on seeing likenesses and differences, since this is essential as a foundation in speech and lip-reading. He is taught nouns, colors, and commands through vibration in lip-reading. At the end of the first year he has learned to concentrate and lip-reading has developed meaning. Since this is mostly individual work, the rest of the children enjoy free play with blocks, dolls, beads, sand box, etc. These children have an hour a day for rest.

During the second year speech is begun. Breath and voice consonants are taught through vibration. Next, the vowels "oo" and "a" are taught through vibration. By this time if the child is thoroughly familiar with the teacher's voice, which is acquired through months of concentration, the vowels are

given in speech. When these have been mastered, nouns within the child's experiences are taught through vibration. Three or four vibration periods are given each day. When the child has acquired sufficient speech, he is given acoustic training.

Since so much of the work of teaching deaf and deafened children must be individualized in developing speech and language, enrolments in "oral-deaf classes" must ordinarily be reduced to six or possibly eight pupils per teacher.

The necessity for starting the education of children with defective hearing at a very early age is indicated by the fact that in most states these children may enter day schools or residential schools at three or four years of age. Heider (22) believes that nursery-school experience is even more beneficial to deaf and blind children than to normal children. Stinchfield-Hawk (39) and Lane presented evidence to show that nursery-training raises the I.Q. level of both the deaf and the visually handicapped. Obviously the extent of educational retardation is reduced if the education of these children can begin during the nursery and preschool years. And very probably the extent and seriousness of emotional disorders which affect these children so seriously in later years can be reduced by starting the educational program in nursery school.

Children with Defective Speech

Children with defective speech present particularly involved educational problems. In many respects these problems resemble the problems of children with defective hearing. In many respects they are different and involve all the problems of educating crippled children. Along with the physiological factors that may cause the defects of speech, environmental and emotional factors are also involved.

Speech defects are sometimes broadly classified as "functional" and "organic." They are also classified as lisping, lalling, infantile speech, and foreign accents which are more functional in character. Other defects, such as stammering, stuttering, malformation of the speech organs, paralysis, and aphasia, are considered organic in character. Accordingly, the diagnosis is highly complex and the remedial procedures which must be employed are varied. Educationally, children whose speech disorders are functional in character respond to remedial instruction and correction much more rapidly and successfully than when the defects are organic in nature.

In attempting to do corrective work with children who stammer or stutter, who have malformation of the speech organs, whose speech

organs are paralyzed, or who are aphasiacs, the speech correctionist needs the help and advice of all kinds of medical specialists. The oral surgeon must first make every possible correction when the speech organs are deformed. The orthopedic surgeon is needed when paralyses are found, and the neurologist should advise in cases of stammering, stuttering, and aphasia.

It is extremely important to secure medical correction beginning a few weeks after birth in cases of hare-lip and cleft-palate in order to effect maximum physical restoration. It is likewise important to secure speech training and to correct the child's speech at the earliest possible age. It has been observed that if the child can develop normal or acceptable speech before he reaches the age at which he becomes socially sensitive, he tends to be free from all the emotional disorders which are so severe and devastating to him. If, on the other hand, acceptable speech is not developed early, the child often inhibits and blocks his craving for expression, tends to withdraw, to be shy, and to feel inferior. These reactions tend to become especially severe if children experience rejection or ridicule from their associates.

Children with Lowered Vitality

Children with lowered vitality, often referred to as "physically below par," require brief consideration in this chapter. There are many of them, but ordinarily their exceptionality and their handicaps are much less serious than the types of exceptional children that have previously been described. Children with lowered vitality may be described as having lower physiological limits. They tire easily, and they have more than their share of illnesses. Usually these children appear quite normal. Their handicaps aren't obvious, but they just aren't strong. In this group we find children with weakened hearts, tendencies toward chorea, malnourishment, allergies, and sometimes family contact or history of tuberculosis.

Excellent family care and protection supplemented by adequate medical treatment with frequent physical check-ups will usually satisfy the needs of these children. Except in more extreme cases, they can be educated safely and profitably in regular grades. It is important, however, to provide these essential services during the entire period of rapid physical growth in order to help these children develop the strength and stamina for normal advancement in school as well as the work capacity which they will need during all their adult years. Many who, in childhood, had low vitality were classified as 4-F's during the war. It is important to the general welfare, to

these children, and to their families that every means and every safeguard be employed from earliest childhood to help them build and maintain their physical health.

Accordingly, these children need all possible immunizations against contagious diseases, adequate rest, protection against overexertion or exposure, the best possible nutrition, and excellent care during any illnesses that occur. A considerable portion of these children whose limitations are most severe need special school opportunities with provisions for lunches, rest, protection against overexertion and pressures of academic work which in ordinary school situations would result in grade failures. Nursery-school education would indeed be helpful to these children and their parents.

Children with Glandular Imbalances

Dr. C. J. Marinus, Endocrinologist and Consultant, Endocrine Clinic, Detroit Board of Education, reported that some 6 to 8 per cent of our population suffer glandular imbalance to the extent that they would benefit from endocrine treatment. The glandular system of the human body is a complex structure which changes markedly from infancy through adult life. In addition to the reproductive glands, the thyroid, pituitary, and adrenal glands seem to have most effect in controlling growth and health. Such physical characteristics as obesity, extreme underweight, and unusual shortness or height frequently result from glandular imbalance. Hypoactive glandular functioning of the pituitary and thyroid glands tends to cause obesity, shortness of stature, and slow reaction while hyperactivity of these glands tends to cause counter effects.

Some years ago Marinus stated that particular concern was being given in the glandular clinic in the Detroit schools to hypothyroidism. It was his observation that hypothyroid conditions tended to retard mental as well as physical growth. His studies at that time indicated that by early initiation of glandular therapy the individual could be restored to normal physical and mental growth. From the information at hand it appears that a considerable part of the physical abnormality and mental retardation that previously existed can be reduced through proper endocrine treatment.

Behavior-Problem Children

Behavior-problem children are probably less well understood, and from a diagnostic-remedial standpoint our social institutions are probably less sure that they can effect full rehabilitation for them than

obtains generally for the different types of physically handicapped children. The problem of dealing effectively with maladjusted children is extremely complicated because the child's difficulty is often caused in large part by poor or inadequate home-community conditions involving neglect, rejection, antisocial attitudes, lack of affection, inferiority, and insecurity.

Beginning about the middle of the last century, some of the states attempted to deal with the problem through "reform" schools. More recently they have become "industrial" and "vocational" schools. Since the turn of this century schools and social agencies in our larger cities have been making serious attempts to develop effective educational and recreational programs for these children. During the current decade state governments and city school systems have been developing visiting-teacher services to work with very young children, to engage the co-operation of parents, and to deal with the problem by using every possible technique for preventing delinquency. States are also developing child-guidance centers staffed with psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers in an effort to help children and families where the problems of maladjustment are already serious.

Acquaintance with the field and the studies that have been made by Healy and Bronner and by the Gluecks all seem to indicate that if a child cannot become adjusted during his early years he tends to head into a lifetime of increasing conflict. As his conflict increases and as society holds him increasingly responsible for his acts, his stigmatization and, likewise, his rejection increase. In turn, he tends to be referred in succession from the truant officer or visiting teacher to the school for "junior ungraded," then to schools for the "senior ungraded," the juvenile court, state industrial or vocational school, and finally into our penal institutions. Our schools and social agencies appear to have been successful in rehabilitating maladjusted children in about the order and sequence in which they were listed above and according to how soon remedial work was initiated after maladjustment was observed.

Evidence seems to indicate strongly that our schools and social agencies must find maladjusted children early. They must initiate programs of prevention and adjustment, if possible, before the child's problems become severe and before he has been rejected and stigmatized as "a bad boy." In general, these children need affection, security, protection, recognition, and responsibility. Most behavior-problem children feel inferior and resentful. All too often their fail-

ures have driven them into feeling the futility of even trying to succeed in accomplishing worth-while goals.

The writers believe that nursery-school training is particularly desirable and that it would be particularly beneficial for children who live under emotional tensions and who show tendencies toward maladjustment. Through nursery-school training these children will come under earlier study and observation. A whole new world of wholesome experience and motivation will be brought to them during early childhood when impressions are being formed and basic personality patterns are being developed. These children would be freed during a considerable part of their waking hours from the tensions and anti-social attitudes found in so many underprivileged homes. They would be protected from both the extremes of parental domination and parental neglect. Upon reaching traditional school age these children should enter kindergarten and first grade much better prepared for group work, to feel more adequate in the group and to participate more profitably in learning situations. The staff of the nursery school should also be able to assist parents in the home care and upbringing of their children.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the lack of a substantial body of research relating specifically to the care and education of exceptional children at nursery-school and kindergarten age, the writers believe they have presented ample evidence to show that these children would profit even more through early training than do normal children. Facilities for medical treatment are organized to meet the needs of all types of the physically ill from birth throughout life. Similarly the agencies for vocational rehabilitation are organized to aid the physically disabled from the time they reach employable age throughout their lifetimes. But, for the most part, our society is not organized to begin meeting the educational and social needs of our children until they become five or six years of age. Before that age children are left largely to the care and upbringing of their parents.

The writers of this chapter believe that the concept of social responsibility is being widened, that our educational philosophy is being advanced, that our schools and social agencies must not only provide education and training in a traditional sense, but in addition they must promote child development, they must provide or help secure diagnostic and remedial services, they must promote social adjustment, and in so far as it is possible these agencies should work at the

level of "prevention," of promoting "early discovery" and "maximum recovery." They believe that our educational institutions and social agencies must perform these functions and provide all the services necessary to accomplishing these purposes, if these agencies are to meet human need and fulfil their obligations in American society.

In order to achieve these ends they believe nursery-school and kindergarten training are particularly necessary for exceptional children who suffer marked sensory defects, who come from underprivileged homes, who suffer severe emotional tension or show marked tendencies toward social maladjustment. To be adequately effective nursery-school programs must provide more than merely "child care" and a "program of activities." They need to function at a scientific level in child study and in providing or securing diagnostic and remedial services. They need, in addition, to function in a professional, social-service capacity by working with parents and with all public and private social agencies whose services may prove beneficial.

Control studies need to be planned, and research needs to be carried on throughout the entire area of care and education for exceptional children below six years of age. Similarly, there is need throughout the country for organizing and extending public health programs to control and prevent contagious diseases. All agencies functioning in the areas of public health, education, and social work need to extend and make their parent-education programs more effective.

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CHAPTER XII

THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN IN RURAL ENVIRONMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Rural and urban children do not differ in their essential needs. The great problem in the education of young rural children lies in the fact that, on the whole, their needs are not being met. There have been no developments in rural areas to match in scope the rapidly increasing provisions for young children in the cities.

Failure to provide for the education of young rural children is failure on a large scale, for more than half of the young children of the nation live in rural communities. According to the 1940 census there are more than seven million rural children under six years of age; there are more than eleven million children under nine years of age. Moreover, these children are widely distributed, for twenty-eight states are more rural than urban, and all states have rural areas.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL EDUCATION

While the basic needs of children are the same wherever they live, the educational patterns provided to meet the needs must differ in different environments. Rural environments present certain distinctive problems. Such factors as sparsity of population, labor demands, cultural backgrounds, and economic levels create problems which markedly affect the living of young children. These problems must be recognized in planning effective programs of education.

Sparsity of Population

Young children in sparsely populated areas have sharply limited social experiences. Neighboring families live too far away for the children to play together. Some children have practically no social contacts outside the family.

Limitation of social experience reaches its peak among such children as those in isolated mountain families where severe winters and almost impassible roads make traveling hazardous. Modern transportation is gradually breaking down isolation, but little children who cannot travel far by themselves are the last to be provided for.

Children who lack playmates necessarily spend much time with adults. The very isolation which prevents children from having playmates tends to cut parents off from modern knowledge of sound child guidance. Children are likely to be held to adult standards. Repressive discipline may be used. Many farm families are composed not only of parents and children but of one or more grandparents, other grown-up relatives, and sometimes hired workers. In such situations, conflict over methods of control are common.

In sparsely settled areas, entering school usually does not appreciably broaden the young child's social experience with his age peers. In 1940, one rural school in four served fewer than ten pupils, and these were of wide age range (12).

If studies (2) indicating deficiencies in rural children, such as inarticulateness, limited vocabulary, shyness, and aloofness are valid, lack of social experiences during these early years may well be a major cause.

Farming as a Family Enterprise

Farming is usually a family enterprise. When hired labor is scarce or the farm income too limited to permit its use, the family works too hard. Mothers do the milking, take care of poultry, and work in the gardens and fields. Even young children sometimes overwork. One study in a rural area (4) showed that farm work accounted for the absence from school of 16 per cent of the six-year-old boys and 34 per cent of the eight-year-olds. In such situations, parents have little time to do more than feed and clothe the children, and the child's participation in family enterprises may be harmful rather than educational.

Families Living at Submarginal Levels

In areas where large numbers of rural families exist at submarginal levels, children live in home environments which seriously retard development. These children lack the bare essentials necessary to physical health and suffer the emotional ill effects of the insecurity which racial discrimination and poverty breed.

Among the disadvantaged groups are those in the cut-over areas

around the Great Lakes, the share-croppers in the cotton belt, the Negroes in the rural South, and the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest. Included, also, are the agricultural migrants who follow the crops from harvest to harvest, traveling in crowded trucks. Usually their temporary quarters lack the minimum decencies of living. Because both parents work, babies are locked in cars or taken to the field to lie on the ground without shade or protection. Often six- and seven-year-old children work in the fields. Most young children get little or no schooling because they move too frequently and because many local school districts bar them.

Inadequate Health Services

In many communities the specialized service needed for protecting and promoting child health are entirely lacking. Health centers, child guidance centers, mental-hygiene clinics, and family consultation services are few. Physicians, dentists, and hospitals are, in some cases, inaccessible. Infant and maternal mortality rates, while decreasing, are still consistently higher in rural than in urban areas. In 1942, 76 per cent of the rural counties of the United States had no regular monthly prenatal clinics. There was no provision for regular child health services in 69 per cent of the counties (9). Few services are provided for handicapped children. A study in one rural county (1) showed only twenty-four out of three hundred handicapped children receiving needed care and education.

As a result of the lack of specialized services, many parents are denied opportunity to learn to safeguard the physical and emotional health of their children. Often ignorance rather than deprivation causes children to suffer physical and emotional handicaps.

Difficulties in Providing Group Experiences

Distance from any center creates difficulties in providing nursery schools for children under five years of age. It is generally assumed that preschool children cannot be transported any considerable distance without ill effects, although there is little evidence to support or refute this assumption. It is probably true, unless hours, housing, and program can be designed to offset the health hazards of a long trip.

At present, many school buildings are not fit to house a nursery-school program and most teachers in small schools lack training and time to provide adequately for children under the conventional age of school entrance.

Difficulties of Providing Adequate School Programs

Kindergartens may be legally established as part of the public school system in forty-two states, but they are the exception in rural schools. Most five-year-olds who enter school are placed in the first grade and given formal reading instruction. This practice is probably a major factor in the extremely high rate of failure in many rural first grades. A study of ten school districts (6) showed 42 per cent of the first-grade children repeating.

Distance from school is a factor which prevents many five- and six-year-olds from attending regularly or at all. The 1940 census showed that 91.4 per cent of five-year-olds and 40 per cent of six-year-olds were not attending school. School attendance of young children is extremely irregular. School transportation is increasing, but in 1940 only one rural child in four was being transported. A study of Negro children showed many children eight years of age and younger walking eight miles or more to school (3). Many children walk a long distance to meet a bus, wait for it without shelter, and ride a long distance to school.

School programs for young children are too often characterized by a meager curriculum, lack of instructional materials, and failure on the part of the teacher to understand developmental needs of children. At a time when physical activity is essential to growth, little children in such schools sit still for long hours, their eager minds as well as their bodies denied fruitful activity.

Numbers of rural children attend in substandard schools where proper sanitation, nutrition, rest, and ordinary comfort are difficult or impossible to provide. More than a million children are in school systems which spend less than \$500 per classroom per year (10).

EXTENDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

Some progress has been made in extending educational opportunities for young rural children. What has been done offers clues for the development of more effective and comprehensive programs and highlights the great areas of unmet need.

Parent Education as a Means of Progress

Perhaps the most fruitful next step lies in parent education. Some programs are now operating. The Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, through the county home agents, have for many years helped parents in the guidance of children and the improvement of home environments.

Some schools have effective programs. Teachers visit homes, seek parents' help in planning the curriculum, and co-operatively evaluate child growth through parent-teacher conferences which are substituted for report cards. The schools of Los Angeles County, California, have a county-wide program for helping parents understand children. Seven school districts held parent workshops which extended over a period of a year. Parents and teachers together studied the children and how teachers and parents can co-operate to facilitate child development (8).

One great weakness in most parent-education programs is their failure to reach the parents who need them most: those who live in remote homes, who lack travel facilities, who feel socially inadequate, or who feel no need for help. Skilled parent-education workers should be available to go to these people, workers who understand their problems and aspirations, who can build on their felt needs and so help them to develop higher standards.

Many rural homes have a dearth of cultural materials because parents do not know about or cannot afford such materials. Picture books, storybooks, music, toys, and other play materials might be supplied through traveling loan collections which parents could borrow and, having seen their value, could purchase or make. Stores in shopping centers should be encouraged to carry educational play materials.

More than anything else, parents need to learn to use the rich educational resources of the rural environment. Opportunities for motor development abound for the rural child. There are fences and trees to climb. The child lifts stones to make his playhouse, helps father pick up potatoes from the row, rides the farm horse home from the field, rolls in the hay, rakes leaves, and digs in the garden. He engages in creative and manipulative activities—plays in the snow, sails homemade boats in the brook, nails bits of wood together, makes mud pies or real little pies with scraps of dough left from mother's baking. He helps with the work of the family in caring for the pets, hunting eggs, scattering corn for the chickens, and bringing vegetables from the garden. He begins to acquire significant understandings as he observes animals, birds, plants, soil, weather, machines, and people.

But the learning values in these experiences may be largely unrealized unless parents help the children in the learning process: unless they know the fundamentals of a healthful daily routine and the fundamentals of guidance based on simple principles of mental hygiene; unless they encourage rather than frustrate the child's eternal drive to question, "What is it?" and "Why?"

Child Health and Guidance Services

Services for child health and guidance should be made available to all young children. Beginnings have been made. Departments of education in at least five states, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, and Michigan, have provided visiting teachers on a state-wide basis. Pennsylvania's county directors of child guidance bring services to handicapped children. State programs of maternal and child health, aided with funds from the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, use field nurses and clinics to carry on a continuous program of child health, beginning with prenatal care.

County or regional health and guidance centers should be established, perhaps by co-operating agencies, and should provide family consultation services and the services of specialists in health, mental hygiene, dentistry, and nutrition. Mobile units to serve families who cannot reach a center should be widely used.

Types of Group Programs for Young Children

A few rural schools conduct nursery schools. Some rural high schools have nursery-school groups as laboratories for homemaking and child-care courses.

Home-demonstration agents have organized informal neighborhood play groups. These play groups provide social experience for the children and help the parents to see what kinds of experiences and guidance are wholesome.¹

A small church in Pennsylvania has a play group for children from eighteen months to four years of age. Church members made the equipment. The children play, rest, enjoy stories and music, and are served fruit juice and crackers.

Nursery schools are operated in some migrant labor camps by growers, local or state school authorities, or church groups. In New Jersey, recent legislation has established a Division of Migrant Labor in the State Department of Labor. A project of this new division is the development of a demonstration center which provides a nursery school and a health clinic for babies. The State Department of Education provides educational guidance; the Agricultural Extension Service and local farm organizations are giving help and support.²

¹ From account furnished by Marion MacDowell, Extension Specialist in Family Relations, Co-operative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

² Account furnished by Mönema Kenyon, Assistant in Early Childhood Education, State Department of Education, Trenton, New Jersey.

These instances of group programs show that nursery schools can be provided in some rural areas. But urban patterns for nursery-school programs in rural areas do not suffice, especially in sparsely populated areas where transportation is required. Instead of operating a daily program, the nursery school might have the children once a week or once a month or at the season of the year most favorable for transporting children and at a time which would be most helpful to overworked mothers. At other times the staff might work with parents in the homes. One account of an emergency nursery school showed the children traveling an average total distance of 14.4 miles daily. But a nurse traveled with them and gave physical inspections in the home before the children started to school. The children's day was especially planned to compensate for the time spent in travel. Parents came to school and learned to make snow suits and other warm clothing for the bus trip.³

Advantage should be taken of any opportunities for bringing children together. For example, a center might be provided in town where rural parents could leave children while they shop, visit friends, and attend church or meetings of farm organizations.

Improvement of School Programs

Kindergartens and pre-first-grade programs are increasing with consolidation. In some states, buildings and transportation facilities are reasonably adequate. Some rural schools, including some one-teacher schools, have excellent programs. Grade lines are ignored, subject field barriers broken down, the rich environmental resources utilized, and the particular needs of the children studied and served.

Bulletins recently published by state departments of education take the needs of young rural children into account.⁴ The New Jersey Bulletin was prepared especially for small schools and begins "Five-year-olds do not belong in the first grade."

State-wide workshops, as conducted in Georgia, Maine, and Ohio, are reaching rural teachers. Florida, which now has supervisors in all rural schools, reports that a number of workshops are being held to plan enriched programs for the younger children.

³From an unpublished report supplied by Mary Dabney Davis, Senior Specialist in Nursery-Kindergarten-Primary Education, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

⁴*A Good Start in School*, Indiana State Department of Education, 1944; *Working with the Child Two to Six*, Ohio State Department of Education, 1944; *The First Year in School*, New Jersey Department of Education, 1944.

Much remains to be done. The practice of placing children of five years and younger in the first grade should be discontinued. The program should be greatly enriched and balanced to provide for all developmental needs. Essential to this are in-service programs of education for teachers, including expert and sympathetic supervision.

Attendance units should be planned with the needs of the young children in mind. Careful thought should be given to centralization plans which take the young child out of his immediate environment and cause him to travel a long distance. Perhaps in some situations, the neighborhood school should be maintained for the preadolescent children and the older children sent to the central school.

PROVIDING PROGRAMS AND SERVICES ON A NATION-WIDE SCALE

Parent education for all rural parents, health and guidance services for all young children, group programs for the preschool group, modern programs for young children in rural schools—how are these to be provided for rural America?

People Must Understand the Need

The people must want educational opportunity for their young children. They need leadership to learn to want it. The leadership should be forthcoming from the outstanding rural education and welfare agencies. State departments of education, teachers' colleges, the agricultural extension service, parent-teacher associations, nurses, rural ministers, rural librarians, and others must acquaint themselves with the specific needs in their states and regions and interpret these needs to rural people.

Appropriate Patterns To Be Determined

Appropriate patterns should be based on research and study. Study is needed of the effects of rural environments on the experiences, behavior, and thinking of young children. The effectiveness of present facilities should be studied and new patterns experimentally developed and carefully evaluated. Such study should take into account that there are many types of rural environments, each having its resources as well as its deficiencies.

Financing the Program

State and federal funds must be used to supplement the resources of the local communities. In disadvantaged rural areas where the waste of human resources is greatest, financial ability to support ade-

quate programs is almost entirely lacking. Equalization of educational opportunity is a sound investment for urban taxpayers, for probably 50 per cent of the young children now growing up in the country will become the city's citizens and workers.

Responsibility Must Be Recognized

Although the combined efforts and resources of all agencies are needed, the great areas of unmet need cannot be served until some agency, adequately staffed and financed, is charged with over-all responsibility. The appropriate agency appears to be the public school, which is designed to serve all the children of all the people. Rural educators, working under tremendous handicaps, have in some areas of the country demonstrated outstanding creativeness and ingenuity. It is past time for rural education, strengthened by the financial support it sorely needs, to concentrate nation-wide attention on young rural children.

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CHAPTER XIII

SCHOOLS AS LABORATORIES IN GENERAL AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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Nearly everybody works and plays with children at some time in his adult life. The young of the species seem to be everywhere, and as time goes on they enter into more and more adult activities. Parents and policemen, teachers and preachers must all deal with children and participate in rearing them. Yet, until recently, there have been few formal opportunities for adolescents or young adults to learn what children are like and how they may be dealt with constructively. In the days of larger families and the less isolated home life of small towns, there were better possibilities than there are today for the maturing person to experience children, many children, as a part of his every-day existence. But metropolitan living and small families have created a situation in which an intimate understanding of children has not been acquired by many people who should have it. This is serious, not only for parents but also for practitioners of a number of professions which must deal with the child and which are extremely important to him.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PROFESSIONS

The child is a special problem. Not only are his medical, dental, or other characteristics as a client or patient different from those of an adult but his personality and social status are not suited to the conventional relationships established for adults. The orthopedist working with a child patient is dealing with growing structures rather than stable ones. The technical effects of this for orthopedic practice form part of the specialized training in that field. The child has other characteristics, however, that do not have any immediate relevance

to orthopedic techniques but which must, nevertheless, be understood and taken into consideration by those who care for him. Hospitalization for chronic illness is a very different experience for children from what it is for adults. Young children are more active, need more adult affection; they are more distractible and more limited in their ability to amuse themselves. They are in a period of rapid learning of new emotions, new ideas, and new social relationships. Immobilization, therefore, has quite different consequences for them and must be handled differently if they are to be comfortable and if they are not to be handicapped by hospitalization.

For practitioners of the various professions that deal with children (e.g., nursing, pediatrics, orthopedics, orthodontia, social work, and clinical psychology), it is essential that there be training in the more general field of child development as well as in the special aspects of the child that are immediately relevant to the practitioner's technical job. Few training programs provide such content. The history of medical practice, for instance, has been largely the history of treating adult disease; only in the last forty years has pediatrics come to be a recognized segment of the profession, and even the modern pediatrician is carefully tutored in adult medicine before he begins to specialize. Dentistry has a similar history. Nursing as a profession is recent in origin and grew out of the need for the survival of armies rather than for the protection and care of ill children. To a considerable extent the modern application of professional services to the problems of children has been grafted onto already stabilized professions, the training programs for which are oriented in the problems of adults. Correspondingly, the newly trained practitioner is likely to be skilful with adults but not with children.

PRACTICUM METHODS

It can almost—but not quite—go without saying that actual practice is a fundamental feature of modern professional training. The apprentice system of an earlier day suffered a body blow, and rightly, with the development of laboratories, schools, and textbook education. In the creation of new training facilities in medicine, dentistry, law, and other professions, however, certain virtues of apprenticeship were sometimes lost. Most damaging was the reduction in *practicum* training.

A practicum is a period of training during which the student learns by doing, by working with the very materials with which he will later be professionally concerned.

In child development this means that he observes children with the intent of learning how they behave and that he participates in their care and training in order to learn how to interact with them to their benefit. The old-style lecture and textbooks are important, too; they provide theory to go with fact and systematization of the facts as well. But they do this in words and sentences, not in direct experience with a living child. Ultimately, the professional worker must recognize the meaning of behavior as it occurs—shrieking or laughing, pouting or questioning, wiggling arms or rigid back—not the meaning of mere *descriptions* of these things. Needless to say, he must learn such things under the supervision of people who, themselves, know children, and this requirement virtually dictates the use of schools for training materials and of school teachers as the supervisors of such learning.

In a suitable program, the professional student can learn facts of life about normal children. He can discover the child's limitations in motor skills, his reactions to fatigue, his methods of expressing likes and dislikes, his capacities at different ages in speech and reasoning, his emotional responses to the commoner frustrations of life. Most of all, he will be quickly impressed with the fact that young children are not miniature adults, that their abilities, motives, and needs cannot be guessed by extrapolating downward from the behavior of adolescents or adults.

Such knowledge is essential to the pediatrician who must cope with emotional crises in his office, with the planning of arduous treatment procedures or suitable chronic ward policies, and with physical hygiene problems whose solutions depend on an accurate assessment of one child's status as compared with normative status. To the social worker serving a family broken by death or economic disaster, the implications of her methods for children in the family can be clear only if she knows what their needs are and how these may be met. And everyone who encounters children professionally is faced with the necessity of making low-level differential diagnoses in many specialties for purposes of accurate referral to other specialists. Just as the dentist must be able to recognize when his patient has some condition requiring a physician's care, so must the social worker, psychologist, and pediatrician be able to recognize behavior that warrants examination by another specialist. These kinds of knowledges come only from intimate and thoughtful work with children who are living through the accidents and exigencies of a normal existence.

PROCEDURES

Procedures by which these purposes may be met can vary in detail, but there are two basic essentials to be satisfied.

Instructive Observation. The casual watching of children at play is of little value; behavior becomes significant to the observer only when he is able to interpret it in the light of developmental processes and in terms of the child's abilities and motives. For example, a four-year-old's effort to roll a hoop is simply a bit of repetitive activity unless the observer knows something of the way in which motor skills are changing at that age; and the duration of effort is meaningless without an understanding of the mastery motives that play such an important role in the four-year-old.

For observation to be of value, there must be co-ordinated instruction in the principles of child development, and the observations must be made under guidance. They should be planned with the intention of observing specified characteristics, not just "what the child does."

Supervised Participation. In order to work effectively with children, an adult must not only know what to expect from them under various circumstances, and be able to interpret their behavior, but must have the necessary skills for interacting with them. It is one thing to know that a three-year-old has difficulty with his dressing and is slow at it; it is another to know just how to assist him without evoking either resistance or dependence, and in such a way as to create an optimal learning situation.

Since the students are primarily concerned with becoming proficient at dealing with children as clients or patients, the role adopted in this participation must necessarily be that of an adult. The student does not simply play with and amuse the youngsters; he is a responsible adult caring for and training them. Supervision by a teacher is essential for the children's welfare and for the students' guidance. Obviously the supervision must be given by a person who is skilled in these matters herself, and since the teacher must be present in any case, and is the properly trained professional, she ordinarily serves as the supervisor.

PRACTICUM ORGANIZATION

The creation of such a program entails dual responsibility. The school possesses the facilities with which the professional training must be co-ordinated. On the school's side, arrangements must be made for introducing new adults (students) into the school setting, teachers

must be trained as supervisors, and methods of instructing observers must be devised. The professional training institution must prepare a curriculum and integrate the practicum period itself into the training program.

These tasks must be undertaken deliberately. The school staff is normally built to a size and quality suitable for actual administration and operation of the school program. To add adult training represents a new responsibility for which the teachers must be specifically prepared. They must have opportunity, in staff discussions, to work out suitable methods for introducing strangers to the group, to analyze methods of supervision, and to evaluate various proposals having to do with record-keeping, schedules, and assignments of the new students. Such matters can rarely be imposed by administrators with any success; as in any other teaching situation, the effectiveness of the work is a product of the teachers' own interest and intellectual involvement. There are no convenient rules to be followed in these various matters; what works with one staff fails with another. If able teachers have clearly in mind the purposes of the program, their own ingenuity will be sufficient for the development of techniques to fulfil them.

From an administrative standpoint, a practicum requires divided control. The technical needs of the students, whether medical, dental, nursing or any other, can be evaluated best by the professional group itself. A school staff can give valuable help by suggesting areas of experience that other professional workers with children will find useful and by explaining clearly the need for specialized instruction and supervision. But the final decisions as to amount and kind of training must lie with the professional group rather than with the teachers.

Once the general program has been outlined, its aims specified, and the amount of student time allocated, administrative responsibility must necessarily shift to the school. As in the case with all professions dealing directly with the welfare of individual human beings, the teacher's first concern must always be for her clients. The child comes first; the school is for his welfare. The kind and amount of additional research or training must always be determined by reference to the school's primary aim.

Within this limitation a great variety of training procedure may be used. Lectures on child development, accompanied by observation of the children, are essential for reasons emphasized above. Assisting with the feeding, dressing, and toilet routines is useful. Language development can be observed, and adults can become accustomed to

communicating with children in such activities as story-reading, shop work, and outdoor play. The detailed study of an individual child appears to be one of the most effective devices for integrating experiences and principles gained through other forms of study. Securing data for such a project demands skills at interviewing teachers, observing behavior, and developing an effective social relationship with the child himself.

Reading material and the various forms and instruction booklets required for implementing these studies must be prepared in large part by the school staff. Assistance can be gained from other institutions whose pioneering efforts have already created effective practicums, but, by and large, the training requirements for each situation are different. If the needs of the professional students and the aims of the training program are well understood, the school staff can develop its own working materials.

SAMPLE PROGRAMS

Nursing. Perhaps the widest development of this kind of training has been undertaken by the nursing profession. At the request of the schools of nursing, the National Association of Nursery Education appointed a Committee on Co-operation with Schools of Nursing. A subcommittee, entitled National Joint Committee on Criteria, has circularized nursing schools, colleges, and universities to determine the details of training programs in child development for students of pediatric nursing. Extensive programs are now in operation in a large number of schools, and the Joint Committee has actively supported the creation of a number of new ones.¹

One of the outstanding instances of this type of training is at the School of Nursing, Rochester General Hospital, Rochester, New York. As part of the experience in public health nursing, student nurses spend two full-time weeks in nursery school during their Senior year. The school is under the supervision of the board of education and was originally a Lanham Act day-care center. The training calls for the nurses to serve in approximately the capacity of assistant teachers, so far as participation is concerned, and, in addition, to prepare a detailed study of an individual child as well as to carry out a series of planned observations. The necessary instructions and suggestive outlines are provided for these activities.

¹ Details of this joint professional effort, together with sample curricular materials from various institutions, may be obtained from Ethel Gordon, Chairman of the Committee, Child Health Association, 1001 Huron Road, Cleveland 15, Ohio.

Supervision of the actual participation with children is the responsibility of regular teachers. During the first day the student mainly observes. Thereafter, increasingly during the first week, she takes over certain routine activities, such as helping with washing and dressing. During the second week she works with small groups of children at story time or possibly at music time. These activities are planned in advance with the head teachers.

Each student is given a detailed manual to assist her in observation. The excerpt produced below gives a sample of the kind of material available.

GUIDE FOR NURSERY-SCHOOL OBSERVATION

This guide has been prepared to help you in observing the children in the nursery school and to call your attention to the procedures used by the teachers in guiding children's learning. It is important that you start your work in the nursery school with an open mind. With this attitude you will begin as a learner and attempt to question and discover some of the interesting things concerning children's behavior. When taking notes, describe the situation as fully as possible so that when notes are reviewed there will not be isolated bits but, rather, a picture of what really happened. Careful observation of all the child does or says is of value if we are to understand children:

1. Observation gives us an understanding of how the child's experiences affect his development.
2. It gives us insight into the methods which should be used with children in guiding their behavior.
3. It helps us realize the necessity for fitting procedures to each individual, since no two children are alike.

A Nursery-School Day

Your first day in the nursery school will be spent in getting acquainted with the program of activities for the day and with the physical arrangement of the school.

Nursery-school program:

Notice the program of activities through the day. Is the time-schedule followed?

What kind of atmosphere does the school have—hurried, confused, orderly, relaxed?

Do the children know what is going to happen next?

How much do the teachers need to remind the children?

Getting acquainted with the children:

Try to learn the names of as many of the children as you can. Check yourself to see how many children you can call by name the second day.

You will also need to know what emblem each child has to label his property at the nursery school. By the end of the week the child's name and his emblem should be familiar to you.

Students' reaction:

Write down any comments you may have at the end of your day. Did you think it a good, fair, or poor day? Why?

What questions would you like to have answered?

Beginning a Morning

Arrival:

As the children arrive at the nursery school, notice whether they seem to be happy that they are coming to school.

Are there any children who do not wish to stay?

Do the children leave their parents or older brother or sister willingly?

Health inspection:

Are there any children who do not co-operate in the health inspection?

What is the procedure in making the health inspection?

Beginning play:

Do the children find things to do immediately?

Which children need help?

If a child stands about doing nothing, how does the teacher help?

Do any of the children search out special playmates?

What kind of activities occupy the children at the beginning of the morning?

Play Outdoors

1. What equipment and play materials are provided? Why are they placed as they are on the playground?
2. Notice the following:
 - Different ways the children use the material.
 - Is there a relation between the age of the child and the use of the material?
 - What supervision is given in the use of equipment and materials?
 - Which materials are used by the greatest number of children?
 - When does the teacher step in with suggestions or help?
3. What responsibility do the children take in putting materials away? How do the teachers get their co-operation?

Additional sections cover such matters as indoor play, play activities, observation in the bathroom, lunch period, the child's use

of creative materials and experiences with books. A case-study outline is also provided.²

Pediatrics. The Clinic of Child Development, Yale University School of Medicine, is intimately associated with the Department of Pediatrics and its facilities are largely devoted to the training of pediatricians and child psychiatrists. Two services are maintained. The infant outpatient service has a diversified intake, including normal infants who are referred prior to foster-home placement and adoption, infants and young children with developmental defects and deviations, and infants presenting behavior disorders. The diagnostic and guidance service for preschool children is conducted in connection with the guidance nursery of the clinic and deals with problems of personality development and with child and parent guidance. The guidance nursery is attended each week by some seventy-five children.

The training program is on an individualized basis. Undergraduate medical students devote six weeks to a study of clinical methods of infant-behavior examination. This includes observation of cases on the infant outpatient service and self-instruction by laboratory study of cinema records of normal and abnormal infant development. More advanced work is offered at the postgraduate level, externs being appointed for direct service in the diagnostic and advisory services of the clinic. The guidance nursery provides the children from ages two to five.

This practicum program is closely related to the direct medical training. Emphasis is given to the study and evaluation of normal children, but with constant relating of these experiences to the professional task of the pediatrician, namely, the diagnosis and treatment of neurological and behavior disorders. Since the director of the nursery is also, in this almost unique instance, the director of the medical training done in the nursery, the administrative relationships are not sharply defined.

General education. The need for experience with young children on the part of homemakers is as great as for professional workers. In the College of Home Economics, Cornell University, this has been met by the development of two courses, one called "Experience with Children," and the other, "Nursery-School Participation." Each of these is a one-semester course designed to bring home-economics majors (and liberal-arts students, too, when capacity permits) into participating contact with young children.

² Further details about these materials may be obtained from Mrs. Eleanor R. Beach, Supervisor of State Youth Commission Nursery Schools, Board of Education, Rochester, New York.

The nursery school has two groups: the Junior, including ages two to three and one-half; the Senior, from three and one-half to six. Each group has a head teacher or supervisor and an assistant teacher. Sophomores or older students are permitted to register for the work, and their time is blocked out in such a way that they can get continuous contact with various parts of the nursery-school program. Opportunities are arranged for assistance and observation in eating, toileting, creative activities, indoor and outdoor free play, and other significant parts of the day's work. Conferences are held with the assistant teachers.

A considerable number of students so trained go into home-economics teaching in high schools. Miss Reeves, head of the Nursery School at Cornell University, states:

We attempt to give the student experiences with children which will yield both method and content in her work with students in high school and junior high school. These objectives could be arrived at without the nursery school, if other types of group and individual contacts were possible. We use the nursery school as an economical means for getting variety of experience in a relatively short time.

[In order to give wider experience, public school nursery groups are also used. They] bring the student in contact with girls in the high school and in the junior high school who are themselves learning about children by living with them in the nursery school. This experience gives the prospective teacher a double exposure to the interests, needs, and abilities of girls of the age which she may be teaching.

The course in nursery-school participation is not a course in nursery-school technique, except incidentally. Students must develop some skill in working with children within the framework of the nursery school and must have some knowledge of the basic factors to be considered in planning a suitable school regime. But the primary objectives for secondary teachers are the understanding, enjoyment, and appreciation of young children in the personal relation, and development of insights which will enable them to work effectively at other levels than the preschool. The student will express this as "the chance to try myself out with children." The technique we aim toward is a technique of human relationship—considering technique not as an end in itself but as a fluent and sensitive response to personality and human needs.

Social Work. Training and experience with children is a part of the general program dealing with human development. At the School of Applied Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, a course, entitled "*Growth and Change of the Individual*," provides lectures and observations covering the entire life span. It is planned so as "to help the

student become aware of the interplay of physical, intellectual, and emotional forces which constitute the individual as he moves through life." Most of the lectures are presented by a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a physician. Observations of each age period are arranged after the lecturers have completed their discussion of the particular age under consideration.

The observation of nursery-school children follows the lectures on the preschool child. The students are divided into small groups and take turns in observing a day-nursery school from behind a one-way-vision screen. Each student has in his hand an outline of the daily program at nursery school, and the small groups meet with the nursery-school teacher before and after the observation as a way of furthering their understanding of the purpose and meaning of the children's experience in nursery school. Students are required to write up these observations, describing what they saw and understood in the light of the lectures they have heard and of the observation experience itself.

Four lecture periods are devoted to the preschool child and three to the school-age child. The lecturers and topics for the preschool period are as follows:

THE PRESCHOOL CHILD

Physician: Norms of development for the preschool child; diet, rest, and exercise needed. Dentition will be discussed. A program of preventive health care will be outlined in relation to illnesses common to this age period.

Psychiatrist: Emotional development during the preschool period. Psycho-sexual development of the child during this time; the localization of the libido in the genital area; the significance of enuresis and of masturbation. Relationships with siblings and with parents; the meaning of the Oedipal situation.

Psychologist: Intellectual growth and change during the preschool period. There will be a presentation of intelligence tests for preschool children, what they test, their validity, etc. A preschool child will be tested before the class.

Psychiatrist: A showing of the movie "Balloons," a talkie, showing aggression in the preschool child and different ways in which children express and manage their aggression.

The nursery school used for observations is a part of the public school system and is housed in an elementary-school building. Arrangements for observations are made between the director of the course, the superintendent of schools, and the director of the nursery school. The students' reports are examined by the course director and then

some of them are passed on to the nursery-school director for her information.

THE SCHOOL'S GAIN

To the school that is organized primarily as a school and not as a university training or research facility, the cost of establishing a practicum, in time and energy, is considerable. Staff meetings devoted to planning for it necessarily cut in on planning for other school activities. What is to be gained?

One advantage derives from the specialized training of the students. Although teachers ordinarily have a fair amount of knowledge from diversified fields, they are not specialists in public health or in dental, psychological, or social problems. The addition of students whose interests are oriented to any of these fields inevitably broadens the teachers' interests and information; they attend more intently to another of the child's many facets. The advantage to the children is evident; bringing specialists into the school increases the available technical information, and what is good for the children is a gain for the school.

More important than these practical additions, however, is the increased community interest in the school. Society has officially allocated much of the job of socializing children to the schools, but this socializing cannot be done in a vacuum. The schools themselves must continue to be a part of society. Unless other groups which have the welfare of children at heart can integrate their work with the school activities, the socializing process will go on piecemeal. To the extent that it can draw together the child-interest of many parts of the community, the school is fulfilling this broader function. Making the school available for other, but genuinely useful, educational purposes is a primary step in this direction.

CHAPTER XIV

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION, AND FINANCE

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HISTORY AND EVOLUTION

Concern for the education of children between two and six years of age has been expressed in many countries and throughout the ages, certainly since the time of Plato. In America, however, little was done to organize and operate nursery schools until the second decade of the twentieth century. Since that time a heterogeneity of patterns and a multiplicity of supporting and controlling agencies have dotted the nation with institutions for the care and education of the young child. Catherine Landreth describes this development as follows:

As the year opened in 1942 there were in existence in the United States many institutions for the organized care of young children outside their homes. These were variously called nursery schools, play centers, play groups, day nurseries, child development groups, and child-care centers. They operated three to twenty-four hours five or seven days a week. Some were staffed by college graduates with professional training in the care and education of young children, some by individuals with a grammar-school education and no professional training. The children were drawn from the homes of indigent parents, working mothers, families in migrant camps, housing projects, crowded urban areas, or families in the higher income groups who had only one or two children and no neighborhood facilities for their active play and association with other children. The services these institutions offered were either free or at a fee so high that only a small percentage of parents could afford to pay it. The institutions were variously sponsored by W.P.A. family-life education projects, departments of social welfare, local philanthropic organizations, re-

search centers, universities and colleges, adult education projects, housing projects, groups of parents, women's penitentiaries, or individuals operating them for income. Some met standards and came under the supervision of a national or state organization, some operated as they saw fit, without even public health supervision. Objectives varied from keeping young children safe and 'dry' for a prescribed number of hours for a prescribed fee to offering them recreational facilities or promoting the physical, mental, and social development of each child in the school (13: 3-4).

Since the functions of these enterprises varied, control and organization differed also. When research in child development is the purpose, the control and support tend to rest with research groups, often associated with a university; when child care is the primary motive, welfare and philanthropic groups usually play a major role; when homemaking and preparation for family life are paramount, as, for example, in a unit supported by a college or university specializing in home economics, or when the school is established as a laboratory for educating teachers, the program is attached to and controlled by a school of education or teachers college and childhood education is frequently secondary; and when the program is organized for the purpose of aiding in the education and development of the child himself, the nursery school in America has usually been private in nature, controlled by an independent agency and largely supported by tuition. In a few areas, however, such schools have been publicly controlled. Great impetus has been given to the publicly operated school since federal support became available, first, through W.P.A. funds and, later, by revenue from the Lanham Act. It may be noted, however, that federal support has been given not so much to educate the child as to assist the home or to release the mother for war work.

One of the greatest obstacles to the establishment of nursery-school groups is the attitude on the part of some parents and many taxpayers who consider the nursery school merely as a place to "play." More understanding of the attitudes built through play and activities geared to the age and interests of young children is needed. The spirit of co-operation and fair play, independence, courage and self-confidence, initiative, and resourcefulness are some of the many qualities and basic attitudes that must have their roots in these very early years. Education and growth are in continuous process and, by extending the age for entering school downward, it is possible to bring these processes under professionally trained guidance at an earlier time. Many values can be gained by young children only through group experience. There are also many advantages in establishing early contact with the parents of school children.

Parents who are familiar with kindergartens and nursery schools are enthusiastic about them, but many parents are not acquainted with preschool education and have not, therefore, accepted it as a part of their thinking and practice. Even after they become acquainted with the nursery school and kindergarten—and acquaintance is usually tantamount to approval—parents and their educational counselors will consider such matters as the accessibility of the nursery schools, transportation facilities, and the adequacy of the home environment (7: 37).

It is safe to say, nevertheless, that the American people are aroused to the importance of these years in the life of each person. If this be true, the responsibility of establishing, administering, and financing a program would seem to rest upon all the people. The Educational Policies Commission states it this way:

America is committed to the development of the individual. In fulfillment of this commitment, we have undertaken many large services. One of these is free public education for all the children of all the people.

Through education we seek to enable the individual to develop those abilities, understandings, and traits which he must have to attain self-realization. The contributions of the school in former days were made largely in terms of reading, writing, and numbers. The need of these abilities has magnified with our advancing technological society. To these contributions we have now added many others, such as health and personal and social adjustment. It is also quite essential that the individual master the disciplines of the society in which he lives and grows.

Democratic culture has disciplines quite as powerful, although not so overt and direct, as those of dictatorial society. The disciplines of democracy are those which are needed for (1) the full development of the individual and (2) the successful functioning of a democracy. Building these disciplines is a continuous process which should begin very early in life.

The disciplines of American society are masked to some extent under such common phrases as: *taking turns, being a good sport, playing the game, living up to what the family expects of you, not letting the other fellow down, having a sense of honor, being a good neighbor, considering what other people will think of you, and being a decent, law-abiding citizen.* Whether masked or not, the disciplines are ever operating as powerful forces in regulating individual participation and in insuring democracy as a going concern.

Some of these disciplines have found partial expression in the law, but the greater number of them have not. They are rather self-disciplines which have originated in the mores and are maintained and nourished by popular acceptance. The initiation, growth, and development of democratic disciplines constitute an essential part of education (7: 3-4).

That the function of the early-age school tends more and more to coincide with the generally accepted purposes of the American public

school is borne out by Bulletin 1932, No. 9, U. S. Office of Education, which states:

Two general trends are largely responsible for the development of nursery schools during the past decade. *First*, the general concern that each individual be given opportunity to start life fortified with adequate emotional controls and social adjustments that may obviate many of the present difficulties in adolescent and adult life. That this is possible has been shown in the marked increase in knowledge of the potential learning abilities of younger children and in the development of techniques for the conditioning of behavior. The preschool years are being recognized as of more developmental importance than any succeeding period of life. Systematic care is needed to assure adequate growth and development for the many and varied phases of the young child's mental and physical being.

Second, the movement of population toward cities has placed certain social and economic limitations upon family life. There is a larger proportion of "only" children and of small families. The children need a substitute for the wholesome "give and take" which living with other children affords. Play space is limited and an undesirable amount of adult supervision is found necessary. The excitements of city life are overstimulating for young children. Women are seeking employment outside the home both to add to the family income and to carry on vocations or avocations. Parents want the best environment for their children and are seeking guidance in their profession of parenthood and co-operation in the supervision of their children's development (15:1).

The evidence seems clear that the American people will soon make the decision to extend the public school system downward to include institutional training for very young children, just as, after long deliberation, they decided to extend public education upward to include the secondary school. When this decision is made, new patterns of organization and administration will appear.

TYPES OF UNITS

Out of the various patterns of group programs for young children now in operation three basic types of organization are emerging. *First*, there is the occasional extension of the elementary school downward, a unit developed for children below kindergarten age. This unit has been developed in connection with both public and private schools as a nursery-school group or prekindergarten unit. In some cases it is a part of the elementary program. It has not been too difficult to add units for younger children under subsidies of the W.P.A. and the Lanham Act. Existing facilities within the school plant have been quite successfully adapted to the young child, or a near-by dwelling

or other building has been used to house the group. This type of program is administered through the usual school channels, and supervision is provided by the elementary-school principal supplemented by consultative services from the superintendent's office, the county, or state. It offers the opportunity for sequential development of group activities for the child from the age of three or four through the elementary grades. Because most elementary schools are located in areas near the homes to be served, problems of transportation are not seriously involved. A few schools have inaugurated programs for younger children using existing kindergarten facilities and staff. Because the kindergarten was operating for a half-day, a younger group was admitted and placed in charge of the kindergarten teacher for the other half-day.

In units of this type one dangerous tendency appears. Administrators and teachers view the unit as an extension of the "kindergarten" downward and conceive of the curriculum in terms of traditional kindergarten patterns for five-year-olds. The result is to provide for the younger child a modified, formal "kindergarten" curriculum.

A *second* type of unit is one which is part of a junior or primary school serving children from ages two or three through eight or nine. Many private schools are so organized. Frequently primary groups are developed as a continuation or extension upward of an established nursery school. Parents and teachers, convinced of the desirability of a broader and more flexible educational program, have encouraged the development of facilities for primary classes to follow the nursery-school program. The advantages in this type of organization grow out of the opportunities for consistent and sequential growth and progress for the children. Because facilities are likely to be planned around the young child and his growth needs, there is a greater likelihood of developing an appropriate curriculum. The unit can be planned as a complete school organization with playgrounds, cafeteria, activity space, and other needed facilities and with administration geared to the needs of young children. There is more opportunity in such units to guard against overwhelming or overlooking the young child in a situation arranged primarily for large numbers of older children.

This type lends itself readily to a unification of community services provided for the family and the child. All such services might well operate out of such a school as a neighborhood center. Conversely, it would be in easy reach of parents in need of assistance.

A *third* type of school is that restricted to children under five or

six years of age, popularly known as a nursery school. This type of unit may be classified in two groups which are differentiated in function, one of welfare, the other of education.

Schools in the welfare group are those in which child care, frequently custodial care only, is the chief function. Service is limited to children with particular social or economic needs and to cases where the family is considered inadequate, for one of several reasons, to care for the children. Many child-care centers, day-care centers, day nurseries, and children's homes fall in this class. They may be publicly or privately sponsored but, too frequently, are inadequately staffed and carry a program that centers largely about physical care of children with insufficient attention given to other basic needs and interests of children. Because of its functions, the welfare school must necessarily be discriminating and cannot provide service to all children.

The second group, whose function is primarily the education of young children, has emerged from several sources and has developed with varying emphasis, as noted previously in this chapter:

a) There is the school that has been organized for the child himself. Facilities and program are planned and developed primarily around child growth and development. Education of the young child is the function and goal. In general, only the "privileged few" can benefit by the service, since tuition and fees are the usual means of support. At scattered points, *co-operative schools* are increasingly attracting attention. They are generally organized on a neighborhood basis through the efforts of an interested group of parents or community leaders who see the need of schools for early education. Although a fee may be charged to cover regular operational costs, it may be considerably lower than in many private schools of other types. Parents participate in the program and offset many costs through service. More children may be served through this type of school where parents in the area are in a position to give the time required for co-operative service. The most successful schools of this type are those which draw on experienced teachers and consultants for guidance in the handling and training of children. One of the greatest contributions that a school of this type makes is to point up the value of co-operative planning and action toward meeting the needs of both parents and children in the immediate neighborhood or community.

b) Other schools serve various educational purposes but the child himself is not the single consideration. The "demonstration" school is a sample. It is organized for observation and training purposes for teachers, parents, and students of homemaking, education, psychology,

sociology, medicine, or nursing. Such schools are usually developed in colleges or schools and supervised by the department or groups directly concerned. Education of the children is coincidental with education for the students under instruction.

c) A third type of educational unit is that organized and operated mainly for research. The school is equipped for experimental programs and for controlled experiments. To realize fully the function of the school, children admitted may of necessity be highly selected, with a result that the program cannot serve all children who may need or benefit from group activities.

For obvious reasons, the programs to date have been able to reach only a selective few. The welfare schools are organized to serve a limited need. Private nursery schools, through their fees for service, necessarily preclude a large majority of children. Public nursery-school groups and co-operative schools are so rare as to fall far short of serving the widespread need for education of this age group.

Planning for the education of young children has, so far, been a hit-or-miss affair. It is imperative that we face the need for co-ordinated planning and action. If we understand and accept the importance of the first six years of life and subscribe to the democratic principle that "America is committed to the development of the individual," we have a common ground on which to build our plans to extend educational advantages to all children at the earliest possible age. Although we have undertaken "free education for all the children of all the people," we have gone but a little way in providing the total service. The co-operative nursery school has most adequately undertaken the fundamental, dual responsibility of providing education for the child and his parents at the same time. It may point the way toward a solution of the problem of meeting the growing and changing needs in *all* education programs today.

THE EARLY CHILDHOOD SCHOOL—AN IMMEDIATE CONCERN

Wartime conditions have perhaps contributed most to awakening the public to needs of children that have always existed and that *can* be met by schools. Chaotic home conditions have brought us up sharply to give some consideration to purposeful planning for young children and their parents.

Growing concern for the education and development of children in the first six years of life is bringing into play the findings of developmental and psychological research of the past twenty years. A common thread of emphasis is beginning to run through all of the programs described above. It is the realization that:

The growth process during the first six years is foundational and tends to set the pattern of future health and adjustment. Healthy, well-adjusted persons are the product of an orderly process of growth. . . . The play and work of the child during these early years can include the basic elements of good social life: companionship, sharing, and good will. In the young child's world there can be the prototypes of all desirable living (7:6, 8).

Many homes are inadequate to provide these values derived from group experience for children. Parents are not educated for parenthood and are unaware of developmental needs of children and how best to provide them. We expect the teacher, doctor, accountant, or the engineer to be skilled and equipped for his profession, but we have largely overlooked education for the basic profession of life—parenthood, with the underlying values of human understandings, relationships, and responsibilities. The school for young children is proving its value in serving a dual function. It helps parents in the solution of problems relating to the care and development of children and "has functioned as a center for parent education. This emphasis on close relationship with the home was with the kindergarten from its inception. Although, at times, this integral phase of the kindergarten program has been neglected, it invariably comes back, for it is essential to the attainment of the objectives of early childhood education" (7: 16). Parents of young children are of necessity much closer to the care and guidance of children than at any other period of life. "Much of the desirable relationship between home and school arises in their mutual concern for helping children grow and develop" (7: 16).

There is increasing demand as well as need for schools for young children that will serve the needs of children and their parents. To meet the demand, "fly-by-night" schools are springing up throughout the country, inadequately housed, staffed, and administered but following, in general, the organizational pattern of the units described above.

There are no recipes which all people will find palatable. No one set pattern of organization can be expected to meet the needs in every community, but it is of the utmost importance that planning be done with an eye to developing that program which best serves the needs of the local situation and best utilizes the local facilities.

It is evident that the nursery school and kindergarten should be considered as a sequential unit and that this preschool unit should be completely integrated with the primary- and elementary-school programs which follow. The most logical, constructive, and workable pattern which seems to emerge from a study of existing facilities and

their basic values in ultimate child growth would appear to be that of an early childhood educational unit. Such a unit, whether it be developed as a primary school sufficient unto itself or whether it be developed as an extension of the elementary school downward, offers the finest opportunity for sequential growth throughout the early years of childhood.

In fulfilling our democratic heritage the service should be provided through our public educational system and should be available to all children. Advantages lie in the possibility for integration of the entire school program, more efficient planning of space and facilities, and less expensive administration and supervision. The school can be a center for parent education and should represent co-ordinated planning and provision for educational needs throughout the community. If adequately planned and administered, the school may meet welfare needs and serve as an observation center for training. Therein, lie the opportunities for co-ordinating the present, widely diversified types of service offered by small, scattered units of varying degrees of effectiveness.

DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES—ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY CHILDHOOD SCHOOL

If we recognize the need and understand the value of the early childhood school as part of our public educational system, it is important to plan for its establishment and organization. The superintendent of schools should refrain from introducing any noneducational services for which the public has not seen the need. New services, which entail increased cost, should be added only when the average citizen has been educated to believe in the program and has expressed a willingness to support it. Nevertheless, the responsibility for leadership, planning, and promoting rests squarely on the heads of the public school system. They cannot escape the obligation of understanding and of interpreting the rapidly changing needs of society, particularly in those areas involving youth and children. Furthermore, the professional knowledge resulting from research in the field of child development should be his stock in trade. For him to fail to transmit a considerable portion of this to the lay public constitutes a neglect of duty. In this area, as in many others involving child welfare and, ultimately, the welfare of the nation, the superintendent and board of education must enlist the total community in the study of the needs of children and of ways and means of meeting these needs.

Community planning is of paramount importance. Its significance for the welfare of the young child can be matched only by its effect

upon the education of adults. In such a community-wide enterprise, the behind-the-scene organizing, inspiration, and leadership should rest upon him who heads the community school system. In addition to the organizing and planning, the school executive must find talent and human resources for bringing truth and understanding plus a little enthusiasm to the lay people, the parents of these same children. Ways and means of combatting ill-founded attitudes and misconceptions present a significant problem in community education. The facts in the case once effectively presented will convince and clearly establish the need. Early childhood education can well stand on its merits. Educational leadership, if energetic, sane, assiduous, and yet patient, can by means of the resources in every community convince the public of the significance and worth of the program.

The following must not be considered in any sense to be a blueprint of what should be done. It is meant merely to be suggestive of what might be done in a given community. The school administrator might, first of all, do preliminary ground work with a limited number of intelligent citizens. While this takes place, a preliminary inventory of resources, human and material, should be accumulated. Among the material resources, books, pamphlets, printed results of research on child development and parent education, and visual aids would loom large. Among the human resources available in most communities would be parent organizations, clergy, teachers, school supervisors, parent leaders, pediatricians, psychologists, and specialists in mental hygiene.

Next, a careful sifting of key community leaderships will give the nucleus for a general inaugural and planning meeting. At this session, and at as many others as may be necessary, the general problems may be presented and explored and, if possible, a plan approved for inaugurating a community-wide educational program for acquainting people with the facts, for arousing them to study the problem, for helping them to reach reasonable decisions, and for assisting them to take action which will result in the establishing of adequate educational facilities for the appropriate care and instruction of young children. Any program inspired by such purposes will involve much planning and organizing as well as machinery for correlating the work and information of the many groups involved. Ways and means of administering the resources so that any individual or group may have ready access to them is a matter of no mean importance. Parent-teachers associations may well be a part; school principals may be given specific responsibilities; librarians can be included; clerical as-

sistance should be found. Certainly the board of education may well furnish the staff to transcribe and duplicate notes and minutes of meetings of many types for widespread use. Persons of demonstrated ability representing as many organizations and community groups as possible should be used at all stages of the work. Frequently valuable resources may be found in adjoining communities, and assistance from others who have worked through the problem can point up planning and help to avoid organizational pitfalls. Since the project involves "all the children of all the people," talent scouts should be designated and should pursue their purpose with success. Often a community-wide project owes its success to new and hitherto undiscovered personalities of strength, vitality, and ability, rather than to old and recognized leadership.

FINANCING THE PROGRAM

The great diversity of types of nursery schools and the variety of organizations represented in their control have resulted in extreme ranges of financial costs and a conglomeration of sources of revenue. Obviously, the function of the institution will, in large measure, determine the per capita cost of the service. The expense involved in a program of restricted child care may represent a limited outlay, whereas an institution primarily concerned with research is normally much more expensive. A school that is an integral part of the public school system, although likely to vary from community to community, can be operated on a relatively modest expenditure. Although it may be expected that the per-capita costs for educating the young child will be higher than for the child in the grades of the elementary school, it should be pointed out that there are some public school services, particularly in the areas of the secondary and vocational curriculum, where the per-capita costs are likely to run still higher. Another factor often lost sight of is the contributory educational services which are normally a basic part of early childhood education. Chief among these is parent education. The program provides the means by which parents can observe, study, and understand young children and, with the consultation of teachers, better guide the development of children through the early years. If the per-capita cost is figured by counting both children and parents, the per-person cost would not appear to be high. Costs figured on such a base would be more valid and more revealing, considering the basic functions of the school which serves both parents and children.

Although presently established nursery schools receive income from sources such as gifts, tuition, grants, foundations, endowments, and

fees, it is from public funds that the publicly administered program of the future must receive its principal support. The assumption has heretofore been made that the education of children at any age is the responsibility of the state. A corollary to this principle is that the state has a responsibility to support such a program from the public funds, both local and state. Only as the state-wide community has been apprised of the value of such education and desires to provide such services can public funds be so utilized.

Few local communities are able to bear this added financial burden without state aid. It does not seem that state subventions or direct grants for nursery schools is a sound financial policy for meeting educational needs. This method, while helpful in the past as a stimulus to new programs, is not a sound policy. State or national assistance should be made in terms of the total educational services required for all the children. Discrimination against some age groups has frequently been the result of ill-considered laws. Fortunately, a few states, either by direct stipulation or by general statement, permit communities to use revenue from general state aid in support of their nursery schools. Such general legislation undoubtedly permits the greatest flexibility in the operation of the total educational program and stimulates the greatest local initiative. A good example of this type of law is the Connecticut mandate which reads in part, ". . . . good public elementary and secondary schools and such other educational activities as in their judgment will best serve the interests of the town" (5: 103). Under such a law a local community has state approval for extending its education upward, downward, and outward.

In those states which have not yet passed legislation to permit the extension of previously established patterns of public education, immediate action is paramount. Once the state by law recognizes education as extending beyond traditional boundaries, support for an increase in state funds is likely to follow. The trend for more and more support of public education on a state-wide basis is a signal stimulus to the development of the public nursery school. Such aid is imperative and must be supplemented by federal aid for general support of public schools in many states. As state and federal assistance to local communities increases, the children between the ages of two and six must not be discriminated against. Support for the education of this age group should not require private assistance of any sort. Just as instruction, supplies, equipment, and other services are made available for the child of the age of thirteen, so should they be given to the child who is three.

TRANSPORTATION

In considering the responsibilities and obligations of the local school administrators, transportation of children may present serious difficulties. Inherent in the problem are the ever-present physical dangers, supervision, driver competency, numbers of children and their age range, distances to be traveled, timing, insurance, and operating costs.

When the school for young children is in or near the elementary school, which is frequently within walking distance of home in urban areas, the problem of transportation is not so acute. When distances between home and school extend beyond one-half mile for young children, transportation must be given serious consideration. Rural areas and consolidated school districts present the most severe problem. It is not reasonable to expect parents to provide transportation. Many do not have the time, the daily freedom from home care of other dependents, or the facilities for regular transportation of their children. In cases where parents are working, hours for school and the job are not so scheduled as to permit the transportation of parent and child together.

No single solution to the problem exists. The difficulties are as numerous and varied as the communities in which they arise. There are, however, certain fundamental considerations to be taken into account. A few suggestions of solutions or partial solutions made in a few communities may serve as a springboard in resolving some of the difficulties. The school administrator or planning group must know the distance each child must travel to school and the family's plan, desire, willingness, or ability to provide transportation.

Transportation is the responsibility of our public school system which has undertaken the education of all children. Although it may not seem desirable to require school attendance of all children below the age of six years, no child should be deprived of the opportunity to attend school for lack of transportation.

Parents, school personnel, and community must plan together to meet transportation needs as efficiently as possible and under the highest possible safety standards. Adequate insurance should be carried. Special competency tests and physical examination should be required of every driver to assure his qualification as a safe driver.

One Highway Safety Commission considers it unsafe to have children under ten years of age alone in the rear seat of a four-door type car. It seems advisable to have at least one adult in addition to the driver in the vehicle whenever children under ten years of age are

transported. Parents, teachers, and volunteers are frequently found who can and will serve in this capacity. Inadequate or poorly supervised transportation has too frequently been the cause of fear or of reluctance on the part of children to attend school. Inability to understand and "cope" with large numbers of other (and often older) children, long periods of waiting for a bus or car in cold or inclement weather, and long, tiring, and frequently overstimulating bus rides make their inroads on a child's mental and physical health.

Responsible administrators insist that only the number of children for whom actual seating space can be provided may be transported in the vehicle at one time. The effort is likewise made to have the traveling time for any one child limited to one-half hour. This calls for extensive co-operation by children, parents, and the school to cut to a minimum the time that a driver will wait for children at their pick-up base.

Although service costs increase as the provisions for transportation are improved, the increase is more than justified by the results. Those results of intelligent handling of transportation are seen in terms of the reduction of physical accidents, the wholesome attitudes and learnings observed among the pupils, and the increased understanding and co-operation of parents, children, and school.

As in numerous other areas, more effective administration waits upon research. We need to know much more about what happens to children in process of transportation under varying conditions.

ATTENDANCE

Among the many administrative considerations necessary in the establishment of school service for children from two to six years old, there is the question of attendance and its allied problems.

The Educational Policies Commission says that "all children of three and four years of age in cities, villages, and rural areas should be admitted to the public nursery schools, but their attendance is in no wise to be compulsory" (7: 28). Children's needs vary so greatly and susceptibility to fatigue and contagious diseases are so high among young children that an effort to compel regular and full-term attendance would be futile and foolish. We know from experience that average attendance of kindergarten children in public schools runs about 75 per cent, and it is reasonable to assume that the figure would run consistently lower for younger children. However, under ideal situations, with the highest standard for organization and with the program developed to meet the needs of each child, it is conceivable

that the per cent of attendance may creep considerably closer to the 100 mark.

The length of the school day for young children will depend on various factors. In general, *the younger the child the shorter should be the school day* is a safe guide in view of the inherent stimulation of the child by the group. However, there are cases where the school may provide more adequate care and guidance than the home, and there are cases where both parents are working away from home. In cases such as these, it is the responsibility of the school to meet and provide for the situation.

There are some schools that operate on a well-tried principle of a three-day-a-week schedule or attendance at school every other day for young children. However, programs that are carefully planned for a balance of activities, for a small enough group of children to guard against overstimulation and fatigue, and for facilities and personnel to permit the expression of a variety of interests hold the basic values that can offer advantages to the children who attend regularly. Teachers have the opportunity to know the children better and the chance to guide their consistent and constructive development from day to day. There are always some children who benefit most from not more than one or two hours a day in a group. Parents, teachers, and school administrators must be continually alert to such individual differences and needs.

The Educational Policies Commission again states that "there should be provided . . . play-guidance centers once a week for two-year-olds as well as for three- and four-year-olds who do not enrol in the regular nursery classes" (7: 21). Knowledge of the development and ways of a two-year-old makes regular, daily group experience a doubtful value in many cases. It tends to impose on the two-year-old the demands of group behavior for which he is not ready. To plan for the organization and supervision of such a program raises questions which only the parents and administrators can best decide in each local situation.

Physically handicapped children, particularly the hard-of-hearing, those with partial vision, and others recovering from the effects of infantile paralysis, usually benefit from attendance in preschool groups made up largely of children without physical handicaps. The handicapped child gains confidence and independence by experience with other children; he develops a better adjusted personality. However, children having a physical, or mental handicap that requires special care or close supervision should not be enrolled, except on the advice of the family physician. Such conditions include diabetes,

epilepsy, blindness, the paraplegias, mental deficiency . . . chronic illness, [spastic, and mongoloid] (7:28).

In addition to all the above considerations we will still face for the first few years, certainly, the fact that time is needed for the general public and for all parents to understand and appreciate educational provisions for all children from two to six.

Voluntary educational opportunities are not embraced all at once. It is doubtful whether most local districts will obtain much more than 50 per cent attendance for the first few years. The National Resources Planning Board has estimated that we need to plan for about half of all the children between the ages of three and five, inclusive, for preschool education (7: 37).

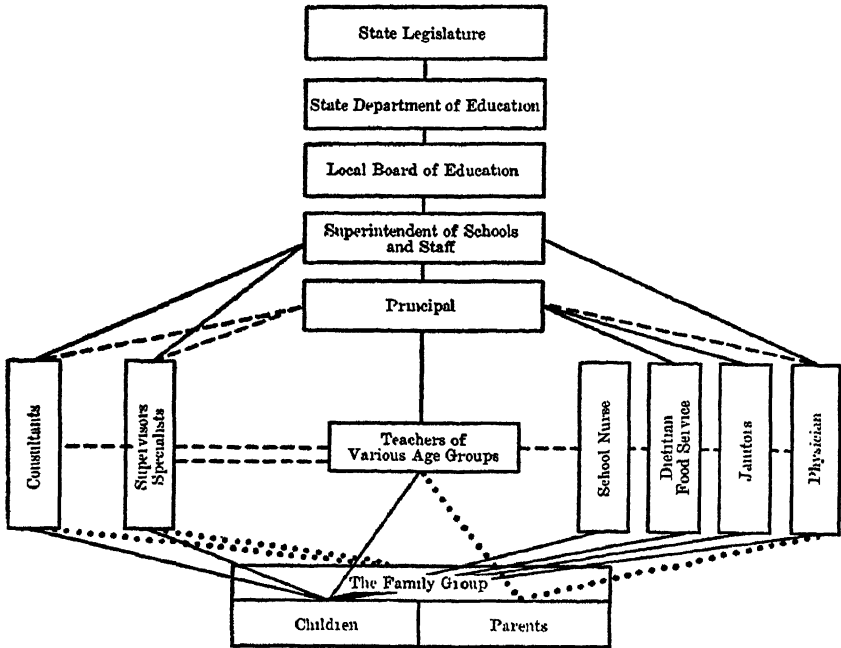
THE STAFF AND ITS ORGANIZATION

The staff and its organization will depend upon the views of the administrator, the school board, and the community regarding the nature of the services needed. These concepts will be colored, of course, by the general knowledge possessed by the controlling body regarding the needs of children and homes and by the amount of revenue available to support the program. From the point of view of adequate services for the whole public school curriculum, a study of needed educational services for young children will cast much light on the problem of providing these services. Many of the special services deemed mandatory by nursery-school leaders are already established in the good, modern school system. In systems where they are not yet a recognized need, the establishment of schools for the children from two to six years of age gives emphasis to their value and will probably create a demand for the establishment of such services for older children.

A modern school for these young children should include a staff (full time or part time, depending on the number of children involved), consisting of an administrator or administrators, teachers, specialists in mental hygiene, health, parent education, nursing, nutrition and foods, and child development, some of whom may be engaged on a consulting basis. This staff should be chosen from those who are mature, well-balanced, and trained in child development and guidance and who are able to meet state certification requirements. In so far as possible, this staff should be a basic part of the over-all administrative and service organization of the public school system. The responsibilities, functions, areas of authority, and staff relationships should be carefully outlined so that each person will function efficiently in performing his duties. The accompanying organization

chart is suggested for the administration and organization of services for a program which is an integrated part of a public school system.

PROPOSED ORGANIZATION CHART



ADMINISTERING THE CURRICULUM

Responsibility rests with the administrator for making the provisions which are necessary to carry out an effective program and for removing barriers to constructive curriculum-planning.

The curriculum must be conceived of as *all that a school does* rather than in terms of specific subject matter taught. It is the total, integrated planning for the whole day. The administrator who makes it his business to know and understand the contributing factors of a co-ordinated curriculum necessary to serve each child will not permit plans, decisions, and directions to rest with him as the sole authority. Under his leadership all school personnel, the parents, and the school board will study together the needs, facilities, and policies for the total school curriculum. They will share in the plans, recommendations, and decisions of administration. The administrator can make his finest contribution by serving as "on-the-job" director and co-ordinator.

The following are some of the many areas to which the administrator must give earnest and active consideration.

Budget. Although financial problems are discussed in their broader terms earlier in this chapter, it is important to emphasize again the necessity for adequate planning to cover the various branches of service offered in the total day's program. Items under consideration will include salaries for all regular personnel and substitutes (salaries adequate to maintain a good standard of living and the self-respect of personnel); allowance for transportation of pupils, including frequent trips and excursions; equipment and materials for a balanced and varied program for both indoor and outdoor activities; food; operating expenses; and all special services, including health, consultation, and guidance.

Financial resources should be such that all services necessary for the entire curriculum can be maintained, with sufficient allowance for constantly improving the financial provisions. It is important that the administrator give careful attention and direction to efficient business management for the effective operation and maintenance of the plant as well as of the instructional program.

Housing. Provision for physical facilities which can adequately serve the children and their activities indoors and out must be one of the first concerns of the administrator. Because most elementary schools have been built without facilities for early childhood education in mind, it may be necessary to effect extensive changes of available space within a building, to build annexes, to rent or buy and renovate a near-by building, or to erect a school for young childhood on a site accessible to the children and the homes it is to serve.

It is vital to plan for a sufficient number of rooms to avoid any chance of overcrowding or overstimulation. A minimum of thirty-five to forty square feet of indoor space, exclusive of coatrooms, hallways, and kitchens, and a minimum of one hundred square feet of outdoor space per child can, in general, serve the flexible and varied program desirable for young children. Ample storage and closet space, conference and observation rooms which are adjoining or readily accessible, and easily supervised toilet rooms contribute very materially to the effectiveness of the teaching service. Teachers have too extensive a job to perform in their social and personal contacts and in making plans with children to be expected to function effectively in inadequate quarters. Details of housing are discussed in an earlier chapter, but it is worth while to restate the importance of giving serious consideration to the highest possible housing standards.

Equipment. From the very nature of young children and all that is known of the importance of the early years, it is apparent that

equipment and materials need to be many and varied. They need not be expensive and elaborate. An administrator can contact local or near-by industrial and business enterprises to secure workable materials. All equipment and material which encourage a variety of activity, experimentation, initiative, and resourcefulness help the teacher in observing and in providing for the individual needs of the pupils. Materials with which children can *do* things, such as blocks, sand, wood, paints, boxes, and boards, can serve a group of children of a wide range in age and ability. Pattern materials for tracing, cutting, and coloring limit activity and retard growth into ever-widening interests, just as textbooks used as the sole basis of study material for older children can restrain initiative and limit ability to use other source materials for expanding learnings. Materials and equipment which are attractive, easily cared for, and easily cleaned aid in the maintenance of good physical and mental health standards and in the encouragement of respect for equipment and its care. Interesting materials, with space in which to keep and use them, help immeasurably in the organization of the program and the administration and in the smooth-running of the total curriculum. All equipment serves an educational purpose (from the stove for the cook and the cleaning brushes for the janitor to the furniture for teachers' rooms and the jar of clay in the children's activity room), and all must be planned with the same careful consideration.

Personnel. "Teachers who are able . . . to free [children's] minds so they can learn" (20: 25) are one of the first prerequisites to good school administration. In chapter ix the reader will find a servicable guide for determining the number of teachers needed for different age groups. At all times at least two persons should be on hand for each group of children within the age range of two to five years, regardless of the size of the group. At least one staff member in charge of each group of children should meet state certification standards.

Other essential personnel include janitors or housekeepers, cook, nurse and/or doctor, parent consultants, guidance personnel, physical education and music and art leaders, clerks, persons responsible for transportation, and adequate assistants in all areas sufficient to direct the total curriculum. The extent to which this personnel is provided depends upon the understanding and vision of the administrator and the readiness with which the co-operation of parents and community can be enlisted in support of a well-rounded program for young children.

The responsibilities of the administrator for curriculum organiza-

tion go far beyond the provision of staff and material facilities. Teachers can do a great deal with very little, but lack of understanding and poor planning on the part of administration can build up such tensions among members of the staff that the inherent pressures of the job overpower the best equipped and most suitable teachers.

As an administrator, the school head is charged with responsibilities for effective leadership and co-ordination. Under his direction democratic processes can be built up throughout the school and many working difficulties can be resolved through co-operative planning by all concerned with the functions of the school. He should provide for frequent staff meetings where policies can be established for promoting the efficient operation of the school and the continuous growth of each child throughout his school years. Among the many policies to be considered are the grouping of children so that developmental needs and interests can be met, the length of the school day, health procedures, and regulations governing the admission and attendance of children. Serious attention should also be given to public relations, parent contacts, record-keeping, and personnel standards with their problems of staff schedules, working hours, and working conditions. Decisions of the group on policies which have been discussed will serve as a guide to action for the administrator.

Through co-operative planning, ways and means can be devised for removing barriers to effective operation, reducing tensions and frustrations, and making the best use of the time and efforts of all concerned. In the selection of personnel itself, many pitfalls could be avoided if new candidates were to meet and become acquainted with staff members and to work with them for a trial period. Both parties would then have the opportunity of discovering possible personality conflicts or contributions that each could make to the other. Agreement on the use of cumulative records to assure continuity of development and guidance of each child throughout his school years will lead to efficient procedures of gathering and recording the data necessary for effective guidance. Understanding and planning for close home and school relationships, parent-education activities, and community contacts can do much toward helping the school to perform its total function.

The administrator has a tremendous responsibility to his staff members. He is responsible for arranging time and supplying material for continuous growth of teachers on the job. He must be alert to the needs of the staff for keeping abreast of new developments in education, science, and the world community. If those responsible for instruction are to give the best guidance to children in preparation

or living, the chief school officer must accept responsibility for seeing that opportunity is afforded for study, observation in other schools, travel, attendance at conferences, and participation in community activities.

The quality of work accomplished in the school year is directly proportionate to the degree of morale among the staff. It is important that the administrator place confidence in his co-workers for the work they are expected to do and that they feel his appreciation and respect for their knowledge of needs in their areas of work. Every step the administrator takes toward resolving difficulties and raising the morale of the staff, the more efficient and constructive will be the operation of the total curriculum.

CONCLUSION

America is committed to the development of the individual and, in partial fulfilment of this purpose, has undertaken free public education for "all the children of all the people." Just as public education has been extended upward to include secondary education, it will soon be extended downward to include guidance of children in the most important years of their lives.

Schools have the dual responsibility for providing education both for the child and for his parents. In the child's early years, parents are, of necessity, closer to his development and activities than at any other time of life. Co-operation between home and school at all times is one of the first requisites of integrated and intelligent guidance of each child.

The development of the early childhood educational unit, either as a separate school or as an extension of the elementary school downward, seems to offer the best opportunity for integrated training and sequential growth of children in the early years. The service should be provided through the public educational system and should be available to all children.

Need for action is imperative. The rapid development of innumerable scattered schools attempting to serve group needs of young children points up the crying need for organized and purposeful planning. Early childhood schools under responsible educational leadership can assure uniform financing and high standards of service. Those school services which develop from widespread understanding of needs and concerted demand by the public for co-operative planning will effect sound organization and more stable operation.

On the head of the chief school officer rests the responsibility for leadership in the community to interpret the worth of the program

and to enlist the support of local leaders and resources in planning for the establishment of the early childhood school.

Financing the program should be effected through the regular channels for all public education. State and federal assistance should be given in terms of the total educational services for all children.

For very young children the provision of transportation in many areas is a necessity. Failure to provide transportation facilities may mean the denial of school service to many children who need the group experience the school affords and who may suffer socially and emotionally without that experience. Wherever transportation is provided, standards for its operation must be high.

Early childhood schools should be available to all children, although compulsory attendance could not justifiably be demanded. Because average daily attendance tends to run considerably lower than total enrolment and because experience has shown a lag in the use of services when first established, it would seem adequate to provide school service for about one-half of all the children between the ages of three and five, inclusive, certainly for the first year of planning.

Since the curriculum is all that a school does and since it involves the integrated planning for the whole day, the school administrator is responsible for seeing that adequate personnel and facilities are provided to execute and maintain the total school services. It is important that he remove barriers to effective planning and initiate those democratic processes which will insure the fulfilment of a constructive and integrated program.

America is facing today the opportunity of proving the value of its educational services to the lives of its citizens, young and old. The worth and dignity of every individual must constantly be before us. Human and material resources are at our disposal for providing the finest possible environment and guidance for all, and we must plan and work together patiently and steadily to develop those resources. In developing public services we cannot longer overlook our youngest children in those years when the foundation for future life is firmly established.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF
THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE
STUDY OF EDUCATION

(As adopted May, 1944, and amended June, 1945)

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this corporation shall be "The National Society for the Study of Education," an Illinois corporation not for profit.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSES

Its purposes are to carry on the investigation of educational problems, to publish the results of same, and to promote their discussion.

The corporation also has such powers as are now, or may hereafter be, granted by the General Not For Profit Corporation Act of the State of Illinois.

ARTICLE III

OFFICES

The corporation shall have and continuously maintain in this state a registered office and a registered agent whose office is identical with such registered office, and may have other offices within or without the State of Illinois as the Board of Directors may from time to time determine.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. *Classes.* There shall be two classes of members—active and honorary. The qualifications and rights of the members of such classes shall be as follows:

(a) Any person who is desirous of promoting the purposes of this corporation is eligible to active membership and shall become such on payment of dues as prescribed.

(b) Active members shall be entitled to vote, to participate in discussion and, subject to the conditions set forth in Article V, to hold office.

(c) Honorary members shall be entitled to all the privileges of active members, with the exception of voting and holding office, and shall be exempt from the payment of dues. A person may be elected to honorary membership

by vote of the active members of the corporation on nomination by the Board of Directors.

(d) Any active member of the Society may, at any time after reaching the age of sixty, become a life member on payment of the aggregate amount of the regular annual dues for the period of life expectancy, as determined by standard actuarial tables, such membership to entitle the member to receive all yearbooks and to enjoy all other privileges of active membership in the Society for the lifetime of the member.

Section 2. *Termination of Membership.*

(a) The Board of Directors by affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the board may suspend or expel a member for cause after appropriate hearing.

(b) Termination of membership for nonpayment of dues shall become effective as provided in Article XIV.

Section 3. *Reinstatement.* The Board of Directors may by the affirmation vote of two-thirds of the members of the Board reinstate a former member whose membership was previously terminated for cause other than nonpayment of dues.

Section 4. *Transfer of Membership.* Membership in this corporation is not transferable or assignable.

ARTICLE V

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. *General Powers.* The business and affairs of the corporation shall be managed by its Board of Directors. It shall appoint the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Secretary-Treasurer, and Members of the Council. It may appoint a member to fill any vacancy on the Board until such vacancy shall have been filled by election as provided in Section 3 of this Article.

Section 2. *Number, Tenure, and Qualifications.* The Board of Directors shall consist of seven members, namely, six to be elected by the members of the corporation, and the Secretary-Treasurer to be the seventh member. Only active members who have contributed to the Yearbooks shall be eligible for election to serve as directors. No member who has been elected for two full terms as director in immediate succession shall be elected a director for a term next succeeding. This provision shall not apply to the Secretary-Treasurer who is appointed by the Board of Directors. Each director shall hold office for the term for which he is elected or appointed and until his successor shall have been selected and qualified. Directors need not be residents of Illinois.

Section 3. *Election.*

(a) The directors named in the Articles of Incorporation shall hold office until their successors shall have been duly selected and shall have qualified.

Thereafter, two directors shall be elected annually to serve three years, beginning March first after their election. If, at the time of any annual election, a vacancy exists in the Board of Directors, a director shall be elected at such election to fill such vacancy.

(b) Elections of directors shall be held by ballots sent by United States mail as follows: A nominating ballot together with a list of members eligible to be directors shall be mailed by the Secretary-Treasurer to all active members of the corporation in October. From such list, the active members shall nominate on such ballot one eligible member for each of the two regular terms and for any vacancy to be filled and return such ballots to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after said date of mailing by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare an election ballot and place thereon in alphabetical order the names of persons equal to three times the number of offices to be filled, these persons to be those who received the highest number of votes on the nominating ballot, provided, however, that not more than one person connected with a given institution or agency shall be named on such final ballot, the person so named to be the one receiving the highest vote on the nominating ballot. Such election ballot shall be mailed by the Secretary-Treasurer to all active members in November next succeeding. The active members shall vote thereon for one member for each such office. Election ballots must be in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after said date of mailing by the Secretary-Treasurer. The ballots shall be counted by the Secretary-Treasurer, or by an election committee, if any, appointed by the board. The two members receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected for the regular term and the member or members receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected for any vacancy or vacancies to be filled.

Section 4. *Regular Meetings.* A regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held, without other notice than this by-law, at the same place and as nearly as possible on the same date as the annual meeting of the corporation. The Board of Directors may provide the time and place, either within or without the State of Illinois, for the holding of additional regular meetings of the board.

Section 5. *Special Meetings.* Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by or at the request of the Chairman or a majority of the directors. Such special meetings shall be held at the office of the corporation unless a majority of the directors agree upon a different place for such meetings.

Section 6. *Notice.* Notice of any special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least fifteen days previously thereto by written notice delivered personally or mailed to each director at his business address, or by telegram. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope so addressed, with postage thereon prepaid. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed

to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. Any director may waive notice of any meeting. The attendance of a director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting, except where a director attends a meeting for the express purpose of objecting to the transaction of any business because the meeting is not lawfully called or convened. Neither the business to be transacted at, nor the purpose of, any regular or special meeting of the board need be specified in the notice or waiver of notice of such meeting.

Section 7. *Quorum.* A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the board, provided, that if less than a majority of the directors are present at said meeting, a majority of the directors present may adjourn the meeting from time to time without further notice.

Section 8. *Manner of Acting.* The act of the majority of the directors present at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the act of the Board of Directors, except where otherwise provided by law or by these by-laws.

ARTICLE VI

THE COUNCIL

Section 1. *Appointment.* The Council shall consist of the Board of Directors, the Chairmen of the corporation's Yearbook and Research Committees, and such other active members of the corporation as the Board of Directors may appoint.

Section 2. *Duties.* The duties of the Council shall be to further the objects of the corporation by assisting the Board of Directors in planning and carrying forward the educational undertakings of the corporation.

ARTICLE VII

OFFICERS

Section 1. *Officers.* The officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board of Directors, a Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, and a Secretary-Treasurer. The Board of Directors, by resolution, may create additional offices. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except the offices of Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. *Election and Term of Office.* The officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the annual regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided, however, that the Secretary-Treasurer may be elected for a term longer than one year. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as conveniently may be. Vacancies may be filled or new offices created and filled at any meeting of the Board of Directors. Each officer shall hold office until his successor shall have been duly elected and shall have qualified or until his

death or until he shall resign or shall have been removed in the manner hereinafter provided.

Section 3. *Removal.* Any officer or agent elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed by the Board of Directors whenever in its judgment the best interests of the corporation would be served thereby, but such removal shall be without prejudice to the contract rights, if any, of the person so removed.

Section 4. *Chairman of the Board of Directors.* The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall be the principal officer of the corporation. He shall preside at all meetings of the members of the Board of Directors, shall perform all duties incident to the office of Chairman of the Board of Directors and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors from time to time.

Section 5. *Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors.* In the absence of the Chairman of the Board of Directors or in the event of his inability or refusal to act, the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform the duties of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, and when so acting, shall have all the powers of and be subject to all the restrictions upon the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Any Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 6. *Secretary-Treasurer.* The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the managing executive officer of the corporation. He shall: (a) keep the minutes of the meetings of the members and of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; (b) see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws or as required by law; (c) be custodian of the corporate records and of the seal of the corporation and see that the seal of the corporation is affixed to all documents, the execution of which on behalf of the corporation under its seal is duly authorized in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws; (d) keep a register of the postoffice address of each member as furnished to the secretary-treasurer by such member; (e) in general perform all duties incident to the office of secretary and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or by the Board of Directors. He shall also: (1) have charge and custody of and be responsible for all funds and securities of the corporation; receive and give receipts for moneys due and payable to the corporation from any source whatsoever, and deposit all such moneys in the name of the corporation in such banks, trust companies or other depositaries as shall be selected in accordance with the provisions of Article XI of these by-laws; (2) in general perform all the duties incident to the office of Treasurer and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or by the Board of Directors. The secretary-treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties in such sum and with such surety or sureties as the Board of Directors shall

CONSTITUTION

determine, said bond to be placed in the custody of the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

COMMITTEES

The Board of Directors, by appropriate resolution duly passed, may create and appoint such committees for such purposes and periods of time as it may deem advisable.

ARTICLE IX

PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. The corporation shall publish *The Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, such supplements thereto, and such other materials as the Board of Directors may provide for.

Section 2. *Names of Members.* The names of the active and honorary members shall be printed in the Yearbook.

ARTICLE X

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The corporation shall hold its annual meetings at the time and place of the Annual Meeting of the American Association of School Administrators of the National Education Association. Other meetings may be held when authorized by the corporation or by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XI

CONTRACTS, CHECKS, DEPOSITS, AND GIFTS

Section 1. *Contracts.* The Board of Directors may authorize any officer or officers, agent or agents of the corporation, in addition to the officers so authorized by these by-laws to enter into any contract or execute and deliver any instrument in the name of and on behalf of the corporation and such authority may be general or confined to specific instances.

Section 2. *Checks, drafts, etc.* All checks, drafts, or other orders for the payment of money, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the corporation, shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents of the corporation and in such manner as shall from time to time be determined by resolution of the Board of Directors. In the absence of such determination by the Board of Directors, such instruments shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 3. *Deposits.* All funds of the corporation shall be deposited from time to time to the credit of the corporation in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as the Board of Directors may select.

Section 4. *Gifts.* The Board of Directors may accept on behalf of the corporation any contribution, gift, bequest, or device for the general purposes or for any special purpose of the corporation.

ARTICLE XII

BOOKS AND RECORDS

The corporation shall keep correct and complete books and records of account and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its members, Board of Directors, and committees having any of the authority of the Board of Directors, and shall keep at the registered or principal office a record giving the names and addresses of the members entitled to vote. All books and records of the corporation may be inspected by any member or his agent or attorney for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

ARTICLE XIII

FISCAL YEAR

The fiscal year of the corporation shall begin on the first day of July in each year and end on the last day of June of the following year.

ARTICLE XIV

DUES

Section 1. *Annual Dues.* The dues for active members shall be \$2.50 for each calendar year.

Section 2. *Election Fee.* An election fee of \$1.00 shall be paid in advance by each applicant for active membership.

Section 3. *Payment of Dues.* Dues for each calendar year shall be payable in advance on or before the first day of January of that year. Notice of dues for the ensuing year shall be mailed to members at the time set for mailing the primary ballots.

Section 4. *Default and Termination of Membership.* Annual membership shall terminate automatically for those members whose dues remain unpaid after the first day of January of each year. Members so in default will be reinstated on payment of the annual dues plus a reinstatement fee of fifty cents.

ARTICLE XV

SEAL

The Board of Directors shall provide a corporate seal which shall be in the form of a circle and shall have inscribed thereon the name of the corporation and the words "Corporate Seal, Illinois."

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE XVI

WAIVER OF NOTICE

Whenever any notice whatever is required to be given under the provisions of the General Not For Profit Corporation Act of Illinois or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation or the by-laws of the corporation, a waiver thereof in writing signed by the person or persons entitled to such notice, whether before or after the time stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

ARTICLE XVII

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. *Amendments by Directors.* The constitution and by-laws may be altered or amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors duly called and held, provided that an affirmative vote of at least five directors shall be required for such action.

Section 2. *Amendments by Members.* By petition of twenty-five or more active members duly filed with the Secretary-Treasurer, a proposal to amend the constitution and by-laws shall be submitted to all active members by United States mail together with ballots on which the members shall vote for or against the proposal. Such ballots shall be returned by United States mail to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after date of mailing of the proposal and ballots by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer or a committee appointed by the Board of Directors for that purpose shall count the ballots and advise the members of the result. A vote in favor of such proposal by two-thirds of the members voting thereon shall be required for adoption of such amendment.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY DURING 1946

I. MEETING OF APRIL 28, AT CHICAGO

The Board of Directors met at the Shoreland Hotel, the following members being present: Brownell, Charters, Horn (*Chairman*), Melby, McConnell, and Henry (*Secretary*); and, by invitation, Professor William S. Gray.

1. The Secretary reported that the annual election of 1945 resulted in the re-election of Mr. Horn for a second term and the election of Dean T. R. McConnell of the University of Minnesota as a new member of the Board for the term beginning March 1, 1946.

2. Mr. Charters was elected Chairman of the Board of Directors for the year 1946-47. This action had been delayed to the present meeting because the February meeting, at which officers are usually elected, was cancelled this year on account of inconveniences related to the scheduling of the meeting at the regular time.

3. The Secretary reported that the account of the Public School Publishing Company has been paid in full.

4. The suggestion of a yearbook on the rôle of the school in relation to the problem of juvenile delinquency, which had been considered at two previous meetings, was discussed in light of the returns reported by Mr. Charters from his inquiries concerning the appropriate content of a yearbook in this area and the desirable personnel of the yearbook committee. It was agreed that the effort should be made to organize the committee for this yearbook at the earliest possible time. Mr. Charters was requested to serve on the committee as the representative of the Board and was authorized to confirm, on behalf of the Board and in co-operation with the chairman of the committee, the appointment of three or four additional members of the committee from the list of persons approved by the Board. Miss Ruth Strang was appointed chairman of the committee. An appropriation of \$1,200 was authorized for expenses of the committee. It was agreed that this volume should be scheduled for publication in 1948.

5. Professor Gray presented a proposal describing several possible publications in the field of reading. In light of suggestions offered by several specialists in reading, Professor Gray recommended, and the Board approved, the plan of publishing two yearbooks of approximately 250 pages each, the one to consider problems of reading at the high-school and college levels, the other to deal with the teaching of reading in the elementary grades. It was agreed that the volume concerned with instruction at the higher levels should be prepared for publication in 1948, and the one in elementary-school reading in 1949. The Board approved proposals for the organization of a committee on reading with Professor Gray as chairman and authorized the subsequent designation of a subcommittee for the preparation of each of the separate volumes. Professor Gray agreed to serve as chairman of the subcommittee for reading at the higher levels of instruction, and Professor Arthur

I. Gates was named chairman of the subcommittee for elementary reading. Mr. Horn was requested to serve as a member of the yearbook committee, representing the Board of Directors. Appropriations were authorized as follows: \$1,000 for each of the subcommittees and \$500 for the general committee on reading. In connection with the foregoing plans, the Committee on Reading was authorized to develop plans for the publication in pamphlet form of reports dealing with the special problems of parent education and adult reading.

6. Mr. Horn reported that recent conferences on the proposal to publish a yearbook on geography in co-operation with the National Council for the Social Studies failed to develop a plan in which the Society could participate.

7. The Secretary presented brief reports on the activities of the committees on science and early childhood education, recommending supplementary appropriations of \$500 for the former and \$600 for the latter, which appropriations were authorized.

8. The outline of a suggested yearbook on audio-visual instructional materials, prepared by Professor Stephen M. Corey at the request of the Board of Directors, was reviewed with special regard for the alternative types of organization which Professor Corey described as feasible plans, each being designed to serve preferentially the interests of a specified professional audience. In light of Professor Corey's explanations, the Board decided to request him to develop the outline in the direction of the plan designed to serve the needs of professional groups who might use such materials in teaching situations.

9. The Secretary presented a communication from Dr. Harry J. Baker expressing the interest of the Council for Exceptional Children in promoting the publication of a yearbook dealing with procedures in schools and classes for different groups of exceptional children. It was decided to request Dr. Baker to arrange with his associates for the preparation of a proposal indicating the most useful kind of yearbook from the point of view of the purposes and plans of the Council.

II. MEETING OF OCTOBER 27, AT CHICAGO

The Board of Directors met at the Stevens Hotel, the following members being present: Brownell, Charters (*Chairman*), Horn, McConnell, and Henry (*Secretary*); and, by invitation, Professor Stephen M. Corey.

1. Plans were made for a joint meeting with the American Educational Research Association for presentation of the yearbook, *Science Education in American Schools*, at such time during the Convention of the American Association of School Administrators as might prove to be most advantageous to the Society and to the Research Association.

2. Mr. Brownell reported on the meetings of the Committee on Science and the Secretary reviewed the correspondence with the chairman of the Committee on Early Childhood Education, these reports indicating that the preparation of these volumes would be completed for publication in 1947.

3. Profesosr Corey presented the revised outline of the proposed yearbook on audio-visual instructional materials. The Board approved the proposal and the membership of the yearbook committee, of which Professor Corey was appointed chairman, and authorized an appropriation of \$1,200 for the expenses of the committee.

4. The tentative outline of the yearbook on the problem of juvenile delinquency, as submitted by the chairman of the committee, was approved with certain suggestions relative to the organization of the volume.

5. The report of the Committee on Reading was read and approved. Questions concerning the proposed pamphlet publications relating to parent education and reading materials for use in teaching adults were deferred for later reports of the committee following the conferences that have been arranged for the discussion of these problems.

6. Mr. McConnell presented the proposal of Professor G. Lester Anderson of the University of Minnesota for a yearbook pertaining to certain aspects of the problem of the improvement of instruction. It was agreed that certain suggestions offered by members of the Board in the course of the discussion of this outline should be submitted to Professor Anderson for consideration in consultation with other specialists in psychology and education.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY
1945-1946

Receipts and Disbursements

Receipts:

Membership dues	\$ 4,571.40
Fees for quotations	2.00
Sales of yearbooks	11,920.85
Payment on principal of notes	6,609.24
Interest on notes	207.41
Interest and dividends on securities	378.75
Interest on savings accounts	60.36
Miscellaneous	611.62
Total Receipts	\$24,361.63

Disbursements:

Yearbooks:

Manufacturing and distributing	\$ 4,757.01
Reprinting	3,631.02
Preparation	2,501.76
Meetings	789.74

Secretary's office:

Editorial, secretarial, and clerical services	3,113.60
Supplies	620.85
Telephone and telegraph	44.63
Miscellaneous	1,064.85
Purchase of securities	4,500.00

Total disbursements	\$21,023.46
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Excess of receipts over expenditures	\$ 3,338.17
Cash in banks at beginning of year	3,780.96
Cash in banks at end of year	7,119.13

STATEMENT OF CASH AND SECURITIES

As of June 30, 1946

Cash:

University National Bank, Chicago, Illinois, Checking Account.	\$ 4,619.13
Danvers Savings Bank, Danvers, Massachusetts, Savings Account	1,500.00
Salem Five Cent Savings Bank, Salem, Massachusetts, Savings Account	1,000.00
	<u>\$ 7,119.13</u>

Securities:

Bonds:	Cost
\$1,000 Pennsylvania R. R. Co., General Mortgage, 4½%, due June 1, 1965.	\$ 960.00
£200 Canada Atlantic Ry. Co. Cons. 1st Mortgage, 4%, due January 1, 1955.	937.98
£200 Canada Atlantic Ry. Co. Cons. 1st Mortgage, 4%, due January 1, 1955.	928.26
\$12,700 U. S. of America Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%, due 12 years from issue date.	12,700.00
\$1,000 dated September 1, 1943	
\$1,500 dated February 1, 1944	
\$2,700 dated May 1, 1944	
\$2,000 dated February 1, 1945	
\$1,000 dated April 1, 1945	
\$4,500 dated December 1, 1945	

Stock:

25 shares First National Bank of Boston, Capital Stock.	1,031.25
	<u>\$16,557.49</u>
Total securities	\$16,557.49
Total assets	<u>\$23,676.62</u>

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2. **ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP.** Any person who is interested in receiving its publications may become a member by sending to the Secretary-Treasurer information concerning name, title, and address, and a check for \$3.50 (see Item 5).

Membership is not transferable; it is limited to individuals, and may not be held by libraries, schools, or other institutions, either directly or indirectly.

3. **PERIOD OF MEMBERSHIP.** Applicants for membership may not date their entrance back of the current calendar year, and all memberships terminate automatically on December 31, unless the dues for the ensuing year are paid as indicated in Item 6.

4. **DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERS.** Members pay dues of \$2.50 annually, receive a cloth-bound copy of each publication, are entitled to vote, to participate in discussion, and (under certain conditions) to hold office. The names of members are printed in the yearbooks.

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9. **YEARBOOKS.** The yearbooks are issued about one month before the February meeting. They comprise from 600 to 800 pages annually. Unusual effort has been made to make them, on the one hand, of immediate practical value, and, on the other hand, representative of sound scholarship and scientific investigation. Many of them are the fruit of co-operative work by committees of the Society.

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