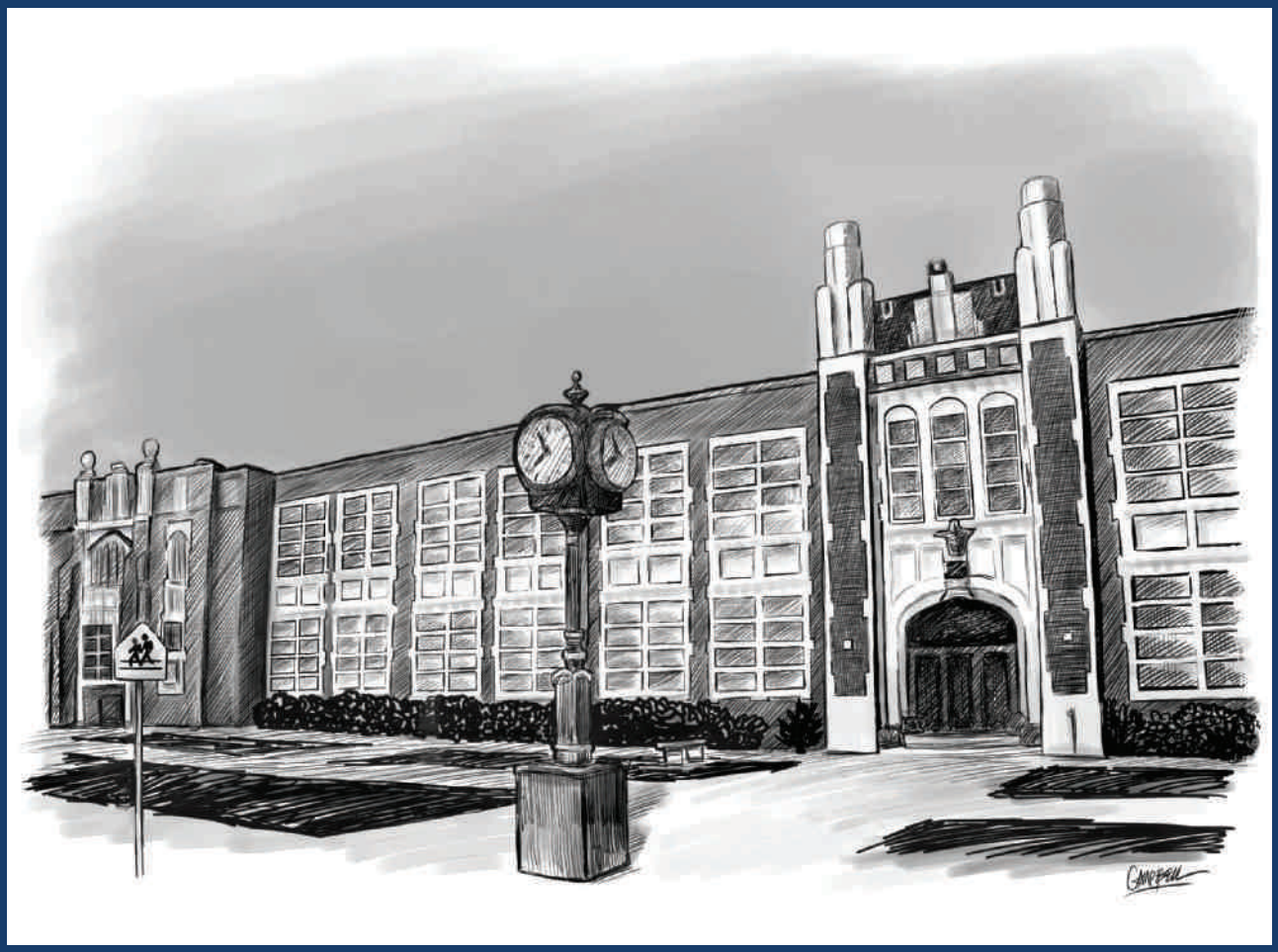
7 Depression, War, and National Defense



Steve Campbell

The gains of education are never really lost. Books may be burned and cities sacked, but truth, like the yearning for freedom, lives in the hearts of humble men.

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Speech to the Democratic National Convention, June 27, 1936

Pre-Test

1. Elementary and secondary schools suffered more severe economic cutbacks than colleges and universities during the Great Depression. T/F
2. The Eight-Year Study showed that students from traditional high schools performed better than students from experimental high schools. T/F
3. The essentialists criticized the schools for not taking the lead in reconstructing society and building a new social order. T/F
4. Life adjustment education aimed to make the schools more relevant to students not enrolled in vocational education or college prep programs. T/F
5. Bruner's theories of cognition provided the theoretical framework for constructivism. T/F

Answers can be found at the end of this chapter.

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter you should be able to:

1. Describe the impact of the Great Depression on elementary and secondary schools.
2. Discuss the major initiatives of the Indian New Deal.
3. Compare the educational principles of social reconstructionism and essentialism.
4. Detail the contributions of colleges and universities to the war effort.
5. Evaluate the impact of World War II on elementary and secondary schools.
6. Trace the major factors contributing to the demise of progressive education.
7. Identify the major curriculum initiatives following the launch of *Sputnik*.
8. Describe the contribution of Jean Piaget and Jerome Bruner to constructivist thought.
9. Discuss tine impact of the Red Scare on education at all levels.

Introduction

Following a sharp economic slump at the end of World War I, the decade after the war was one of prosperity. Mass production of new products, such as the washing machine, refrigerator, and vacuum cleaner, not only made them more affordable, but also contributed to corporate profits and business expansion. Despite falling prices in the agriculture sector and economic warnings that stock values were grossly inflated and that factories were overproducing, consumer optimism led more and more people to invest their life savings or borrowed money in the stock market.

Then, in mid-October of 1929, stock prices began to decline and some investors began to sell their positions. The few became the many, and the many led to panic. In less than 2 weeks, more than 28 million shares had been sold. The massive selling led the market to crash on Tuesday, October 29. The broad-based Depression that followed in the wake of the stock market crash had a serious impact on schools. Many were closed, and programs were terminated, teacher salaries cut, and positions eliminated.

Beginning in 1933, the federal government became actively involved in education through New Deal programs that fundamentally changed the relationship between the federal government and the schools, one that would become more involved and complex after the Depression was over.

The experience of the Depression elicited a new interest in social change and social reform. One group of social reformers, the so-called Frontier Thinkers, advocated that the schools become more involved in the social issues of the time. At the other end of the spectrum were essentialists, who argued that progressivism had gone too far by attending to the interests of the young child and ignoring basic skills.

As America sought to reverse the economic crisis that gripped the nation in the 1930s, Europe faced not only its own depression but also the rise of dictatorships in Italy, Spain, and Germany. Meanwhile, in Asia, an expansionist Japan began colonizing portions of China and Southeast Asia. America's attempt to stay neutral in these ominous world affairs ended with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941. World War II had a heavy impact on education. Higher education, in particular, played an important role in preparing personnel for military service as well as for the war industries and essential civilian activities.

After the war, public attention that had been focused on the Depression and World War II was refocused on the schools, which became the targets of conservative anticommunist witch hunts while also being criticized for their lack of rigor and inattention to academics. The response to this criticism, as well as to the technological competition that followed the Russian launching of the spaceship *Sputnik* in 1957, was a wave of reform supported in part by the National Defense Education Act (NDEA).

The NDEA marked not only a significant increase in federal funds to education but also a new purpose for education. During the Cold War, for perhaps the first time in American history, the role of the schools was seen as not merely to support the war effort, but to be an important weapon in it.

The quarter century after the crash of the stock market in 1929 saw major shifts in the role of the federal government in education and the role of the schools in securing and maintaining the nation's economic and military preeminence. This chapter provides an overview of the events contributing to the transformations of these roles.

7.1 The Depression Begins

The **Great Depression** formally began with the stock market crash in October 1929. Among the factors contributing to the crash were a trade imbalance following World War I, where the United States was exporting more than it was importing to nations that could not pay; an unregulated stock market; a weak banking system; growing government expenditures; overproduction in both the industrial and agricultural sectors; and growing unemployment.

When the stock market crashed, investors lost not only their own life savings, but also the money they had borrowed from banks. When they could not repay the banks, the banks could not return money to their depositors, who rushed to withdraw "hard cash." Similar to the rush to sell stocks, the rush to the banks caused many of them to crash or close—over 9,000 by 1933—causing millions of people to lose their life savings.

With the crash of the market and the banks came a collapse in consumer confidence. Those with money were reluctant to spend it. Production slowed and, in some areas, ground to a halt. The gross national product dropped by almost half between 1929 and 1933. Reduced production led to more layoffs and more unemployment, leading to more bankruptcies and more people unable to pay their bills. Before it was over, more than 55,000 businesses had failed and 13 million people, 25% of the civilian labor force, were unemployed.

Many others were working at much lower wages or reduced hours. Many of the unemployed or underemployed became homeless. Unemployment was particularly high among minorities and young people. As many as 6 million young people were out of school and unemployed between 1933 and 1935. Many had no occupational training or experience. In a labor market overrun with experienced workers, they had few opportunities for employment (National Policies Commission, 1941).

The initial response of the federal government to the worsening economic conditions and the massive unemployment, homelessness, and suffering was to do nothing to provide aid to individuals:

> People were going hungry, even starving, while farmers were driving sheep off cliffs because they could not afford to ship them to market; leather factories were boarded up while Baltimore teachers collected used shoes so that children could come to school; people languished in hovels and tin shacks while construction workers stood in soup lines. In the midst of all this, governmental leaders before the New Deal seemed incapable of acting to relieve the most elemental needs of the people. The governor of West Virginia told hungry miners that the Constitution forbade him to give them food. (Tyack, Lowe, & Hansot, 1984, p. 14)

At the beginning of the Depression, the Republican president, Herbert Hoover, an advocate of limited government, did not believe the federal government should be involved in providing direct aid to individuals. He instead looked to private charities and state and local agencies to address the needs of the homeless and unemployed. Meanwhile, he directed the resources of the federal government toward underwriting banks and providing loans to businesses and industries, believing that if they became healthy, then they would rehire employees and restart the economy.

However, it was hard to explain to people grubbing on a garbage heap why the president would loan $90 million to a single bank in Chicago and at the same time veto a bill to provide federal relief to the unemployed (Bortz, n.d.). While not immune to the widespread suffering, Hoover, like many others, believed that interfering with businesses, adjusting the currency, and providing widespread handouts to individuals were not only steps toward socialism but created deficits that would be ruinous in the long term.

When Hoover's policies did not work and economic conditions worsened, the voters replaced him with a Democrat, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who promised a "**New Deal**" for the American people. Over the remainder of the decade, Roosevelt initiated a series of work relief and public works programs that fundamentally changed the relationship between the federal government and the American people.

Library of Congress/Science Faction/SuperStock

Roosevelt's New Deal, and the relationship he created between the federal government and the American people, was a dramatic departure from Hoover's policies.

7.2 Impact of the Depression on Education

For the first 2 years following the stock market crash, both the public schools and colleges and universities escaped the brunt of the Depression. In fact, from 1929 until 1931 enrollments and staff grew and salaries and total expenditures remained stable. College fundraising remained high, and in the academic year ending in June 1932, colleges and universities collected $6.5 million more than they did in 1930 (Orr, 1979).

Most school superintendents viewed the current economic condition as a temporary storm they could weather by "creative retrenchment" and greater "compactness and efficiency" (Tyack et al., 1984). They still had faith in scientific management and the cult of efficiency. However, as school districts began to feel the impact of the Depression and educators daily saw its impact in the lives of their children, their faith failed and they, like most other Americans, began to blame greedy business leaders for the plight of the nation.

Financial Impact

By 1932 education at all levels was in serious financial trouble. College and university enrollments were down, along with student fees and state appropriations. During the 1930s state appropriations to higher education declined an average of 40%, even as many private school students transferred to more affordable public institutions (Schrecker, 2009). Gift support was also down more than 70% at private colleges (Schrecker, 2009).

Colleges and universities responded to the drop in revenues by reducing capital expenditures (expenses for building construction and repairs), increasing faculty loads, reorganizing curriculum, hiring freezes, and cutting salaries. A survey by the American Association of University Professors found that 84% of colleges had reduced faculty salaries, sometimes more than once, with the average being about 15% (Schrecker, 2009). Public institutions that relied on state appropriations suffered the most (Orr, 1979).

Elementary and secondary public schools found themselves in even worse shape than the colleges and universities. The public schools competed with other public institutions for tax revenues. Those revenues declined, since businesses and homeowners were often seriously in arrears in paying property taxes and the unemployed millions paid no taxes at all. By the end of the 1933–1934 school year, although total enrollments had increased by 750,000 since 1930, total revenues were down by almost $278 million (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1993).

Retrenchment Strategies

The decline in revenues led many states, especially those in the hard-pressed South and Southwest, to close schools or shorten the school year. For example, in Alabama in 1933, 85% of the public schools were closed and 7,000 teachers were out of work (Moreo, 1996). By the first quarter of 1934, an estimated 20,000 schools nationwide had closed, affecting over 1 million pupils. Ten states were estimated to have schools with school terms of less than 3 months and 22 with terms of less than 6 months (National Education Association [NEA], 1933).

One of the initial retrenchment strategies of the schools was to increase class size, especially at the secondary level. In many districts, adult education, summer schools, kindergarten, and everything but the most basic subjects were eliminated. Similarly, all but the most necessary positions were eliminated. School nurses, supervisory specialists, and elementary principals were among the first to go. Schools for the handicapped were also eliminated or radically curtailed (Carlson, 1933).

The schools that did stay open were usually short on equipment and supplies. Old and damaged textbooks were the norm. As the Depression deepened, students were increasingly asked to bring their own supplies, or, in extreme cases, to pay tuition. In one such community, the NEA (1933) reported that 200 parents were unable to pay the $3 per month tuition for grade school students or $5.50 for high school students. Some students had to stop attending school because they could not afford the materials. Many others were not able to attend because they did not have proper clothes or shoes. Testimony before the U.S. Senate estimated that 3.5 million young people were unable to attend high school because of poverty (Moreo, 1996).

Impact on Teachers

The Depression also had a serious impact on teachers. They were public employees, mostly unorganized, and worse, in terms of being able to exercise any political pressure, 80% were female and thus particularly vulnerable to arbitrary dismissal on the basis of age, health, marriage, weight, or some minor infraction of a bureaucratic rule (Moreo, 1996).

For Your Reflection and Analysis

Which teachers today are most vulnerable to layoffs in times of financial cutbacks?

Being married put women at particular risk. Removing more senior married teachers for new, unmarried ones was an economic measure as well as an attempt to limit the incomes of families in which both the husband and wife were public employees, as was often the case. Eighteen

states considered bills to bar married women from teaching, many districts adopted policies of not hiring married women, and "Married Teachers Not Wanted" signs were common (Moreo, 1996).

Throughout the country, most teachers who retained their positions saw their salaries cut. Between 1930 and June 1933, the average salary reduction in the cities was 13.7%. Half the rural teachers were being paid less than $750 per year, and one in five was receiving less than $450 per year (NEA, 1933). In many districts teachers received no salary for months or were paid in script (certificates of indebtedness or tax anticipation warrants), with the school board promising to pay them when revenues were collected.

Merchants sometimes accepted these warrants, but often did not. Banks might cash the warrants but often charged a fee or discounted the warrant. In other areas teachers worked for room and board, reverting back to the colonial practice of "boarding 'round." In some rural areas teachers were reported to live in the schoolhouse and cook gift vegetables on the wood-burning stove (Graves, 2002; Moreo, 1996).

The response of teachers and other educators to their declining economic conditions and to the encroachment on their professionalism was mixed. Some, like the social reconstructionists discussed later in this chapter, called for social engineering through education. Others called for school personnel to become more politically active and to organize to fight tax cuts and tax policies that unduly favored the business community. Membership in the NEA, AFT, and state and local associations grew.

Educators entered the once distained arena of politics as candidates and lobbyists. Most of their efforts were directed at the state level, and by and large their campaigns for greater state aid were successful: The state share of school budgets almost doubled during the 1930s, from 16.9% in 1929–1930 to 30.3% in 1939–1940. Teachers also sought greater state regulation of certification, greater state oversight of curricula, and greater job protection through teacher tenure (Tyack et al., 1984).

Table 7.1 shows the changes in school terms, staff, and expenditures for rural and city schools, and the percentage of change in expenditures by state universities, between 1930 and 1934—the time when a number of the New Deal programs described in the following pages began to reach education. Overall, as the data indicate, rural schools in the South, Appalachia, and the Dust Bowl (a region in the southwestern plains that suffered from intense drought during the 1930s) were particularly hard hit. Higher education expenditures were also heavily affected by the Depression. Nationwide, universities decreased their spending by almost 18%; in nine states the decrease was 30% or more, and one, Mississippi, had a staggering 81% decrease.

For Your Reflection and Analysis

What were the greatest challenges that teachers faced during the Great Depression? Do teachers face similar challenges today? Explain.

The financial plight of the schools was beyond the ability of most states to solve. In time some relief did come from the federal government—not as direct federal aid, but through the series of New Deal programs described in the next section.

Table 7.1: Changes in length of school term, number of staff and expenditures in rural schools and city schools, and changes in higher education expenditures by state, 1930–1934

	Rural Schools: Percentage of Change, 1930–1934			City Schools: Percentage of Change, 1931–1934			Percentage of change in expenditures by state universities
States	Terms	Staff	Total Expenditures	Staff	Current Expenditures	Capital Outlay	
Continental United States	–4.0	–3.0	–23.0	–4.6	–19.5	–80.1	–17.7
Alabama	–36.0	+6.0	–47.0	–6.5	–32.4	–93.9	–27.0
Arizona	0.0	–15.0	–31.0	–16.3	–42.8	–62.6	–
Arkansas	–2.7	–14.0	–39.0	–15.6	–41.8	–20.5	–
California	–0.6	–1.0	–21.0	–4.6	–15.1	–80.6	–28.0
Colorado	–4.0	–4.0	–27.0	–11.6	–38.25	–97.8	–36.0
Connecticut	+0.5	–2.0	+3.0	–3.5	–19.5	–	–6.0
Delaware	0.0	+6.0	+15.0	–	–	–	–
Florida	–18.0	+3.0	–27.0	–1.3	–35.9	–84.3	–1.0
Georgia	–20.0	0.0	–23.0	–0.7	–18.4	. . .	+23.0
Idaho	–1.0	–10.0	–30.0	–6.5	–33.7	–66.1	–7.0
Illinois	–6.0	–2.0	–28.0	–7.9	–32.2	–68.0	–21.0
Indiana	–1.0	+1.0	–26.0	–8.7	–31.1	–79.8	–2.0
Iowa	+0.5	–4.0	–17.0	–7.4	–29.0	–54.1	–
Kansas	–0.6	–4.0	–29.0	–5.6	–28.8	–84.0	–39.0
Kentucky	–5.0	+6.0	–30.0	–3.6	–16.0	–50.2	–26.0
Louisiana	–24.0	+3.0	–18.0	+0.6	–	–	+59.0
Maine	–2.0	–2.0	–19.0	–1.8	–15.2	–	–7.0
Maryland	0.0	–1.0	–19.0	–	–	–	–8.0
Massachusetts	–0.6	–2.0	–11.0	–2.7	–4.9	–98.8	–
Michigan	–19.0	–6.0	–37.0	–13.0	–37.9	–91.1	+1.0
Minnesota	0.0	–1.0	–23.0	–3.1	–18.1	–94.3	–9.0
Mississippi	–4.0	–4.0	–42.0	–5.7	–23.5	–	–81.0
Missouri	–4.0	–1.0	–39.0	+0.9	–25.6	–93.2	–22.0
Montana	–2.0	–7.0	–35.0	–7.8	–9.7	–85.6	–23.0
Nebraska	0.0	–2.0	–350	–6.5	–14.0	–97.2	–31.0
Nevada	–5.0	+6.0	–3.0	–	–	–	–18.0
New Hampshire	0.0	–3.0	–22.0	–3.2	–11.9	+9.7	–11.0
New Jersey	–0.5	+2.0	–18.0	–0.8	–24.4	–54.7	–
New Mexico	–5.0	–3	–17	–6.3	–35.4	–	–18
New York	0.0	+2	–18	–2.3	–13.1	–97.0	–

(continued)

Table 7.1: Changes in length of school term, number of staff and expenditures in rural schools and city schools, and changes in higher education expenditures by state, 1930–1934 *(continued)*

States	Rural Schools: Percentage of Change, 1930–1934			City Schools: Percentage of Change, 1931–1934			Percentage of change in expenditures by state universities
	Terms	Staff	Total Expenditures	Staff	Current Expenditures	Capital Outlay	
North Carolina	+5.0	–3	–47	–2.2	–31.4	–	–1
North Dakota	–5.0	–7	–39	–7.7	–24.4	–86.3	–
Ohio	–9.0	–5	–31	–11.9	–20.1	–45.4	–11
Oklahoma	–10.0	–5	–26	–8.5	–24.9	–76.6	–21
Oregon	–4.0	–1	–14	–14.7	–36.1	–51.6	–56
Pennsylvania	0.0	0	–13	–2.0	–14.8	–71.2	–30
Rhode Island	0.0	+2	+3	+1.3	–12.7	–88.9	–12
South Carolina	–4.0	–9	–32	–5.2	–39.4	–	–43
South Dakota	–2.0	–21	–20	–10.1	–25.2	–89.1	–24
Tennessee	–2.0	+1	–23	–3.4	–17.0	+1.9	–40
Texas	+2.0	0	–15	–10.5	–28.4	–88.4	–
Utah	0.0	–6	–38	–2.4	–23.5	–99.6	–23+0.6
Vermont	+0.6	–5	–18	–7.1	–18.8	–	–
Virginia	–5.0	–3	–22	+2.2	–21.9	–90.6	+21
Washington	+3.0	–6	–29	–5.8	–29.5	+47.6	–42
West Virginia	–26.0	–3	–44	–13.3	–	–	–
Wisconsin	–0.6	–1	–27	–1.3	–15.6	–74.5	–
Wyoming	–4.0	–8	–25	–13.2	–22.2	–98.2	–17

Source: National Education Association. (1933). Current conditions in our nation's schools. *Washington, DC: Author.*

7.3 New Deal Education Programs

Until the Great Depression, the relationship of the federal government to education was clear: The provision of education was viewed as the responsibility of the states and local school districts. However, beginning with the creation of new federal employment programs like the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Public Works Administration (PWA) in 1933, and the National Youth Administration (NYA) of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1935, this established relationship changed.

The New Deal reformers were concerned that the schools did not serve the poor well. So, although the New Deal as a whole was not directed at education, each of these New Deal programs either had an educational component or worked with the schools to accomplish its

goals. Like other New Deal programs, they were designed specifically for the poor and staffed mainly by people on relief. Not designed by education experts, and based on the belief that all kinds of people could teach and that learning could take place in all kinds of locations, these New Deal ventures constituted a new vision of public education (Tyack et al., 1984).

Civilian Conservation Corps

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was one of the federal emergency agencies created under Roosevelt's New Deal to provide "work relief" for the unemployed. It provided temporary work for over 3 million young men aged 18 to 25, who lived in CCC camps and worked on various conservation projects like reforestation, wildlife preservation, flood control, and forest fire prevention. Approximately 150,000 African American youth were enrolled in 150 CCC companies (Social Welfare History Project, n.d.), and a separate CCC program enrolled 85,000 Native Americans (Szasz, 2007a). Most of these young people were from rural backgrounds and had not finished high school.

Not long after it began, the CCC introduced an educational component for its workers. The army, which administered the CCC camps, also administered the education program. Instruction was provided by Forest Service and army officers, local public school teachers, WPA and NYA employees, or other qualified persons, many of whom were volunteers.

Attendance in the classes was voluntary. About one third of the courses were vocational, one third were academic, one fifth were remedial, and the remainder were avocational. Many of the courses were offered in conjunction with the work of the camps and, being administered by the army, stressed discipline along with content (Tyack et al., 1984). By the end of the 1930s, over 90% of CCC workers were enrolled in some educational program.

National Youth Administration

The NYA administered two programs: one that provided part-time employment to needy high school and college students to help them continue their education and one that provided employment to needy out-of-school youth aged 16 to 25. Money was allocated to high schools based on the number of children from poor families in attendance. Between 6% and 10% of secondary students were in the NYA during its 9 years of operation. They worked in school offices, cafeterias, shops, laboratories, and as groundskeepers.

Under the terms of the NYA college student employment program, the college selected the students to participate and supervised the work to be done. Approximately 98% of eligible institutions, including junior colleges and normal schools, participated in the program, as did 12% of all college students. Students worked on research projects, in libraries, in clerical positions, and in community service projects.

Sixty percent of the participating students were male, and 6% were African American or from other minority groups (Lindley & Lindley, 1938). A special affirmative action fund for promising African American graduate students enabled about 200 African Americans to receive their doctoral degrees during the 1930s, compared to 41 in the period from 1900 to 1930

(Tyack et al., 1984). The Division of Negro Affairs in the NYA was headed by Mary McCloud Bethune, founder of Bethune-Cookman College, and friend and advisor to President and Eleanor Roosevelt.

College enrollment, which had dropped in the first years of the Depression, would have dropped further without NYA support of undergraduate and graduate students. At its peak in 1939–1940, approximately 750,000 students in 1,750 colleges and 28,000 secondary schools participated in NYA programs.

The second major NYA work relief program, the one for out-of-school youth, pioneered a new concept in education—education through work. That is, 2.7 million youth working in various community projects and for various state and local agencies and institutions, as well as in its cooperative residential centers, were involved in learning by doing. A boy on a construction project might take a related training class on blueprint reading, and a youth on an agricultural project might take a class on the chemistry of soils (Tyack et al., 1984).

Public Works Administration

The Public Works Administration (PWA) was created in 1933 and concentrated on funding (it did not do the construction) large-scale public works projects, such as bridges, dams, and airports. It also funded the construction of hospitals, libraries, and almost 7,500 schools—70% of all schools built between 1933 and 1939.

The PWA was critically important to schools, colleges, and universities faced with not only growing enrollments but also unsafe and dilapidated buildings. Between 1934 and 1939, $1.7 billion in federal funds (with $300 million state and local matching funds) provided for the building of 102 public libraries and 59,614 classrooms (Moreo, 1996). Fourteen percent of all PWA funds were spent on school buildings, including the building of 225 Negro schools and the renovation of 118 others (Weaver, 1938).

Works Projects Administration

The WPA was created by Executive Order in 1935 to provide direct federal government employment to the unemployed. Whereas the PWA was a lifesaver to schools by providing facilities, the Works Projects Administration, the largest of the New Deal programs directed specifically at putting men and women back to work, employed 100,000 teachers to serve in adult education programs and in the 1,500 WPA-operated preschools across the country. The preschools taught some 150,000 children. The WPA also operated summer schools for students who had failed subjects during the regular school year, as well as programs that provided special enrichment activities, including field trips.

The WPA adult education program served as many as 4 million adults, primarily in their own communities, in classes taught by unemployed people with similar backgrounds. Perhaps its most important feature was the adult literacy program. Between 1933 and 1938, 1.5 million adults, about one third of whom were African American, were taught to read. Other adult education programs ran the gamut from

> cooking and nutrition to family budgeting, personal hygiene, care of the sick and other family welfare concerns. . . . All the more remarkable was the fact that despite reductions in the number of classes and teachers, enrollments continued to climb. In addition, as waves of immigrants fleeing Nazi Germany arrived, they immediately sought out classes in English and citizenship training. (Moreo, 1996, p. 126)

Sewing was included as was one the programs that brought people back to work through the WPA.

The WPA also employed relief workers to perform a variety of noninstructional work in the schools. WPA workers repaired and painted buildings; constructed or repaired furniture, fixtures, and equipment; worked in the cafeteria; and performed a variety of other tasks.

Another important noninstructional program was the WPA nutrition project, which used surplus food to provide free hot lunches to needy children, primarily in the cities. For example, in New York City almost 120,000 free lunches were served each day (Moreo, 1996).

General Federal Aid Debate

Despite the benefits provided by these programs, the general plight of the schools, as well as the major inequalities that existed among the states, led the NEA and other educational groups to conclude that more federal aid was necessary. The education establishment also resented the fact that educators were not trusted to operate the educational components of the various New Deal programs and that educational funds were given to the CCC, NYA, and the WPA and bypassed established school systems. What educators wanted was general federal aid with no strings attached.

For Your Reflection and Analysis

How appropriate is it for the federal government to bypass state and local school systems in delivering educational programs as they did with some of the New Deal programs?

However, even though they were successful in getting Congressional sponsors for several general federal aid bills for education, they were never able to secure passage, largely because of Roosevelt's opposition to them. Roosevelt's lack of support stemmed less from concern about the potential impact of general federal aid on the federal budget, and more from a genuine belief that compared to other sectors, the schools were in pretty good shape. He preferred to target funds to the unemployed and to those who would benefit the most from the new educational services (Tyack et al., 1984).

Roosevelt was not alone in his rejection of general federal aid. Many educators also opposed it, primarily because of their fear of federal control. This fear was so great that some districts rejected all federal aid. Many predicted that it would lead to a national system of education and would undermine local control. Others were concerned that aid would (or would not) go to private, parochial schools. Perhaps the strongest opposition to general federal aid to education came from the Southern governors, who feared that with federal aid would come a demand for uniformity that would threaten racial segregation.

> ***For Your Reflection and Analysis***
>
> *To what extent are the Depression-era arguments for or against federal aid to education relevant today?*

Yet, Southern schools, and particularly the rural schools attended by African American children already disadvantaged in terms of educational expenditures, were hit particularly hard by Depression-driven cuts in funding. A study during the middle of the Depression found that in the Southern states African Americans constituted 25% of the student population but received only 12% of total revenues. Yet, despite these inequities, the number of African Americans attending high school doubled during the 1930s, and the number of graduates tripled (Tyack et al., 1984).

The plight of southern African Americans was exceeded only by that of Native Americans. Even before the Depression, the 1928 government-commissioned Meriam Report documented the intolerable conditions on the reservations. These only grew worse as the Depression took hold. The Roosevelt administration's response became known as the Indian New Deal.

7.4 The Indian New Deal

As described in previous chapters, the education of Native Americans had historically been viewed as a means of assimilation. By the end of World War I policies based on this idea had brought Native Americans to the edge of disaster: "They were suffering from short life expectancy, disease, malnutrition, a diminishing land base, and a stagnant, unrealistic school system" (American Indian Education Foundation [AIEF], 2003, p. 2). The granting of citizenship in 1924 did not bring any improvements.

In response to a number of public reports by reformers determined to improve their plight, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) commissioned the Brookings Institute to undertake an independent study of the condition of Native Americans. The institute staff spent 7 months visiting reservations, schools, and agencies and in 1928 published its results.

The resultant study, the **Meriam Report**, recommended more self-determination for Native Americans and noted that much Native American poverty was a result of the loss of their land and government policies that encouraged them to remain dependent on government handouts.

The report also criticized the BIA educational program, exposing the boarding schools' insufficient industrial training, overcrowded dormitories, inadequate diet, and reliance on physical punishment. It recommended that they be reserved only for older children and that younger children be educated in community day schools (Kidwell & Swift, 1976). And, consistent with the progressive educational views of the author of the education section of the report, W. Carson Ryan, it urged that children be educated in a cooperative environment of home and school (Watras, 2004).

Soon after Roosevelt took office, he appointed John Collier, a progressive activist, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Several New Deal measures were subsequently enacted and collectively became known as the **Indian New Deal**, an attempt to remedy the conditions described by the Meriam Report.

More important, it signaled a reversal of the policy of assimilation. Collier was convinced that Indian policy should focus on the renewal of Native American sovereignty, establish their economic independence, and recognize and value Native American culture and language. Consistent with these beliefs Collier felt the curriculum in the schools should include Native American culture and heritage. And, in an effort to stem the deterioration of tribal languages, as well as to facilitate English language acquisition, Collier supported bilingual education.

Some of Collier's earliest efforts were directed at stopping the sale of tribal land and providing for the organization of tribal councils as legal bodies. He believed self-governance was central to the economic and political recovery of Native American peoples and to building a trusting relationship between the tribes and the federal government. Many of Collier's ideas were included in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

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John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, met with the chiefs of the Blackfoot Indians in South Dakota to discuss the needs of Native Americans.

That same year the Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) Act was also passed. The JOM provided supplemental funds to public schools to provide for the special needs of Native American students, including transportation, school lunches, and expenses such as those associated with graduation (Kidwell & Swift, 1976). It also allowed the federal government to enter into contracts with states or territories to educate Native Americans in the public schools.

Overall, however, Native American education policy was not determined by legislation but by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and its director. Collier's choice as director of the Education Division of the BIA was a former president of the Progressive Education Association, Willard Beatty. Consistent with progressive principles, Beatty promoted a child-centered

curriculum that was more relevant to the culture and needs of the Native American student and stressed the importance of the relationship between the school and the community it served. Both Collier and Beatty sought to phase out the boarding schools and to replace them with public and day schools. During the 1930s the number of day schools almost doubled and enrollment tripled.

Native American education was also the beneficiary of many of the New Deal work relief programs. Significant funds were allocated through the WPA for the building of hospitals, water and sewer treatment plants, irrigation and drainage projects, and much-needed schools. A separate Native American CCC known as the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW) program was geared to the unique needs of Native Americans and provided a tremendous opportunity for vocational training. During the 9-year life of the program (April 1933 to July 1942) some 85,000 Native Americans served in the IECW (Szasz, 2007a).

Many of the gains made during the New Deal were lost during World War II and after. During the war, funds for the reservations decreased. The critics of progressive education found a target in the Native American day schools and renewed emphasis was given to assimilation, including the continued operation of the off-reservation boarding schools (Watras, 2004).

7.5 Efforts to Refocus the Schools and the Curriculum

Although the Depression clearly had a major impact on the schools, their governance remained the same; what went on behind the schoolhouse door changed little during the Depression. In spite of all the talk about, and attempts to introduce, progressive educational practices, teacher-centered instruction continued to dominate in the 1930s (Cuban, 1984).

Moreover, the Depression and the New Deal did little to change the inequalities of educational opportunity that had characterized the educational experience of the poor and minorities throughout American history. For example, in 1930 the national average education expenditure per child was $87, per Southern White child $44, and per Southern African American child $12 (Moreo, 1996).

Although the states assumed a larger share of public school expenditures, and although state-supported programs sought to bring greater equalization, the property wealth of the local school district remained the major determinant of per pupil expenditures. The low-property-wealth rural and inner-city schools contained the majority of the poor and minorities. In fact, the number of urban poor grew as Dust Bowl migrants and rural Mexican Americans and African Americans, displaced from farms, moved to the cities.

Disgust and disagreement with the status quo led some educators to attempt to change the direction of the educational enterprise. One such group, the social reconstructionists, wanted to see the schools move in a completely new direction and take the lead in creating a new social order. Another, the essentialists, wanted the schools to return to the traditional, basic education model.

Social Reconstructionism

The experience of the Depression had a significant impact on many progressive educators, who came to believe that the schools had a responsibility to redress social injustices and bring about social change. In "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?," an address to the 1932 convention of the Progressive Education Association that serves as a Primary Source Reading for this chapter, George C. Counts, a professor at Columbia University, challenged the child-centered progressive philosophy as lacking a theory of social welfare.

Counts called on educators to focus less on the child and more on the social issues of the time, to "face squarely and courageously every social issue, come to grips with life in all its stark reality . . . develop a realistic and comprehensive theory of welfare, fashion a compelling and challenging vision of human destiny" (1932/1978, p. 7). In effect, he asked the schools to take the lead in planning for the reconstruction of society and the building of a new social order.

The **social reconstructionists**, as these like-minded educators were called, were convinced that many of the economic ills of the country were a result of an outmoded economic model that stressed unbridled competition and individualism, which resulted in tremendous social and economic gaps between the rich and the poor. The role of the school, they argued, was to guide students in using the tools of the scientific method to study and solve the "real world" problems facing our democratic society (Stern & Riley, 2001). What modern technological society called for, according to Counts, was a planned society and an economic model built not on individualism, but on collectivism.

Liberal progressive educators such as William H. Kilpatrick and Harold Rugg joined Counts in his deep concern about socioeconomic conditions in America, his attack on the class bias that permeated the schools, and his belief that educators should do something to address them. In 1935 these individuals joined with other social reformers to form the John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture and began publishing a journal, *The Social Frontier*, which became the focus of educational extremism during the 1930s.

The position of the most radical reconstructionists, the so-called Frontier Thinkers, was sharply criticized by many conservative progressives and was responsible for a deepening schism within the Progressive Education Association and even among the social reconstruction membership itself. In 1937 Counts left the editorship of *The Social Frontier* and began to speak out openly against communism.

Although the social reconstructionism movement never gained much of a foothold among the rank and file of American educators, and *The Social Frontier* never had a circulation above 6,000 (Ravitch, 1983), it served to associate progressive education with "an economic radicalism that smacked of socialism and communism" and ultimately contributed to progressivism's waning popularity in the postwar years (Spring, 1989). However, its concern with social change presaged the postmodern and critical theory movements that focused on transformative change in society and education.

Pioneers in Education: Anne Sullivan

"The Miracle Worker"

Anne Sullivan was born in 1866 in Feeding Hills, Massachusetts, to a poor Irish immigrant family. At age 5, she contracted trachoma, an eye disease that seriously damaged her vision. Early in her life, her mother died and her father abandoned the family. In 1876 Anne and her brother were sent to live at the Tewksbury Almshouse for the poor, which housed not only the poor and homeless, but also prostitutes and the mentally ill. Conditions at the almshouse were deplorable, and Anne's brother died within a few months. When a state inspection team visited the almshouse, Anne approached an official and pleaded to be allowed to attend a school for the blind.

Steve Campbell
Anne Sullivan

In 1880, at age 14, Anne was sent to the Perkins School for the Blind in Boston, where she first learned to read and write. While at Perkins, she also received eye surgery that improved her vision. She learned to use the manual alphabet to communicate with Laura Bridgman, a resident who was the first deaf-blind person to be educated. Having never attended school, Anne lacked social graces, was ridiculed by her classmates, and felt insecure and defensive and often displayed a quick temper. However, she slowly settled down, excelled at her studies, and was chosen valedictorian of her graduating class in June of 1886.

Soon after her graduation, Michael Anagos, the director of Perkins, told her of a contact he had with a family in Alabama who wanted a teacher for their deaf, blind, and mute daughter. Anagos recommended Anne for the position. In March of 1887, at the age of 21, Anne traveled to Tuscumbia, Alabama, to become the teacher of Helen Keller and to begin their 49-year relationship.

Anne developed her own methods for teaching Helen. Starting with her experience at Perkins and with Laura Bridgman, Anne began trying to teach Helen to communicate by spelling words in her hand. Helen did not make the association until one day when Anne spelled "water" in one hand while running water over the other. Helen then began to realize that these marks being made in her hand were associated with water. After that breakthrough Anne's bright and enthusiastic pupil soon learned almost 600 words and the multiplication tables up to 5, as well as how to read Braille. Anne wrote long reports and letters to Anagos and others at Perkins, and her success with Helen, which was reported by the Perkins school, attracted the attention of such celebrities as Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell.

Anne believed that Helen would progress even further if she could attend Perkins, and in 1888 they traveled to Boston, where Helen enrolled at Perkins and continued to be taught by Anne. For several years the pair lived part-time in Boston and part-time in Alabama. In 1900 Helen enrolled in Radcliffe College. Anne went with Helen to class, spelling out all lectures and readings into her hand. While at Radcliff in 1905 Anne met and married John Albert Macy, who was working with Helen on her autobiography. The couple lived with Helen in Massachusetts, and Anne continued to travel with her as she made lectures around the country. After Anne's marriage failed in 1914 and after she began to experience health problems, Polly Thomas became Helen's secretary and the three women moved to Forest Hill, New York.

For a number of years, Anne and Helen gave lectures and appeared in vaudeville theaters throughout the country and abroad tell their story. They also worked and raised funds for organizations serving the visually impaired. By the late 1920s Anne had lost most of her vision and had her right eye removed to relieve the pain. Before her death in 1936 she was totally blind.

Anne Sullivan's extraordinary story and relationship with Helen Keller were immortalized in the play and film, *The Miracle Worker*, for which Anne Bancroft won the Academy Award for best actress for her role as Anne and Patty Duke best supporting actress for her role as Helen. Anne's child-centered methodology became a model for education of the deaf-blind and her dedication serves as inspiration for all teachers of children with disabilities.

The Eight-Year Study

While progressive education was under attack by the social reconstructionists, it was simultaneously being vindicated by a long-term study conducted by the Progressive Education Association under the leadership of Ralph Tyler. The **Eight-Year Study** (1932–1940) grew out of a concern that curriculum revision and experimentation in secondary schools was thwarted by college and university admission requirements.

It involved 30 high schools willing to experiment with their curricula in order to discover the effectiveness of progressive educational approaches in preparing students for college. Over 300 colleges agreed to suspend their admission requirements in regard to completion of a traditional curriculum for the graduates of these schools. The faculty of the high schools were expected to undertake curriculum reform and a few "recreated their programmes to better respond to what were perceived as the serious social, economic, and cultural challenges—'needs'—facing young people in the U.S.A." (Bullough & Kridel, 2003, p. 153). The revised curricula delivered the content from the disciplines in an integrated approach organized around themes rather than as discrete subjects.

The study followed 1,475 students in matched pairs from high school to college. The results, published in 1942, showed that students from experimental high schools not only achieved as well as students from traditional high schools, but they were also more involved and successful in artistic and cultural activities. Nonetheless, within 8 years of its end, most of the experimental schools involved in the study had returned to the traditional college preparatory programs (Watras, 2006).

Although the Eight-Year Study and its findings did not have an immediate impact, its results served as the basis for Ralph Tyler, the project director, to develop a theory of curriculum development, the Tyler Rationale, which did influence curriculum development for decades. Tyler saw curriculum development as a rational process that involved the development of objectives and learning activities that facilitated the attainment of the objectives, all integrated from grade to grade and activity to activity (Horn, 2002). The results of the study also provided support for the integrated curriculum, a concept that found renewed favor half a century later.

William C. Bagley and the Essentialists

Some of the harshest criticisms of the social reconstructionist wing of progressivism came from a group headed by William Bagley, a colleague of Counts's at Teachers College. Taking their name from Bagley's 1938 speech and publication "An Essentialist Platform for Advancement of American Education," the **essentialists** were critical of "extreme" progressive education's lack of emphasis on fundamentals. This included the progressives they believed had gone too far in attending to the interests of children while ignoring the basic skills, as well as those concerned with social and economic radicalism—that is, the social reconstructionists (Null, 2007).

Bagley argued that instead of attempting to reconstruct society and use the schools as agents of social engineering, educators would serve society better by preparing "literate citizens knowledgeable in fundamental skills and knowledge that was of unquestioned value and permanence and that provides the basis for intelligent understanding and for the

collective thought and judgment that are the essence of our democratic institutions" (Bagley, 1938, p. 251).

Bagley compared American education with the education systems of other countries such as Germany and judged it to be weak, lacking in rigor, full of "frills," and inadequate in preparing youth for productive participation in society. Bagley advocated an organized, sequential curriculum and an instructional process that, although not ignoring the interests of the child, was teacher initiated and emphasized the transmission of those core democratic ideals and enduring skills, arts, and sciences that are essential for social progress. The essentialists also sought to reemphasize the role of the teachers after a period when the popularity of informal learning had weakened the profession of teaching (Null, 2007).

For Your Reflection and Analysis

Would Bagley be supportive of the seven cardinal principles of secondary education described in Chapter 5? Why or why not?

As part of this emphasis on teachers, the essentialists argued that greater discipline was required in the classroom to prepare students for their participation in the workforce as well as for their orderly participation in a democratic society. In *Classroom Management*, his widely used book on teacher training, Bagley proposed a very rigid and structured classroom environment in which students walked in lockstep to class, placed their desks in a prescribed order, and gave immediate response to comments.

At a time when totalitarian regimes were gaining strength in Europe, the essentialists believed their movement was part of the battle against totalitarianism. Bagley contended, "[D]emocratic societies cannot survive either competition or conflict with totalitarian states unless there is a democratic discipline that will give strength and solidarity in the democratic purpose and ideal" (Bagley, 1938, p. 251).

Many of the essentialists' criticisms of progressive education—namely, that it was weak, full of frills, and a major negative factor in the nation's position in global economics and military competition—have been echoed by critics of the educational establishment ever since. The reform reports of the 1980s and 1990s used much of the essentialists' language, although in the context of political mandates to solve perceived system problems, not as philosophical statements of the purpose of the curriculum and the training of teachers (Null, 2007).

7.6 Impact of the Second World War on the Schools

Germany's invasion of Poland in September of 1939 marked the beginning of World War II. Although it would be more than 2 years before America formally entered the war, America's Lend-Lease agreement with the Allies meant that American factories increasingly were called on to supply the Allied war effort. This helped the American economy recover from the Depression.

The threat of impending war also led educational institutions at all levels to address the task of promoting education for national defense. Before the United States became involved in the war, this meant education to strengthen the foundations of democracy. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, this meant using education resources to promote the war effort (Kandel, 1948).

The joint Education Policy Commission (1942) of the NEA and the American Association of School Administrators suggested that the federal government establish an agency to facilitate and coordinate the interaction of government agencies with schools and colleges. The government responded by establishing the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) Wartime Commission.

The Commission did not mandate that specific courses be taught in the schools as part of the war effort. However, in its report, *The Best Kind of High School Training for Military Service*, it did outline the type of educational program that would provide the most valuable preinduction training for future members of the armed services. Basically, the commission recommended that the schools emphasize health and physical fitness, education for citizenship, the academic subjects, and specialized training in vocational skills.

The government had forecast that 80% of the 1.3 million high school males between 16 and 18 years of age would enter the armed forces soon after graduation (Ugland, 1979). Six months after Pearl Harbor the war activities of high school youth were brought into focus by the establishment of the High School Victory Corps, a federal program organized by the USOE to encourage instruction and training in pursuits and services needed in wartime.

In addition to their curricular pursuits, Victory Corps members were required to participate in at least one wartime activity or service (for example, air warden, fire watcher, civil defense volunteer, USO volunteer, or home-school-community services such as salvage campaigns). The USOE hoped that the Victory Corps would give substance to the idea of the student reservist and preinduction training and saw this as a way to have a prominent spot in the war effort (Ugland, 1979).

However, most schools were realistic about what they could provide in terms of such training. Although they did follow the advice of the USOE and gave more attention to applied mathematics and science, manual and industrial arts, and vocational education, they also continued to offer a strong academic curriculum. This was due in part to the fact that most of the students who left school to take jobs in the war industries were not headed for college, and those that remained in school were reluctant to depart dramatically from an academic curriculum (Ugland, 1979).

For what were undoubtedly a variety of reasons, the Victory Corps was less successful than its creators had envisioned. One year after its inception less than 25% of eligible students had joined. Enrollment subsequently declined, and the next year the program was discontinued. Nonetheless, the Victory Corps program did have an effect on the curriculum. In combination with the emphasis on preinduction training and the support given vocational training, it served to shape the wartime curriculum toward "education for victory."

Impact of the War on Elementary and Secondary Schools

The war had a heavy impact on schools, teachers, and students. (The impact on one special group of students, Japanese Americans in relocation camps, is the subject of one of the Primary Source Readings for this chapter.) High school enrollments declined from 6.7 million in 1940–1941 to 5.5 million in 1943–1944. Despite "Go-to-School" drives, it was difficult for the 80% of students who did not plan to go to college to resist either the call to arms or the high wages to be found in the wartime industries. And, even though enrollment declined, the

teacher shortage that had begun before the war worsened. Not only did large numbers of teachers leave the classroom for the battlefield, but many more, especially women, left to take higher paying positions in industry.

The shortage of teachers, which some historians consider to be the most serious consequence of the war, was felt during the postwar years as well (Kandel, 1948). By the end of the war, more than one third (350,000) of the teachers employed in 1940–1941 had left teaching (Kandel, 1948). Teacher shortages occurred both in the subject matter fields that might be expected and in rural and other areas where salaries were far below those paid in the wartime industries.

The results of the teacher shortages were similar to those experienced during the Depression: school closures, reduced terms, and fewer course offerings. By the middle of 1943 the teacher shortage was seen as a threat to the students still in school. Moreover, it was projected that it would take a decade to make up the deficit created by the teachers leaving the profession and the decline in enrollment in teacher education programs (Kandel, 1948).

The one area of schooling that did not experience enrollment decline during the war was early childhood education. The federal government allocated more than $50 million for the construction and operation of more than 3,000 nursery schools nationwide, primarily to serve the 2- to 5-year-old children of military families or working mothers (Dorn, 2007). Additionally, states and cities joined in the provision of preschool programs that were of a higher quality than the federally sponsored welfare programs of the past (Dorn, 2007).

Mirrorpix/Courtesy Everett Collection

While teachers and students were leaving the secondary and elementary schools, nursery schools, like the one shown here, experienced steady levels of enrollment due to the increase of working mothers during the war.

Another major impact of the war on the schools was financial. Funding, already low because of the Depression, was further reduced as money was diverted from education to other purposes. Once again these financial difficulties highlighted the inequalities of educational opportunity that existed among regions and districts. Reports from the Selective Service on the young men rejected for mental and physical deficiencies showed higher percentages coming from the predominantly rural and Southern states, the same areas that had the lowest educational expenditures.

The inequalities and their consequences intensified the arguments for federal support for education. Some financial assistance was provided to those school districts overburdened by an influx of children from families employed in defense industries or on military bases by the Lanham Act of 1941. This so-called impact aid was continued under the provisions of Public Laws 815 and 874.

A major war-related initiative sponsored by the federal government was the Vocational-Defense Training Program, later known as the Vocational Training for War Production Workers. Through this program over 5 million people received training in war occupations at public vocational schools. Training was provided to people already employed in war occupations who needed additional skills or knowledge to equip them for more advanced positions, and preemployment training was provided to unemployed persons or persons employed in non-war occupations.

One part of the program was designed to provide training to youth, especially rural youth, to assist in the production of food for the war effort. Later called the Food Production War Training Program and extended to include adults, the program enrolled 2.8 million people in courses such as Farm Machinery and Equipment Repair; Construction, Food Conservationism, and Preservation; and a variety of other topics designed to help reach the wartime food production goals (Henry, 1945b).

Impact of the War on Higher Education

Colleges and universities were also seriously affected by the war. Enrollment declined sharply, as almost 75% of male students went into military service. The instructional staff was also severely reduced as instructors left for military service, to perform research related to the war effort, to enter the diplomatic service, or to provide expertise and service in the monumental task of conversion of industries from peacetime to wartime.

Even college and university athletics were affected by the war. Many institutions reduced or suspended their sports programs. “Even such high profile national events as the Rose Bowl game were altered to accommodate the national emergency, with the traditional New Year’s Day game being moved out of harm’s way from Pasadena, California to Durham, North Carolina” (Thelin, 2004, p. 257). One institution’s apparent suspension of athletics had a more serious purpose: Underneath the deteriorating and overgrown football stadium at the University of Chicago was a secret site of the Manhattan Project, the massive federal program to develop the atomic bomb. Labs were constructed in the locker rooms under the grandstands (Thelin, 2004).

Institutional finances were also affected by the war. Income in 1943–1944 was only 67% of what it had been in 1939–1940 (Knight, 1952). Larger institutions involved in the specialized training described below or in government-sponsored research were not as heavily affected as smaller institutions, but all institutions faced increased costs for current operations (Kandel, 1948).

The impact of the reductions in enrollments, staff, and finances on the nation’s colleges and universities was so serious that toward the end of the war, Congress authorized a study of the effects of these reductions as well as the projected impact of the phasing out of the specialized training programs being conducted on college campuses. The results of the study led the committee to recommend emergency federal aid to assist higher education.

A bill introduced in May 1945 to provide this aid did not pass, but the next year President Harry Truman appointed the President’s Commission on Higher Education in a Democracy to consider the future of the nation’s higher education system. Among the recommendations

made by the committee in 1947 was that the federal government continue to provide funding for research. Not only was this done, but in addition the magnitude of these vast research enterprises served to transform many universities into what Clark Kerr (1963) termed "federal grant universities."

Higher Education and the War Effort

Individually, and through the American Council on Education, colleges and universities sought to play an active role in the war effort. They were intent on ensuring that the mistakes of World War I not be repeated. At the outbreak of that war, the War Department had no plan for involving colleges and universities in the war effort, and when it finally did, it effectively took over college campuses. Officials also lacked plans for training scientific and technical personnel and indiscriminately drafted faculty into the armed services to serve in roles that made no use of their academic training and talents (Cardozier, 1993).

As World War II loomed and then overtook the United States, colleges, college students, and the war department were faced with a dilemma: They recognized that the future need for professionally trained individuals demanded that college students remain in school and that college professors remain in their positions, but at the same time these were the very individuals who were required for positions of leadership in military and government service.

One way colleges and universities attempted to meet the manpower demand was by acceleration: moving to 4 quarters or 3 semesters and to a 6-day instructional week. This made graduation possible in 3 years. Even medical schools adopted accelerated programs that reduced the length of medical preparation to 3 years.

One of the most important roles played by colleges and universities during the war was preparing men for military service, for war industries, and for essential civilian activities. By the end of 1943, 380,000 men were involved in specialized training at 489 colleges and universities, many as part of the Army Specialized Training Program, the Army Air Force College Training Program, or the Naval College Training Program (Knight, 1952). In each case the particular branch of service contracted with the college or university to use its facilities and faculties to provide specialized training that its own training facilities were not prepared to deliver.

> ***For Your Reflection and Analysis***
>
> *Which of the educational institutions (elementary, secondary, or postsecondary) felt the greatest negative impact of World War II? Why?*

In addition to on-campus training of military personnel, over 100,000 servicemen and women enrolled in correspondence courses for high school or college credit that were supplied by the United States Armed Forces Institute in cooperation with more than 800 colleges and universities (Henry, 1945a). These experiences, and the continued interest of military personnel in higher education in the postwar period, were major factors in the postwar boom in higher education enrollment.

Training for civilian personnel in areas deemed important to the war effort was provided through the Engineering, Science, and Management Defense (later War) Training Program operated cooperatively by the United States Office of Education and participating colleges

and universities. The program supported 12- to 16-week courses designed to address the shortage of engineers, chemists, physicists, and production supervisors in the specialties important to the war effort.

The program also provided war courses for high school physics and math teachers as part of the government's efforts to promote preinduction courses in the high schools. Between the end of 1943 and October 1945, more than 1.3 million men and women enrolled in 12,500 short courses offered by over 200 colleges in 1,000 towns and cities across the country (Kandel, 1948).

Alongside these training functions, one of the most important contributions of universities to the war effort was to conduct government-sponsored large-scale applied research. The effectiveness of universities with these projects had an enduring legacy and provided the foundation for future partnerships between universities and the federal government in a way that would "indelibly transform the missions and funding of American higher education" (Thelin, 2004, p. 259).

Although it is not possible to cite all the contributions the schools, colleges, and teachers made to the war effort, the statement of "Education's Part in the War Effort" issued by the National Education Association in 1946 and presented in the From the Archives feature box enumerates some that have not been mentioned in this discussion.

From the Archives: Education's Part in the War Effort

This 1946 statement issued by the National Education Association provides statistics about education's involvement in the war effort.

> The schools and colleges of the United States made indispensable contributions to the nation's war effort. Among other things they
>
> (1) Laid the foundations upon which a citizens' army was quickly built. In World War I only 20% of the members of the armed forces had more than an eighth-grade education; in World War II, almost 70% had more than an eighth-grade education. . . .
>
> (4) Carried through a training program designed to increase industrial production and the supply of food. Pre-employment courses were given to 2,667,000, supplementary vocational courses to 4,800,000, and agricultural training to 4,188,000 students.
>
> (5) Registered millions of men for the Selective Service. In most communities school buildings were used and thousands of teachers voluntarily gave time as registration clerks.
>
> (6) Registered citizens and distributed 415,000,000 ration books. Many teachers served on the rationing boards—in August 1945, of the 126,000 board members nearly 7,600 were educators.
>
> (7) Participated in the drives to collect waste paper and metal. Out of 25,000,000 tons of paper collected, it is estimated by authorities that the schools collected at least 2,500,000 tons.

(continued)

From the Archives: Education's Part in the War Effort *(continued)*

(8) Sold two billion dollars worth of war bonds and stamps. In 1945 more than 25,000,000 pupils were participating in school savings plans as compared to 2,500,000 in 1941.

(9) Provided headquarters for civilian defense activities. Partial reports from city school systems indicate that one in ten teachers participated in such activities.

(10) Assisted the Junior Red Cross to produce over 35,000,000 comfort and recreational articles for the armed forces. In addition, medical chests, dried milk, and educational gift boxes were sent to children in the war zones.

(11) Gave thousands of hours to war-supporting agencies. Among these were the United Service Organizations, American Red Cross, war relief drives for our Allies, book drives of the American Library Association, and nursery schools and child-care programs.

Source: National Education Association. (1946, May). Education's part in the war effort. Journal of the National Education Association, *250.*

7.7 Education in the Postwar Era

Enrollment in public schools and higher education surged in the postwar years. Toward the end of the war, in an effort to assist veterans whose schooling had been interrupted by military service, Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. The **G.I. Bill** , as it became known, provided benefits to 7.8 million veterans of World War II to help them further their education at any level. In 1947 more than 1 million veterans were enrolled in college, approximately 48% of the total enrollment of 2.4 million (Kim & Rury, 2007). The law's benefits were subsequently extended to veterans of the Korean, "Cold," and Vietnam wars; eventually almost 15 million veterans received aid.

The G.I. Bill also initiated a great postwar popularization of higher education. As going to college became more common, it provided an incentive to high school students to graduate, and the growing number of high school graduates swelled college enrollments even further (Kim & Rury, 2007). In the decade from 1949 to 1959 higher education enrollment increased 35%, and it more than doubled in the next decade, from under 4 million to over 8 million (see Table 7.2). In addition to absolute growth, in the decades after the war, more men and women representing a greater age range and from more varied social, economic, cultural, and racial groups attended colleges and universities than ever before (Cremin, 1988).

Table 7.2: Degree-granting institutions of higher education, faculty, and enrollments, 1919–1920 to 2009–2010

Year	Total Institutions	Total Faculty	Total Enrollment
1919–1920	1,041	48,615	597,880
1929–1930	1,409	82,386	1,110,737
1930–1940	1,708	146,929	1,494,203
1949–1950	1,851	245,722	2,695,021
1959–1960	2,008	380,554	3,639,847
1969–1970	2,525	450,000	8,004,660
1979–1980	3,152	675,000	11,569,899
1989–1990	3,535	824,220	13,538,560
1999–2000	4,084	1,027,830	14,791,224
2009–2010	4,495	1,439,144	20,427,711

Source: Snyder, T. D., & Dillow, S. A. (2013). Digest of education statistics, 2012. *National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: NCES.*

While returning servicemen filled college and university classrooms after the war, within a decade, the postwar "baby boom" (by 1965 over 40% of Americans were under the age of 20) hit the public schools. Between 1946 and 1956 kindergarten and elementary school enrollments increased 37%, from 17.7 million to 24.3 million.

Life Adjustment Education and the Education Critics of the 1950s

The years after World War II constituted a period of not only burgeoning enrollments, but also adjustment—the adjustment of returning servicemen and women; the adjustment of the economy from wartime to peacetime; the adjustment to life in a new residential configuration, the suburb; and the adjustment to a society that was more transient, more mobile, and more prosperous than ever before (Gutek, 1981). In the midst of postwar changes and uncertainties an education movement called **life adjustment education** came into prominence. Life adjustment education became associated with progressive education and became the target of a group of critics who held progressive education responsible for a perceived decline in educational standards.

Life adjustment education was formally introduced in 1945 at a vocational education conference sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education. It offered a program adjusted to the interests, efforts, and probable future activities of those 60% of students not entering vocational training or preparing for college.

Life adjustment education proposed

> curriculum flexibility; student guidance; and attention to previously neglected areas of social living such as hygiene, family living, drivers' education and social relations with peers. Emphasis was upon increasing the holding power of American high schools by presenting students with a more meaningful and relevant curriculum. (Fallace, 2011, p. 575)

Spurred on by a series of conferences, state and national commissions, and numerous publications, it was seen by many as a natural outgrowth of progressive education's goal of making the schools more relevant to the broad spectrum of students. Although other approaches to creating a more functional curriculum had been advanced during the 1930s and 1940s, none gained the favor that life adjustment education did. In less than a decade after its formal introduction, half the states had undertaken some variation of the life adjustment curriculum.

Critics of progressive education saw life adjustment education as a perfect target. Most of the criticism came from academic traditionalists who viewed the proposed reform program as a particularly dangerous form of anti-intellectualism (Wraga, 2010). "It continued an abundance of slogans, jargon, and various anti-intellectualisms; it carried the utilitarianism and group conformism of latter-day progressivism to its ultimate trivialization" (Ravitch, 1983, p. 70).

For Your Reflection and Analysis

Give arguments for and against life adjustment education as a tool for making education more relevant for all students.

One of the foremost critics of life adjustment education and progressive education in the postwar period was Arthur Bestor, a professor at the University of Illinois. In his most famous critical study, *Educational Wastelands* (1953), Bestor deplored the anti-intellectual quality of American schools, which he claimed had been caused by progressive educators who "set forth purposes of education so trivial as to forfeit the respect of thoughtful men, and by deliberately divorcing the schools from the disciplines of science and scholarship" (p. 10).

He also rejected what he claimed was life adjustment education's implication that 60% of students would not benefit from intellectual training as invalidating "most of the assumptions that have underlain American democracy" (Bestor, 1953, p. 82).

Bestor advocated a return to basics—a traditional liberal arts curriculum of well-defined intellectual disciplines and the development of the intellect as the primary goal of education. Like earlier essentialists, Bestor (1956) argued that such a curriculum should be systematic and sequential because "clear thinking is systematic thinking, [and] liberal education involves the logical organization of knowledge" (p. 36). Bestor's criticisms were well received by conservatives and other opponents of progressive education, and he was widely publicized in the popular press.

Beset by its critics, life adjustment education faded from the education scene as the United States became preoccupied with competition in the Cold War. However, criticism of progressive education continued. Two of the leading critics of progressive education were Robert Hutchins and Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, father of the atomic submarine. Similar to Bestor, Hutchins advocated a return to a more traditional curriculum, though he preferred the classical liberal arts curriculum. Consistent with the perennialist educational philosophy, Hutchins argued that the ideal education is one that is designed to cultivate the intellect and that this could best be done by a curriculum that concentrates on the Great Books of Western civilization.

For Your Reflection and Analysis

In what ways does Bestor's traditional liberal arts curriculum reflect the educational philosophy of the "back to basics movement"?

Perhaps even more critical of progressivism was Admiral Rickover (1959), who judged it to be "as hopelessly outdated today as the horse and buggy" and declared that "nothing short of a complete reorganization of American education, preceded by a revolutionary reversal of educational aims, can equip us for winning the educational race with the Russians" (p. 188).

Rickover's criticism of America's schools was based largely on comparisons to their European counterparts. Based on this comparison, Rickover concluded, as had Bestor, that a liberal arts education provided the intellectual discipline needed for critical thinking and problem solving as well as advanced specialized training. He also favored the multitrack, ability grouping of most European educational systems to the American comprehensive high school. He focused his attention on the academically talented, who he believed were central to maintaining America's competitive edge with the Soviets.

At the same time that progressivism was coming under attack for its association with life adjustment education, the deepening Cold War brought growing intolerance for progressive ideals. Progressivism was associated with liberal politics, and progressive textbooks that promoted international understanding and discussed socialism and communism were attacked by right-wing groups as being un-American (Bernard & Mondale, 2001a).

However, in the end it was not its critics that killed progressive education. Rather, it was a victim of both its own successes and its failures. On the one hand, much of what the progressives had initially advocated had been incorporated into the schools. Projects, activities, and pupil experiences had been intelligently integrated into subject-matter teaching; concern for health and vocation had gained a permanent place in the school program; and concern for the individual differences among children had replaced the lockstep institution and rote memorization (Ravitch, 1983).

On the other hand, progressive education failed to recognize the extremism of its unrelenting rejection of the traditional curriculum and failed to give adequate attention to the critical issues facing education in the 1930s and 1940s (Graham, 1967). Essentially, progressive education did not seem to be relevant to the time. When the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the first space satellite, in 1957, the nation suddenly became concerned with intelligence and the need for increased science and mathematics skills, and progressive education seemed out of step.

The Montessori Movement

Concerns about academic standards, and in particular the demands of parents searching for more academically oriented early childhood programs than those offered by most public schools, contributed to a revival of an approach to early childhood education developed by Italian physician (the first female Italian physician) and educator Marie Montessori. Developed in the early 1900s and based on her work with children with developmental and intellectual disabilities in the slums of Rome, news of the Montessori method and its successes soon spread worldwide. The first Montessori school opened in the United States in 1911 in Scarborough, New York, and many others followed; more than 100 were in operation in 22 states by 1915.

Despite its initial popularity, the Montessori movement quickly faded. World War I travel restrictions, anti-immigrant sentiment, and the distain of several influential educators all contributed to the decline (American Montessori Society, 2013). William Kilpatrick, Dewey's

colleague at Teachers College, was particularly critical of Montessori's methods. In *The Montessori System Examined* (1914) Kilpatrick declared her work to be based on a psychological theory that was "50 years behind the times" (Thayer-Bacon, 2012, p. 4).

Renewed interest in the Montessori movement in the 1950s, however, spread quickly in the United States. The Montessori system calls for free activity within a prescribed range of options and within a prescribed environment that supports the child's natural curiosity and encourages collaborative learning. It includes the use of didactic sensory materials (such as sandpaper letters and numbers) and other specifically designed practical activities concerned with social skills, personal health and hygiene, the environment, and self-discipline.

Thousands of schools worldwide declare themselves to be "Montessori Schools." However, since the courts have ruled that the term "Montessori School" is not copyrighted, potentially virtually any school can call itself a Montessori school, and they vary in quality as well as methodology. Some represent the early Montessori method that was more flexible, adaptable, and open to scientific experimentation, while others represent a more structured system that assumes that experimentation is over (Thayer-Bacon, 2012).

7.8 Curriculum Reform in the Aftermath of *Sputnik*

Few times in history has a single event had such an impact on education as the launching of ***Sputnik*** in October 1957. The success of the Soviet space satellite seemed to confirm fears that the United States was losing the Cold War's technological and military races. The fear of hydrogen bombs being dropped from a similar craft onto American cities was matched by the humiliation and loss of prestige from being forced into second place in a critically important area of science and technology (McGrath, 1958).

The popular theory that emerged as a result was that the Russians beat the United States into space because the American school curriculum lacked rigor and paid insufficient attention to math and science. Concerned Americans also highlighted the consequences of the decades-long underfunding and neglect of education, noting that at the time of the launching of *Sputnik*, there was a reported shortage of 135,000 teachers and 159,000 classrooms. Many more thousands of teachers operated on temporary or emergency certificates. Some classes in the larger cities held 40 or more children, and 800,000 children nationwide attended school for only half the day (McGrath, 1958).

While the launching of Sputnik was a political-military problem, education was seen as a major part of the solution. Ideas for educational reform were taken from business and industry, such as proposals to standardize the curriculum in such a way that "anyone could teach to any group of students" and to increase the output of scientists and mathematicians (Steeves, Bernhardt, Burns, & Lombard, 2009, p. 78).

The Federal Response

The federal government's response to *Sputnik* was significant in both its magnitude and its direction. In effect, the government became directly involved in education reform and initiated a national curriculum in the areas of mathematics, science, and modern foreign languages.

This was accomplished not by mandate but by support for the development of new curricular materials, the distribution of money to school districts to purchase the new materials and equipment, the training of teachers in the use of the new materials and methods, and student loans and fellowship programs.

Federal support for the development of math and sciences curricula came through funding provided through the National Science Foundation (NSF). Support for the development of a language curriculum came through the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA).

The NDEA also provided support for students preparing for careers in science, mathematics, foreign languages, and engineering; the hiring of science teachers and the purchase of scientific equipment and supplies; the improvement of guidance, counseling, and testing programs, especially those directed at the identification and encouragement of more capable students; foreign language institutes and laboratories; and increased funding to the NSF.

The fivefold increase in funding to the NSF allowed it to expand its curriculum development and education programs. In 1956 it established the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC), composed of a number of prestigious scientists. Federal support for the work of the PSSC allowed it, beginning in 1958, to spend over $1 million per year for several years on the development of curriculum materials for high school physics.

Classroom teachers were introduced to the PSSC materials through summer institutes conducted at institutions of higher education under contract with the NSF, as well as through in-service institutes. Teachers were given a stipend and sometimes academic credit to attend the institutes. After the passage of the NDEA, school districts could use grant funds to purchase PSSC materials. Within a couple of years, the manufacture and distribution of PSSC materials had been turned over to private companies.

Tools of the Trade: 1960 *Physics* Text and "Frames of Reference" Video Prepared by the Physical Science Study Committee

One of the groups preparing curriculum materials to upgrade high school mathematics and science programs in response to the launch of *Sputnik* was the Physical Science Study Committee. With the support of the National Science Foundation, the committee prepared a physics textbook intended to make physics more interesting to students and to promote understanding of its principles, not just rote memorization.

The first edition of the text, *Physics*, appeared in 1960, and it was published for many years to come. Teachers' guides, films, tests, and recommendations on the creation and use of "inexpensive experimental apparatus" accompanied the text (MIT Institute Archives & Special Collections, 2012).

Sample pages from the "PSSC Physics Teacher's Guide, Advanced Topics" can be reviewed at http://libraries.mit.edu/_archives/exhibits/pssc.

One of the more interesting (and humorous) PSSC films, "Frames of Reference" (1960), which features two university professors demonstrating the difference between inertial and noninertial forces can be viewed at: https://archive.org/details/frames_of_reference.

Another NSF group, the School Mathematics Study Group (SMSG), was organized in 1958 and developed the "new math," which was based on set theory. A set was

> any collection of things, which could be points, lines, vectors, or any philosophical notion, such as brotherhood. By thinking in terms of sets, children were to learn to understand relationships and discover hidden patterns. Supposedly, after developing this habit of thinking, the student would retain a mental discipline that would be useful in advanced mathematical techniques. (Spring, 1989, p. 82)

The SMSG developed a series of widely used mathematics textbooks. The group's stated purpose was not to compete with commercial publishers but to ensure that its curriculum was being used in schools. Accordingly, the SMSG established a committee to review commercial math texts each year to determine whether they incorporated SMSG curriculum and, if so, to remove any competing SMSG text.

Although the SMSG always denied that its intention was to establish a national curriculum, the pressures it brought on the textbook industry had the effect of forcing the adoption of the SMSG curriculum. The New Math was subject to considerable criticism by many parents and teachers who found it difficult to understand. By the end of the 1960s, it had been abandoned by most schools.

The work of the PSSC and the SMSG became models for other areas of curriculum development. In 1965, under a grant from the NSF, the American Institute of Biological Sciences Curriculum Study Group began work on a biological sciences curriculum, and between 1960 and 1963 the Chemical Education Material Study Group developed a range of curriculum materials for that discipline. The cooperative development by university scholars and education experts of curricula that stressed structure, abstraction, discovery, and curiosity tended to counter the complaints of anti-intellectualism that had dogged the schools for a number of years (Spring, 1989), but at the same time seemed designed to create a "teacher proof curriculum" (Graham, 2005).

The curriculum reforms initiated by the NDEA were further stimulated by former nuclear scientist and Harvard University president James Conant's (1893–1978) widely publicized study of secondary education, *The American High School Today* (1959), also known as the **Conant Report**. Conant's experiences both as an educator and in national defense had convinced him of the critical relationship between education and the welfare of the nation. According to Conant (1953),

> If the field of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, it may well be that the ideological struggles with communism in the next fifty years will be won on the playing fields of the public schools of the United States. (p. 62)

The primary conclusion Conant reached from his study of American high schools was that the number of small high schools should be drastically reduced by district reorganization because small schools typically were not financially able to offer quality academic and vocational programs. Conant recommended that in the larger, reconstituted high schools all students be required to take 4 years of English, 3 or 4 years of social studies, and 1 year each in mathematics and sciences. The more able students would take additional math, sciences, and foreign languages.

Like Rickover, Conant was concerned that the schools were not challenging the academically talented. However, although he did not support separate schools for those students as Rickover did, arguing instead that the comprehensive high school was more democratic and contributed to social cohesion, Conant did propose that students be grouped by ability within the academic subjects. He also stressed the importance of identifying the academically gifted and channeling them into the university science and technology programs most needed to serve the national interests.

Conant played a major role in the establishment of the Educational Testing Service and advanced placement, and was an advocate for the use of standardized tests for college admissions and for increasing the number of guidance counselors in the high schools.

Conant was also concerned with the training of teachers. To him, most teacher education programs conveyed a progressive education ideology, which on the one hand he applauded for its emphasis on citizenship and the need for practical courses and electives, but on the other hand he viewed as lacking an academically rigorous curriculum (Urban, 2013). In his *The Education of American Teachers* (1963), he proposed fewer courses in formal education studies and more coursework in general education and an academic major for all prospective teachers, including elementary teachers.

For Your Reflection and Analysis

Are Conant's criticisms of teacher education still relevant today?

Unlike Bestor and some of the other school critics of the 1950s, Conant did not attack educators and did not condemn the comprehensive high school or suggest any radical alteration of it. As a result, his recommendations were seen by most educators and school boards as ideas for improvement, not as attempts to transform the schools, and they had considerable influence on educational planners and policymakers. Over the next decade, the number of school districts decreased from 40,520 to fewer than 18,000 (NCES, 1993), as many small high schools were consolidated.

New Learning Theories

The importance of psychology to the science of education and to understanding how learning takes place had been advanced in the first quarter of the 20th century by Thorndike and integrated with his work on intelligence testing. Thorndike developed a theory of learning that he labeled *psychological connectionism*, in which he compared the mind to a switchboard where connections are made between a stimulus and a response. The connection is made as a result of the law of effect: A reward is given when the appropriate connection is made between the stimulus and the response.

According to Thorndike's stimulus–response theory, learning depends on this connection being made between the stimulus and the response. Thorndike's suggestion that individuals differ in not only their intelligence but also in their innate ability to form connections (that is, to learn) played a major role in the recognition of individual differences and their importance in learning.

The foundation laid by Thorndike was advanced in the postwar period by Jean Piaget and Jerome Bruner and provided support to efforts to reform the curriculum. Piaget advanced

the stage concept of cognitive child development. According to Piaget, children progress through four sequential stages of cognitive development that are age related and progressive in the sense that one stage must be accomplished before the next: (1) sensorimotor (birth to age 2); (2) preoperational (2–7 years); (3) concrete organizational (7–11 years); and (4) formal operational (11+ years).

At each stage the child must reconstruct and integrate concepts formed at previous stages. According to Piaget's theory of readiness, children should not be introduced to new concepts until they have reached the appropriate stage of cognitive development.

Associated Press

Piaget's stage theory of child development provided support for curriculum reform in the United States.

Bruner also contributed to the **stage theory of cognitive development**. According to Bruner's theory of cognition, learning is a process by which children construct new ideas and concepts based on their previous learning. Moreover, according to this theory, learning occurs in three stages of complexity: enactive (action-based), iconic (image-based), and symbolic (language-based). Progress from one stage to another is influenced less by the developmental level of the child (as Piaget believed), and more by the environment.

Like the progressives, Bruner also believed that children learn best when they are interested in the material and are engaged in active problem solving. And, learning is easier when teaching is concerned with providing an understanding of structure, the relationship between things, rather than simply the mastery of facts. According to Bruner (1960), "[A]ny subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development" (p. 33).

Bruner's theories of cognition had a major impact on teachers, curriculum development, and policymaking in the 1950s and 1960s. He participated in the work of the NSF and was instrumental in the design and implementation of a number of education programs, including the landmark social studies curriculum development project, "Man: A Course of Study." His stage theory of learning provided the rationale for the *spiral curriculum* sequencing pattern whereby subject matter is presented over a number of grades with increasing complexity and abstraction. Together, Bruner's and Piaget's theories of the way children construct knowledge provided the theoretical framework for the constructivist theory of cognitive development.

7.9 Education and the Red Scare

The period from 1947 to 1954, often called the McCarthy era because of the highly publicized search for communists and subversives led by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, was one of zealous anticommunism that touched all aspects of American life. The rapid spread

of communism in Eastern Europe, the victory of the communist revolution in China, and the June 1950 attack on South Korea by North Korea all contributed to a growing fear in the United States that communism posed a real threat to the country (Cole, 2009).

Right-wing extremists used the threat of communist infiltration to discredit individuals or ideas that they considered liberal or progressive. Public schools and universities, because of their role in shaping the minds and values of the young, became leading targets, if not the number one target, of those who were concerned about disloyalty and subversion at the state and local levels (Ravitch, 1983).

To a large extent, education became the battleground for some of the ideological battles being waged in the larger society as well. Before it was over, the **Red Scare** had left a significant and enduring mark on American education. More than 600 teachers lost their jobs after having been accused of "un-American" activities. Hundreds more were brought before hearing bodies but allowed to keep their jobs.

Tenured university faculty were fired for their left-wing political activities, for refusing to answer questions about their relationship with the Communist party, or, in the case of 31 California professors acknowledged not to be communists, for refusing to pledge, "I am not a member of the Communist party, or under any oath, or a party to any agreement, or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligation under this oath" (Ravitch, 1983, p. 98).

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The McCarthy hearings in the U.S. Senate symbolized the Red Scare tactics that resulted in the dismissal of hundreds of teachers. McCarthy (center) is shown speaking at a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing.

Across the country Red Scare tactics were used in attempts to remove liberal educators, and virtually all teachers were intimidated and lived in fear and anxiety of being called before a state or federal investigative committee, of being arbitrarily labeled a communist in the press, or of becoming the target of some reactionary group (Foster, 2000). Even such notables as J. Robert Oppenheimer, the so-called father of the atomic bomb, and Nobel Prize–winning chemist Linus Pauley were not spared inquiries, harassment, and intimidation.

The Red Scare also had a profound effect on what teachers taught and the materials they used. While experiencing academic repression from the outside, teachers also self-censored out of fear of being dismissed or being reported for being subversive. One contemporary

study of scientists at 165 universities found that 25% reported exercising some form of self-censorship either in their private or professional lives (Lazarsfeld & Thielans, cited in Cole, 2009).

> ***For Your Reflection and Analysis***
>
> *Give other examples throughout history of individuals or ideas that have been discredited or dismissed because of their liberal or progressive nature.*

In towns and cities across the land, textbooks and curriculum materials were vigorously scrutinized lest any subject be included that might induce criticism. Books were withdrawn from use and even burned. In Texas the legislature ordered all school (and university) libraries to remove any and all literature published in the Soviet Union. In Indiana a member of the state textbook commission pressed to have *Robin Hood* banned from the schools because the story was part of "a communist directive in education," which celebrated "robbing the rich to give to the poor" (Foster, 2000, p. 1).

The Red Scare also dealt what might be considered the death blow to progressive education and was instrumental in moving the curriculum further to the political right (Foster, 2000). The critics of progressive education were effective in linking it to collectivism, and, by implication, to communism. To deflect or avoid criticism, educators "frequently played down features of progressive education, lest they be construed subversive, and vigorously emphasized the '3 R's,' the 'fundamentals,' and loyalty to American traditions" (Foster, 2000, p. 184).

> ***For Your Reflection and Analysis***
>
> *What forces in today's political or social climate might lead teachers to self-censor?*

The height of the Red Scare in education came in 1952 and 1953 with the widely publicized congressional investigations of alleged subversion. Soon after this, the tide began to turn. The election of the moderate Republican, Dwight Eisenhower, undermined McCarthy's claims that the government was "soft on communism" (Ravitch, 1983). McCarthy's ever more outlandish and unsubstantiated accusations led to his censure by the Senate in late 1954.

The courts also took a stand, overturning dismissals and declaring unconstitutional some of the more far-reaching state and local actions. By the mid-1950s the worst of the scare was over. However, the personal and professional damage done to the nation's educators and to the schools where they practiced their chosen profession remained.

7.10 Summary and Resources

Conclusion

Education was not immune to the effects of the Depression, and in some respects the response of many educators was similar to that of the larger population: They looked to the federal government for relief. Many educational leaders called on the government to provide general aid

to the schools. Their major argument, the same one that has been used ever since, was that federal aid was necessary to overcome the educational inequalities that existed among the states, resulting from inequalities of resources. The argument continues that only the federal government can address these inequalities, and that it is in the interest of the general welfare for it to do so.

Whatever the merits of the argument, the federal government has continued to refuse to distribute general federal aid to education. In addition to ideological reasons related to ideas about the separation of powers between the federal government and the states, a major reason has undoubtedly been the same one used during the Depression—the cost to the federal government would be too high.

The federal government did involve itself in education during the Depression, however, and in a way and to a degree previously not envisioned. However, much to the chagrin of educators, and over their protests, New Deal education funds and programs were not given directly to the education community. Still, New Deal programs such as the National Youth Administration and the Works Progress Administration did enable many students to stay in school and many teachers to draw salaries.

During and after World War II, the federal government continued its involvement, not only in providing financial support to education, but also in promoting a curriculum designed to serve national security. The progressive notion of the interests of the child guiding the curriculum gave way to the interest of the state.

The postwar years also brought the federal government into the schools in a far less positive way. The U.S. Committee on Un-American Activities, as well as state investigatory committees, engaged in what is generally conceded to be a "witch hunt" to discredit educators who had even the slightest real or imagined connection to communism. In most cases the investigations were used to discredit liberal-leaning educators or simply those who were not liked. The brunt of the Red Scare was felt by more liberal educators, both in the public schools and in colleges and universities. They remain targets of right-wing conservative ideologues today.

For Discussion and Application

1. Compare the high school curriculum of 1930 with the high school curriculum of 1960.
2. How can schools most effectively serve as initiators of social change?
3. Trace the changing involvement of the federal government in education in the 20th century.
4. Compare the major criticisms of progressive education during the 1950s with those made by education critics today.
5. Interview a Depression-era student regarding the impact of the Depression on the students and the school he or she attended. How might you have responded to these circumstances?

Primary Source Readings

In this speech before the Progressive Education Society in 1932, George S. Counts expressed both optimism and pessimism regarding the future and education. He underscored the great faith of the American people in progress and in education. He also pointed to the progressive education movement as a possible remedy or model for hope and change. However, Counts was a realist and suggested that for progressive education to be genuinely progressive, it must have direction. It must free itself from the influence of its liberal-minded upper-middle-class supporters, face each social issue courageously, establish strong community ties, and develop a realistic theory of welfare.

Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?

George S. Counts

Like all simple and unsophisticated peoples we Americans have a sublime faith in education. Faced with any difficult problem of life we set our minds at rest sooner or later by the appeal to the school. We are convinced that education is the one unfailing remedy for every ill to which man is subject, whether it be vice, crime, war, poverty, riches, injustice, racketeering, political corruption, race hatred, class conflict, or just plain original sin. We even speak glibly and often about the general reconstruction of society through the school. We cling to this faith in spite of the fact that the very period in which our troubles have multiplied so rapidly has witnessed an unprecedented expansion of organized education. This would seem to suggest that our schools, instead of directing the course of change, are themselves driven by the very forces that are transforming the rest of the social order.

The bare fact, however, that simple and unsophisticated peoples have unbounded faith in education does not mean that the faith is untenable. History shows that the intuitions of such folk may be nearer the truth than the weighty and carefully reasoned judgments of the learned and the wise. Under certain conditions education may be as beneficent and as powerful as we are wont to think. But if it is to be so, teachers must abandon much of their easy optimism, subject the concept of education to the most rigorous scrutiny, and be prepared to deal much more fundamentally, realistically, and positively with the American social situation than has been their habit in the past. Any individual or group that would aspire to lead society must be ready to pay the costs of leadership: to accept responsibility, to suffer calumny, to surrender security, to risk both reputation and fortune. If this price or some important part of it is not being paid, then the chances are that the claim to leadership is fraudulent. Society is never redeemed without effort, struggle, and sacrifice. Authentic leaders are never found breathing that rarefied atmosphere lying above the dust and smoke of battle. With regard to the past we always recognize the truth of this principle, but when we think of our own times we profess the belief that the ancient roles have been reversed and that now prophets of a new age receive their rewards among the living.

That the existing school is leading the way to a better social order is a thesis which few informed persons would care to defend. Except as it is forced to fight for its own life during times of depression, its course is too serene and untroubled. Only in the rarest of instances

does it wage war on behalf of principle or ideal. Almost everywhere it is in the grip of conservative forces and is serving the cause of perpetuating ideas and institutions suited to an age that is gone. But there is one movement above the educational horizon which would seem to show promise of genuine and creative leadership. I refer to the Progressive Education movement. Surely in this union of two of the great faiths of the American people, the faith in progress and the faith in education, we have reason to hope for light and guidance. Here is a movement which would seem to be completely devoted to the promotion of social welfare through education.

Even a casual examination of the program and philosophy of the Progressive schools, however, raises many doubts in the mind. To be sure, these schools have a number of large achievements to their credit. They have focused attention squarely upon the child; they have recognized the fundamental importance of the interest of the learner; they have defended the thesis that activity lies at the root of all true education: they have conceived learning in terms of life situations and growth of character; they have championed the rights of the child as a free personality. Most of this is excellent, but in my judgment it is not enough. It constitutes too narrow a conception of the meaning of education; it brings into the picture but one-half of the landscape.

If an educational movement, or any other movement, calls itself progressive, it must have orientation: it must possess direction. The word itself implies moving forward, and moving forward can have little meaning in the absence of clearly defined purposes. We cannot, like Stephen Leacock's horseman, dash off in all directions at once. Nor should we, like our presidential candidates, evade every disturbing issue and be all things to all men. Also we must beware lest we become so devoted to motion that we neglect the question of direction and be entirely satisfied with movement in circles. Here, I think, we find the fundamental weakness, not only of Progressive Education, but also of American education generally. Like a baby shaking a rattle, we seem to be utterly content with action provided it is sufficiently vigorous and noisy. In the last analysis a very large part of American educational thought, inquiry, and experimentation is much ado about nothing. And, if we are permitted to push the analogy of the rattle a bit further, our consecration to motion is encouraged and supported in order to keep out of mischief. At least we know that so long as we thus busy ourselves we shall not incur the serious displeasure of our social elders.

The weakness of Progressive Education thus lies in the fact that it has elaborated no theory of social welfare, unless it be that of anarchy or extreme individualism. In this, of course, it is but reflecting the viewpoint of the members of the liberal-minded upper middle class who send their children to the Progressive schools—persons who are fairly well-off, who have abandoned the faiths of their fathers, who assume an agnostic attitude towards all important questions, who pride themselves on their open-mindedness and tolerance, who favor in a mild sort of way fairly liberal programs of social reconstruction, who are full of good will and humane sentiment, who have vague aspirations for world peace and human brotherhood, who can be counted upon to respond moderately to any appeal made in the name of charity, who are genuinely distressed at the sight of *unwonted* forms of cruelty, misery, and suffering, and who perhaps serve to soften somewhat the bitter clashes of those real forces that govern the world; but who, in spite of all their good qualities, have no deep and abiding loyalties, possess no convictions for which they would sacrifice over-much, would find it hard to live without their customary material comforts, are rather insensitive to the accepted forms of social injustice, are content to play the role of interested spectator in the drama of human history, refuse to see reality in its harsher and more disagreeable forms, rarely move outside

the pleasant circles of the class to which they belong, and in the day of severe trial will follow the lead of the most powerful and respectable forces in society and at the same time find good reasons for so doing. These people have shown themselves entirely incapable of dealing with any of the great crises of our time—war, prosperity, or depression.

At bottom they are romantic sentimentalists, but with a sharp eye on the main chance. That they can be trusted to write our educational theories and shape our educational programs is highly improbable.

Among the members of this class the number of children is small, the income relatively high, and the economic functions of the home greatly reduced. For these reasons an inordinate emphasis on the child and child interests is entirely welcome to them. They wish to guard their offspring from too strenuous endeavor and from coming into too intimate contact with the grimmer aspects of industrial society. They wish their sons and daughters to succeed according to the standards of their class and to be a credit to their parents. At heart feeling themselves members of a superior human strain, they do not want their children to mix too freely with the children of the poor or of the less fortunate races. Nor do they want them to accept radical social doctrines, espouse unpopular causes, or lose themselves in quest of any Holy Grail. According to their views education should deal with life, but with life distance or in a highly diluted form. They would generally maintain that life should be kept at arm's length, if it should not be handled with a poker.

If Progressive Education is to be genuinely progressive, it must emancipate itself from the influence of this class, face squarely and courageously every social issue, come to grips with life in all of its stark reality, establish an organic relation with the community, develop a realistic and comprehensive theory of welfare, fashion a compelling and challenging vision of human destiny, and become less frightened than it is today at the bogies of *imposition* and *indoctrination*. In a word Progressive Education cannot place its trust in a child-centered school.

This brings us to the most crucial issue in education—the question of the nature and extent of the influence which the school should exercise over the development of the child. The advocates of extreme freedom have been so successful in championing what they call the rights of the child that even the most skillful practitioners of the art of converting others to their opinions disclaim all intention of molding the learner. And when the word indoctrination is coupled with education there is scarcely one among us possessing the hardihood to refuse to be horrified. This feeling is so widespread that even Mr. Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education in the Russian Republic until 1929, assured me on one occasion that the Soviet educational leaders do not believe in the indoctrination of children in the ideas and principles of communism. When I asked him whether their children become good communists while attending the schools, he replied that the great majority do. On seeking from him an explanation of this remarkable phenomenon he said that Soviet teachers merely tell their children the truth about human history. As a consequence, so he asserted, practically all of the more intelligent boys and girls adopt the philosophy of communism. I recall also that the Methodist sect in which I was reared always confined its teachings to the truth!

The issue is no doubt badly confused by historical causes. The champions of freedom are obviously the product of an age that has broken very fundamentally with the past and is equally uncertain about the future. In many cases they feel themselves victims of narrow orthodoxies which were imposed upon them during childhood and which have severely cramped their

lives. At any suggestion that the child should be influenced by his elders they therefore envisage the establishment of a state church, the formulation of a body of sacred doctrine, and the teaching of this doctrine as fixed and final. If we are forced to choose between such an unenlightened form of pedagogical influence and a condition of complete freedom for the child, most of us would in all probability choose the latter as the lesser of two evils. But this is to create a wholly artificial situation: the choice should not be limited to these two extremes. Indeed today neither extreme is possible.

I believe firmly that a critical factor must play an important role in any adequate educational program, at least in any such program fashioned for the modern world. An education that does not strive to promote the fullest and most thorough understanding of the world is not worthy of the name. Also there must be no deliberate distortion or suppression of facts to support any theory or point of view. On the other hand, I am prepared to defend the thesis that all education contains a large element of imposition, that in the very nature of the case this is inevitable, that the existence and evolution of society depend upon it, that it is consequently eminently desirable, and that the frank acceptance of this fact by the educator is a major professional obligation. I even contend that failure to do this involves the clothing of one's own deepest prejudices in the garb of universal truth and the introduction into the theory and practice of education of an element of obscurantism.

Questions for Discussion

1. How you would answer the question posed by the title of Count's address, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" Why did the delegates greet his message with silence?
2. Counts believed that "an education that does not strive to promote the fullest and most thorough understanding of the world is not worthy of the name." What do you believe Counts meant by this statement? Do you agree with his premise? Why or why not?
3. Counts suggested that the weakness of progressive education lies in the fact that it has elaborated limited theories of social welfare (that is, anarchy or extreme individualism), which reflect the point of view of the liberal-minded upper class who are most apt to send their children to progressive schools. Discuss other forms of social welfare that might be more acceptable to members of all social classes regardless of income or social status.

Eleanor Gerard Sekerak, a high school teacher at the War Relocation Authority (WRA) Camp in Topaz, Utah, presents a moving account of her 3-year experience teaching Japanese American students. Upon her arrival at the internment camp, the school buildings had not been completed, there was a desperate lack of school supplies and textbooks, practically no library existed, and transportation was nonexistent. In spite of these challenges a successful community high school emerged with all the extracurricular offerings of the traditional high school. As you read "A Teacher at Topaz," ask yourself how you would have fared as a student or teacher at Topaz High School.

A Teacher at Topaz

Eleanor Gerard Sekerak

A number of Nisei students attended Technical High School in Oakland, the location of my second supervised teaching assignment. Faculty members worried aloud about their Nisei students. What would happen, especially to the seniors removed from classes before the end of the semester? What about their plans for college? I had no Nisei in my class, but during hall duty I had occasion to admonish, almost daily, a youngster who always dashed by as though on roller skates. Once while reminding him not to run in the halls, I asked his name. "Bill Oshima," he told me.

The halls seemed very quiet after evacuation. From neither the teachers nor the students did I hear any anti-Nisei sentiment; no one identified the "enemy" with our students.

At last, the semester ended and evaluation and interviews occupied my days. One of California's most prestigious districts accepted my application for a teaching position and told me that a contract would be mailed later in the summer. That settled, I happily departed for the summer as a counselor at Camp Sunset in Bartlett, Illinois, near Chicago.

However, the teaching contract did not arrive and, finally, I wrote my dean asking him to inquire. Back came his regrets, informing me that the district had decided to hire a man. This was long before the days when one could rush into court claiming discrimination!

As I wondered what to do next, a telegram arrived from Lome Bell, formerly a YMCA executive in the Los Angeles area and then a regional supervisor for the National Youth Administration. During the early summer of 1942, he had left the NYA to work for the War Relocation Authority. His wire read, "If you have not yet signed a contract, will you consider a position at Topaz, Utah. We are in desperate need of teachers." . . .

I had no illusions about what I would find at Topaz; Lome Bell had warned, "This is an internment camp with barbed wire and military police." The advice at the San Francisco office of the WRA had been, "Take warm clothes; Utah winters are cold at 4,700 feet." And further, "Don't expect gourmet meals—you'll eat mass cooking in a staff dining hall." The preceding three months as a camp counselor proved good preparation for dorm life. . . .

Despite our location in the middle of an alkali desert, we did enjoy one great advantage—we didn't displace any local residents. We were made to feel as welcome as was possible under the distressing conditions. We experienced none of the really nasty episodes that plagued some of the other centers, and I personally credit the basic goodness of our neighboring Mormon residents.

Within hours of arriving at the staff women's dorm, my trunk was delivered by a crew of young men, one of whom shrieked upon seeing me and dropped the trunk on his toes. It was my hall-runner from Technical High. He dashed away shouting, "Guess who's here? That strict teacher from Tech!" By noon, the whole of Topaz knew that a California teacher had arrived.

Charles Ernst, an experienced settlement-house director from Boston, dignified and imposing but warm and considerate, was our first project director. He was an excellent administrator,

undaunted by the bureaucratic paperwork from Washington. With a deep concern for human values, Mr. Ernst kept representatives of the community in touch with developments.

Evening meetings to introduce new staff were one procedure. Never was an ordinary teacher made to feel more welcome. People crowded around to ask questions, shake hands, bow, and thank me for being there. When questioners learned that I was from Oakland and from UC, out of the crowd emerged classmates from University High and a smiling Hiro Katayama who had told us "good-bye" only six months before. Thus on my first day there were three meshings with past experiences.

The next day those teachers who had already arrived met with the administrators and other faculty. For some months I was the only California-credentialed teacher, giving me enormous prestige with the resident families. This standing also gave me an "instant" tool for discipline: I had only to remark to a reluctant student, "Homework not done? I think I'll stop to talk with your folks on the way home," to see an immediate transformation to eager scholar.

Most of our first-year teachers were trained in Utah; at that time a fifth year of college for secondary credentials was not required in Utah. For this reason, the Topaz residents felt shortchanged and worried about their children's academic preparation. However, our superintendent, a Utah native, had a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, and this mollified the parents. "Appointed," i.e., U.S. Civil Service, faculty were augmented by the resident staff, many of whom had excellent backgrounds but were without formal teacher-training credits. Hiro Katayama joined us in this capacity, having been recruited by Henry Tani. Henry, himself a graduate of Stanford University in business administration, became our administrative assistant. He had organized the high school at the Tanforan Assembly Center and would later become a national staff member with the United Church of Christ. . . .

The school buildings were far from complete when I arrived. A half-block of barracks at each end of the project was to house the two elementary schools, called "Mountain View" and "Desert View." Block 32, midway in the camp, constituted the six-year high school with a total anticipated enrollment of 1,720. Residents were arriving from Tanforan as fast as barracks could be built. Priority for the available carpenter time was to go to the elementary schools; volunteer labor sped up high school construction—the students and teachers all fell to. Alumni still laugh at the memory of Miss Gerard, teetering precariously on a wobbly table, holding a sheetrock slab with both arms while hammer-wielding students banged nails on each edge—and presto, a ceiling!

As soon as the barracks were winterized, huge "pot belly" stoves were moved into the middle of a room, tables and benches brought in to accommodate thirty-six students, and we were in business—it was October 26, 1942. The lack of supplies was desperate, so a phone call to my mother (and we waited hours to place a wartime call) resulted in her calling my former teachers at University High. Thanks to their efforts, outdated "surplus" texts began to arrive. "History is history, government is government," I sternly told my juniors and seniors, "you don't need a brand-new book!" Thus were we launched on an idealistic curriculum designed for us by a summer-session graduate class in curriculum development at Stanford University. The curriculum began with the concept of the "community school," that is, the school is looked upon as an extended home, the community furnishing observations and opinion. This approach proved most valuable for students in the vocational area, and some of our students

(those over sixteen years) were soon spending half their time in apprentice training or work experience. The schools in all relocation centers were to be affiliated with, and to meet the standards of, the states in which they were located. Utah had long been active in the vocational education field, so advisory committees were organized and planning help generously given. Consultants from the state board of education and even the board itself visited us.

The curriculum designed for us was based on a "core" of general education in agriculture, commercial, or college preparatory, and, in addition, a guidance program in which every teacher was expected to have a role. Our sequential theme for the entire school system was to be "Adaptation of Our Socioeconomic Arrangements to the Control and Direction of Technological Development." We were provided with illustrations of how to adapt this theme to the various grades, e.g., in grade one, "How can the yard at school be made more useful and beautiful?" In reality, the yard was dust (or mud) with huge piles of coal, and not a leaf could be coaxed from that alkali soil. In grade eleven, it was suggested, "How may the community take advantage of improved transportation and communication to make better living conditions for its people?" Our transportation consisted of walking the gravel roads of a one-mile square; no one went to Delta unless by special pass and by riding in an army truck.

In the beginning, faculty meetings were an exercise in how to tolerate frustration, as we wrestled with the "how to" of a core curriculum in a community school with few supplies and practically no library. Then we ran into opposition from the community itself—the parents did not want an experimental curriculum. They wanted their children to be prepared for college and to lose no academic ground because of the evacuation. So, with apologies to Stanford's Professor Paul Hanna, we modified the curriculum procedures by combining social studies and English as the "core" for the 1942–43 school year.

The first semester we covered federal, state, county, and city government, and administration. An update on the creation and administration of wartime agencies was included. Then an intensive study of the WRA calling our project a "federally created municipality" followed. Staff members came to class to discuss the various phases of the administration of Topaz, and students took field trips and participated in an actual week of work experience in one phase of the community.

In May 1942 our community participation took a very active form when all seniors and their teachers went into the fields to plant onions and celery in areas of tillable ground scattered beyond the alkali deposits. Thereafter, whenever crooked celery stalks appeared on mess hall tables, much merriment ensued concerning whose responsibility it was to have produced such a deformity.

The second semester each student decided on the town in which he wished to resettle, and we set up a community survey of this locality and state. Using a Russell Sage publication, Your Community by Joanna Colcord, they sent for materials (writing model letters), did primary and secondary research, and wrote a term paper in college manuscript form summing up their results. At a recent reunion, there was amusement as alumni recounted that they had arrived at their chosen resettlement destinations knowing more than the natives.

Underlying all this was my personal determination that standards of behavior and of learning and performance were in no way to be lessened. As I faced my first day I wondered how I could teach American government and democratic principles while we sat in classrooms

behind barbed wire! I never ceased to have a lump in my throat when classes recited the Pledge of Allegiance, especially the phrase, "liberty and justice for all."

In our opening discussion, the students and I agreed that the whole evacuation process had been traumatic but could not last forever—and we could not permit academic achievement to be interrupted. So they arrived at class on time, with homework completed, worked diligently, took their exams, and otherwise observed normal classroom standards. (We had one exception: the day the first snow fell, the California Bay Area students and their teacher rushed to the window to watch.) All the normal life of a typical high school was set up: school chorus, student newspaper, yearbook, student government, drama, athletics, dances, and the usual senior week activities. Borrowing caps and gowns graciously loaned by the University of Utah, 218 seniors marched across the dusty windswept plaza to outdoor graduation exercises on June 25, services complete with an invocation and a begowned faculty. . . .

On one occasion, I chaperoned the first experimental group of senior girls and young women to work for the summer in a tomato cannery near Ogden. We started with light-hearted attitudes, anticipating hard work but making money. The grim realities of migratory agricultural life met us when we found utterly unacceptable, unsanitary, and crowded housing conditions plus an employer who couldn't or wouldn't consider any improvements.

I had to appeal to nearby military to place me in phone contact with our project director. Upon hearing of the conditions, he ordered us back to Topaz, explaining to grateful parents that their daughters were not to be exploited.

To thank me for heading off a potentially embarrassing incident for the WRA administration, the director assigned my roommate and me an apartment in the new staff housing. Until that time we had lived in barracks rooms just as the evacuees did. Unlike some centers, at no time were there barriers between staff and evacuee housing. From then on, our apartment became a center for visitor and student meetings and parties.

My first roommate, Emily Minton, community activities director, was married at Topaz in December 1942. Her husband, Norman Center, arrived from San Francisco carrying Reverend Tsukamoto's altar candlesticks, and Goro Suzuki sang "I'm Dreaming of a White Christmas" at the reception. Mary MacMillan, my second roommate, taught at the high school until she left for graduate work in Nashville, Tennessee. "Mary Mack," much beloved by the students, would later go to postwar Hiroshima to teach. Third to move in was Muriel Matzkin, a biology teacher from New York. Muriel and I later went to Washington, D.C., to help close out the WRA. Later Muriel married Milton Shapp and became "first lady" of Pennsylvania.

Good-byes to those actually relocating to jobs out of the evacuation zone were far happier than parting with those destined for Tule Lake. When the first large group of families left for resettlement in the East, and not just on seasonal leave, staff and friends crowded around the gate to say their farewells. Voices raised in song—"God be with you till we meet again"—as tears ran unashamedly down dusty cheeks.

Happiest of all leave-takings were those when students left for college. Many educators, such as my faculty colleagues at Technical High, had worried about the evacuee students who were then in college or planning to enter in the spring of 1942, and about those who would be

graduating during the war years. During the early summer of 1942, some thirty deans and registrars met to consider the problem. With the eventual cooperation of over 300 colleges and universities, they established five requirements: (1) The student had to be accepted academically by the college while still in camp; (2) students could attend any school approved or "cleared" by the War and Navy departments; (3) students had to be able to provide for themselves financially for one year; (4) they had to be assured of a welcome in the college community; and (5) all students had to provide an autobiography.

The fourth stipulation created problems, as many of the large universities had war-related projects on their campuses; as a consequence, the need for an agency to handle a multitude of details became obvious. John J. McCloy, assistant secretary of war, and Milton Eisenhower, the first director of the WRA, requested that the American Friends Service Committee coordinate the activities of all interested groups, such as the churches, the YMCA, the YWCA, and the Fair Play Committee. The result was the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council funded by church boards and two philanthropic foundations. Thomas R. Bodine was appointed to the position of field director, and thereby hangs a tale of true dedication and commitment. Tom Bodine was a member of the Society of Friends and brought to the position the personal resources of extraordinary patience, understanding, and tremendous good cheer. He had charm, compassion, integrity, and aplomb with which to cajole, console, and counsel evacuee students and their parents, relocation center high school faculty, foundation boards of directors, and college presidents.

When we finally built a school auditorium at Topaz, had an adequate library, fielded uniformed athletic teams, and had "settled in," Tom made us realize the stagnation of the human spirit that was occurring behind barbed wire. Spurred by him, we set up a student relocation office; our first was run very efficiently by the gracious Louise Watson. It later became a part of the high school, and I was called the "student relocation advisor" so as not to offend the high school "guidance counselor." We organized our own scholarship fund to which both residents and outsiders contributed. (Once, when a dental problem forced me to make a quick train trip home, my only other engagement during that one-day visit was to talk with a group of teachers. Asking me to please wait, they withdrew and returned with a check for a thousand dollars. "If Hayward students are awarded scholarships, tell them Hayward High teachers gave the money, otherwise we are to be anonymous," they said.)

The scholarships awarded, plus a $25 leave grant made when an evacuee departed camp, helped establish the student's financial ability. However, jobs, housing, and community acceptance were the concern and responsibility of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council. By summer 1945, at least 3,000 students had been placed in various kinds of postsecondary education, having been relocated from all ten centers.

Topaz's closure was official on October 31, 1945, and I left immediately for Washington, D.C. My responsibility there was to handle correspondence concerning student records, especially transcripts, as the relocated students had entered schools all over the nation. Several months later, when all seemed quiet on the school front, Dr. John Provinse and I went to lunch with an official from the National Archives. We turned over the educational records from all the centers, everything in good order and all students accounted for.

Source: From Sekerak, E. G. (1986). A teacher at Topaz. In R. Daniels, S. C. Taylor, & H. H. Kitano (Eds.), Japanese Americans: From relocation to redress *(pp. 38–43). Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.*

Questions for Discussion

1. What similarities and differences existed between the experiences of the Japanese American students who were incarcerated in the War Relocation Authority camps and the Native American students who were educated under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs?
2. What were some of the contradictions that the Japanese American students experienced while being educated in a segregated environment?
3. Why did the U.S. government treat Japanese Americans differently from German Americans or Italian Americans, whose countries of origin were also at war with the United States during the same time?

Post-Test

1. Education leaders initially believed schools could weather the Depression through
   a. maintaining stable expenditures.
   b. "Little New Deals."
   c. increasing tax revenues.
   d. creative retrenchment.

2. The National Youth Administration provided
   a. part-time employment to needy high school and college students to help them continue their education.
   b. funding for the building of public libraries and schools.
   c. temporary work for over 3 million people aged 18 to 25 on various conservation projects.
   d. employment for teachers to teach in adult literacy programs.

3. Why did many female teachers leave teaching for jobs in industry during World War II?
   a. Industry jobs paid better than teaching jobs.
   b. They were forced to by local school boards.
   c. They were laid off because many schools were closed.
   d. There were far more teachers than there were teaching positions.

4. John Collier, a progressive activist concerned with the plight of the Native Americans,
   a. wrote the Meriam Report while serving as U.S. Commissioner of Indian Education.
   b. designed the Indian New Deal program during the Depression.
   c. supported a policy that fostered increased economic independence for Native Americans.
   d. discouraged the teaching of culture and heritage in Native American schools.

5. Social reconstructionists
   a. were critical of progressive education's lack of emphasis on the fundamentals.
   b. emphasized an organized, sequential curriculum, and a structured classroom environment.

c. believed the role of the school was to guide students in solving the real world problems facing society.
d. gained support for progressivism through their perceived association with communist ideas.

6. The impact of World War II on elementary and secondary schools included
   a. reduced financial support.
   b. the initiation and continuation of Victory Corps in most high schools nationwide.
   c. the opening of 5,000 new schools.
   d. an extended school year to train additional personnel.

7. During World War II, colleges and universities attempted to meet the manpower needs of the war effort by
   a. adding faculty and courses.
   b. adopting accelerated programs that reduced the time required for graduation.
   c. increasing the acceptance rate of women and minorities.
   d. reducing the requirements for being a college instructor.

8. Which of the following is NOT true of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, later knows as the G.I. Bill?
   a. It provided education benefits to veterans of World War II to help them further their education.
   b. It was extended to include veterans of the Korean, "Cold," and Vietnam wars.
   c. It initiated a popularization and diversification of higher education.
   d. It was limited to undergraduate college students.

9. The curriculum reforms initiated as a response to the 1957 launching of the Soviet satellite Sputnik
   a. had little actual impact on the curriculum taught in schools.
   b. included support for more training in math, science, and foreign languages.
   c. were opposed by the Department of Defense.
   d. were mandated by the federal government.

10. Which of the following statements about the impact of the Red Scare on post– World War II education is NOT true?
    a. more than 600 teachers lost their jobs having been accused of "un-American" activities.
    b. progressive education experienced a rebirth.
    c. teachers self-censored by selecting instructional materials that would not prove controversial.
    d. tenured university faculty were fired for their left-wing political activities.

Answers: 1 (d); 2 (a); 3 (a); 4 (c); 5 (c); 6 (a); 7 (b); 8 (d); 9 (b); 10 (b)

Chapter 7 Timeline

1928: Meriam Report detailing the plight of Native Americans issued.

Underwood Photo Archives / SuperStock

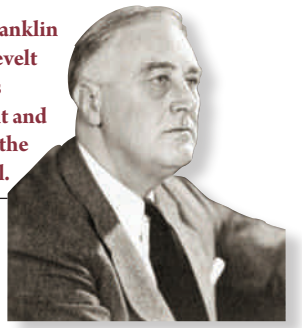
1925

Everett Collection / SuperStock

1929: Stock market crash of October 1929 marks the beginning of the Great Depression.

1932: George Counts' address at the Progressive Education Association convention marks the beginning of social reconstructionism.

1933: Franklin D. Roosevelt becomes president and initiates the New Deal.



Library of Congress/ Science Faction/ SuperStock

Library of Congress/Science Faction/SuperStock

1941: America enters World War II following the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December, 1941.

1944: The G. I. Bill, officially known as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, enacted to provide benefits to veterans to further their education.

1945: Life Adjustment Education introduced by the U. S. Department of Education.

1957: Soviets' launch of satellite Sputnik begins the Cold War.

1958: National Defense Education Act enacted to provide support for mathematics, science, and language arts curriculum development, instruction, and teacher training.

Philip Gendreau/Bettmann/CORBIS

1942: Eight Year Study by the Progressive Education Association shows that students from experimental high schools achieve as well as students from traditional high schools.

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1947–1954: Red Scare leads to academic repression and teacher dismissals in the public schools and colleges and universities.

1965

Web Links

Great Depression

This History Channel website contains numerous audio and video clips, articles, and links to topics related to the Great Depression and the major New Deal programs, as well human interest topics such as President Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats" and the work of Eleanor Roosevelt. The materials can be accessed here: http://www.history.com/topics/great-depression

The New Deal

Sponsored by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the New Deal Network site features 20,000 items including photographs, speeches, letters, and historical documents related to the Great Depression and the New Deal. Also included are resources for teachers: http://newdeal.feri.org

The Red Scare

This Red Scare site provides audio and video clips, including some from the McCarthy hearings and from President Eisenhower; a photo gallery; articles; and numerous Web links. The three major sections are: Cold War Concerns About Communism, Probing Red Influence, and Hysteria and Growing Conservatism. Access these materials here: http://www.history.com/topics/red-scare

Answers and Rejoinders to Chapter Pre-Test

1. **True.** The public schools suffered far more than the colleges and universities during the course of the Great Depression. Public schools required public funds for their operation. However, lower tax revenues meant less public funds.
2. **False.** The results of the Eight-Year Study conducted by the Progressive Education Association showed that students from experimental high schools not only achieved as well as students from traditional school, but also were more involved and successful in artistic and cultural activities.
3. **False.** It was the social reconstructionists who criticized the schools for not taking the lead in reconstructing society and building a new social order. The essentialists argued that school should teach basic subjects and emphasize core democratic values.
4. **True.** Life adjustment education was a proposal to formulate a program adjusted to the interests, efforts, and probable future activities of those 60% of students not entering vocational training or preparing for college.
5. **True.** Bruner's theories of the way children construct knowledge (cognition) provided the theoretical framework for the constructivist theory of cognitive development.

Rejoinders to Chapter Post-Test

1. For the first 2 years following the stock market crash, most school superintendents viewed the current economic condition as a temporary storm they could weather by creative retrenchment and greater compactness and efficiency.
2. The Depression started with the collapse of the stock market and was quickly followed by major problems in the banking system, leading many banks to fail.

Production by businesses contracted sharply, and this led to unemployment rates near 25%. High unemployment was a major obstacle facing the Roosevelt administration.

3. The National Youth Administration provided part-time employment to needy high school and college students to help them continue their education. The Public Works Administration built public libraries and schools. The Civil Conservation Corps employed youth to work on conservation projects, and the Works Projects Administration hired teachers to teach adult literacy.
4. The strong demand for industry workers during the Second World War meant that wages were relatively high, typically higher than the wages a teacher could earn. This contributed to the overall teacher shortage during the war years.
5. John Collier was convinced that Native American policy should focus on renewing Indian sovereignty, establishing economic independence, and recognizing and valuing Indian culture and language.
6. Social reconstructionists believed the role of the school was to guide students in using the tools of the scientific method to study and solve the "real world" problems facing our democratic society.
7. Financial support for schools, which was already decreased during the Depression, was further reduced during World War II. Schools struggled to meet both normal education demands and the demands of preparing students to help the war effort.
8. One of the ways colleges and universities attempted to meet the manpower demand of the war effort was by acceleration: moving to four quarters or three semesters per year and expanding to a six-day instructional week.
9. Beginning in 1944, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (the G.I. Bill) provided benefits for World War II veterans to further their education at any level. The effect was to initiate a popularization of higher education. G. I. Bill benefits were later extended to veterans of the Korean, "Cold," and Vietnam wars.
10. The 1957 launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union suggested that American students would need more rigorous math and science curricula, as well as increased preparation in foreign languages, if the country was to compete effectively with the Soviets. The curriculum reforms were not mandated by the federal government, and funding came from the National Science Foundation and the National Defense Education Act.

Key Terms

Conant Report James Conant's study of secondary education, *The American High School Today*, in which he recommended larger high schools and increased academic requirements.

Eight-Year Study A study conducted by the Progressive Education Association to discover the effectiveness of progressive educational approaches in preparing students for college. The results found no difference between progressive and traditional schools.

essentialists Adherents to a philosophy of education that advocates that the primary purpose of education is to train the intellect and teach students the culture and traditions of the past.

G.I. Bill The Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944), which provided education benefits to veterans of World War II and was later extended to veterans of the Korean, "Cold," and Vietnam wars.

Great Depression The period in the United States and worldwide following the stock market crash in October of 1929, which was marked by high unemployment, falling prices and profits, failing stock prices and interest rates, and failing businesses.

Indian New Deal Those New Deal work relief and reform programs directed to the Native American population, including those from the Works Projects Administration and a separate Civilian Conservation Corps known as the Indian Emergency Conservation Work.

life adjustment education An educational program intended to make education more relevant to those students not going on to higher education by stressing functional objectives such as vocation, family life, and personal hygiene and health.

Meriam Report A report on the condition of Native Americans that criticized the BIA educational programs and the deplorable conditions and poverty on the reservations.

New Deal A series of domestic programs enacted during the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt that were designed to relieve unemployment and recovery of the economy.

Red Scare The period in United States history marked by zealous anticommunism when right-wing extremists used the threat of communist infiltration to discredit individuals or ideas that they considered liberal or progressive.

social reconstructionists Adherents to a philosophy of education that argues the purpose of education is to critically examine all cultural and educational institutions and recommend changes and reform as needed.

Sputnik The first successful space satellite, launched by the Soviet Union in 1957. The launch began the Space Age and the space race with the Soviets.

stage theory of cognitive development A theory of child development advanced by Jean Piaget and Jerome Bruner that says that child development progresses through distinct stages with distinct characteristics.