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The future development of the middle school depends on its continued commitment to the social value of a differentiated early adolescent education and on its adoption of innovations aimed at the institutional integration of its values with a changing society. Flexibility of programs and self-concept development of adolescents are key middle school responsibilities. In the socialization process for this age group not one educator, but a family of educators in the persons of doctors, social workers, psychologists, guidance counselors, and nurses are needed to perform auxiliary functions. Similarly, the use of "core technology complemented with the humanization of education are important in the middle school's success. Of all public school units the middle school is best equipped to accommodate built-in flexibility in curriculum design. Gener l designs of school plants for future middle schools already exist; it is important that these designs be considered, for the middle school houses youth at the age where proper guidance could keep them from a life of delinquency. (HW)

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CONSULTING EDITOR

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THE MIDDLE SCHOOL OF TOMORROW

Unlike Pallas Athena, sprung full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, the middle school of tomorrow will not materialize overnight. It is more likely to evolve from a continuing process of self-revitalization. Tomorrow, in all likelihood, will see the institution of a middle school for early adolescent education. A wrong turn at the crossroads, where it now stands, may indeed jeopardize its existence as an institutional type, but not for long. A wrong turn will only necessitate the eventual reversal of its course, or American society will have to invent some institutional substitute for it.

But the developmental course of middle school organization need not take a wrong turn at the crossroads. A commitment to the social value of a differentiated early adolescent education, a willingness to go on the line for the innovations which are required for the middle school of tomorrow can spell the difference between a right and wrong turn. It all hinges on the strength of institutional insight in contemporary public school administration. For the *mobilization of forces* in defense of distinctive competence in middle school organization and, therefore,

also of institutional integrity, is the administrative obligation of middle school principals.

And institutional insight begins with an intellectual awareness of the powerful cultural bond between school and society. It is precisely because of this bond that the consequences of accelerated cultural change in society are laid as problems at school doors. These are the problems whose thrusts move systems of public school organization to undertake innovations.

Innovations, however, can take several directions. An innovation can be revolutionary and destructive of institutional values, it can be reformistic and rehabilitate corrupted institutional values, or it can be dynamically adaptive and discard organizational patterns of an old environment and evolve new patterns for the expression of institutional values in the new environment. All three directions have been advocated in American education at one time or another in the pursuit of progress.

An adaptive orientation to progress, unlike revolution, follows the principle of institutional continuity. Adaptive innovations are aimed at the revitalization of an institutional system through a new integration of its values with a changing society. Accelerated cultural change generates pressures on society, intensifies old problems, and unhinges its stability at vital points. Dynamic institutional adaptations infuse society with new stabilizing inputs at such a time and thereby obviate the necessity of *radical* institutional breaks with past social experience. None of this is possible, however, without corresponding innovations in the implementing organizational mechanism of institutions. Formal organizations, even those which are classifiable in the pattern-maintenance category on a typology, when they thus innovate their structure and process enable society to move from one stability to another as it pursues higher stages of progress. For when a society turns highly adaptive, as is now the United States, all of its categories of organization have to be responsive.

Following the principle of institutional continuity, then, the drive of adaptive innovations in middle school organization is toward a new institutional integration with a changing society. Central, and important above all else, is, therefore, the institutional focus. For such organizational innovations which do not have an institutional focus can easily turn revolutionary in character. Witness, as an example, the loss of

institutional integrity which is threatened by a 5-8 middle school organization that has emerged in response to the problem of de facto racial segregation.

The Guiding Institutional Focus

Innovations which aim at a new institutional integration are, therefore, adaptive responses to pervasive cultural change in society. When the function of innovation is seen in such a light, it suggests the theoretical formulation of Ferdinand Toennies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft,* as a useful framework for speculating about middle school innovations in the still larger context of social reconstruction. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* it will be recalled, conceptualizes a deep social problem which afflicts modern society and which was touched upon in Chapter 10. The "loss of community" which Toennies had perceived in the purposive-rational orientations of modern society is a social problem which has intrigued social scientists ever since, and it has yet to be resolved. At the heart of the problem is the dehumanization of society by the rationalistic efficiency of bureaucratically structured organizations. Society is being drained of important human values when the primary group relations of "community" are weakened. Their loss raises the specter of an anomic society, of rootlessness, of large-scale alienation from the idealism of society. President Johnson voiced a revealing insight when, in May 1964, he said to a University of Michigan audience, "The Great Society is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community." In the shorthand of political symbolism, "The Great Society" expresses through a slogan the best of American social idealism. It embodies in its meaning aspirations for the social and aesthetic attributes of High Civilization. It is, moreover, in close kinship with what Alfred North Whitehead had in mind when he wrote in *Science and the Modern World* that our problem is not the lack of great men, but of great societies. "The great society," Whitehead believed, "will put up the great men for the occasion."

It has been proposed by social scientists that society now has to invent new types of social organization whose function it will be to restore the sense of community that is lost by a weakening of kinship, friendship, and residential groups. But, except during periods of vio-

lent revolutionary upheaval, a mature society rarely invents, *de novo,* new types of social organization. New patterns of interaction usually evolve within established institutions to perform new functions, or society might borrow a social invention of another culture and adapt it for its own use. One such case in point is the middle school, another is Toynbee Hall of London, and yet still many other instances of cultural borrowing can be cited.

When an institutional projection of the American middle school is juxtaposed to the "loss of community—quest for community" dichotomization of Toennies' classic formulation, then the course of adaptive innovation in middle school organization becomes almost self-directing. From the institutional point of view, a middle school organization provides the normative framework for fulfilling the social value of a differentiated educational program for early adolescents. But in its structure is also what William J. Goode has conceptualized as "community within a community."[1]

Goode's reference to community means to direct attention to social patterns within purposive-rational systems which have evolved in the modern period as a response to the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dilemma. Goode sees a gratificational element of community within the professions and he speaks of it as community within a community. Aspects of the same phenomena can be observed, however, in other systems as well. It can be seen, for example, in the tendency of employee relations departments of large industrial organizations to plan family recreation for employees, engage in community fund drives, and otherwise encourage employees to accept calls for community service. These activities are far removed from the rationalistic character of the organization, and they are, moreover, a relatively recent social development. This suggests that modern American society, in its quest for community, is evolving new social patterns within occupational systems as a means of replenishing its community values. Our institutional projection supports a view of the American middle school as still another type of social response to the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dilemma.

The evolution of a community dimension within American sys-

[1] William J. Goode, "Community Within A Community: The Professions," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 22, April 1957. For others on the same problem see Robert A. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community* (Fair Lawn, N.J.: Oxford University Press, 1953); R. M. MacIver. *Community* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917); Don Martindale, *American Social Structure* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960); and Maurice R. Stein, *The Eclipse of Community* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).

tems of public school organization can be observed at several points of reference and, in each instance, in a parallel course with the rationalization of society. Curriculum development, as one point of reference, has been so markedly affected by the intervention of activities which once were the province of community that no treatment of modern curriculum can be taken as complete without such a reference. W. L. Wrinkle and R. S. Gilchrist have written of the manner in which athletics came into the physical education program of high schools when "downtown sports enthusiasts" engaged a coach to direct boys in after-school athletics. They also note that instruction in instrumental music was at one time the exclusive province of either a private teacher or the village band. Now, however, it has been incorporated in the process of public school organization.[2] Others have also written on this theme.

As educative process endeavored to provide more and more of those gratifications which once were the province of community, the structure of public school organization, originally an extension of purposive-rational society, became increasingly fused with an extension of random community. The familiar legal doctrine of *in loco parentis* defines a teacher's role in formal instruction, but the rationalization of modern society has increasingly extended the doctrine of *in loco parentis* so that, insofar as it concerns the socialization of youth, one may before very long also speak of public school organization as *in loco communitatis*. Extensions of community into formal public school organization have been, in the manner of social evolution, almost imperceptible, but extensions there have been nonetheless.

Elementary school organization was from the beginning oriented to the rationalistic imperatives of society; namely the formal instruction of children in the cognitive skills which open what William T. Harris liked to think of as the "five windows of the soul."[3] High school organization was essentially an enlargement of the same orientation. Its goal is still predominantly oriented to the instrumentalism of higher education or the world of work. Not until after the Civil War, when Harris added a kindergarten to the public school organization of St. Louis, did an organizational unit materialize in a system of public education whose goal was the fulfillment of individual gratifications which theretofore

2 W. L. Wrinkle and R. S. Gilchrist, *Secondary Education for American Democracy* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942), p. 339. See also Dorothy M. Fraser, *Deciding What to Teach* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1964), p. 16.

3 Curti, *Social Ideas*, p. 315.

had been the exclusive province of the family. Then came the middle school.

Superintendent Harris added the kindergarten unit to public school organization as a means of compensating in the socialization process for a deterioration he perceived in the quality of family life.[4] Superintendent Bu[illegible]er of Berkeley added the middle school as a means of intervening protectively in the socialization process at the onset of adolescence and to "warm up" the instrumental school climate with necessary psychological gratifications.

"The school system," according to Bunker's view as it was given in Chapter 2, "in its organic form, and in the articulation of its parts, completely ignores the significant physiological and psychical changes which are ushered in with the advent of adolescence." And Superintendent Greeson of Grand Rapids, whose view was also given in Chapter 2, saw early adolscence as an age when "boys are becoming men; the girls are becoming women; and a flood of new impulses, new ideas, new emotions are crowding up in them, making it a very critical and important period of their lives." But, he continued, in "our schools, . . . we do not take this into account."

What Bunker and Greeson did was to assume administrative responsibility in the case of early adolescents not alone for the rationalistic demands of society but also for individual human needs of community. Early adolescents, Greeson held, "naturally crave for organization among themselves," they "ought to have their debating clubs, their societies, their athletic games," and so forth. But because these gratifications "are impossible with the present organization," he proposed in 1909 that "the seventh, eighth and ninth grades" should be set in separate schools.

Middle schools of the 1910 period were products of the social reconstruction which followed Appomattox. Their process extended an incipient integration of community and society in public school organization which was initiated with the kindergarten. Liberal Darwinism had triumphed over the dehumanizing ideology of social Darwinism, and social reconstruction, as a way of self-renewal, took firm hold in the American mind. World War I, to be sure, put a halt to social reconstruction, but its direction was by then well defined in social experience.

It is a direction which has now been resumed after two world wars and a severe economic depression of long duration. The United States

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 324.

has turned once again to social reconstruction because continuing confrontations between human needs of community and society's demands for conformity to its rationalistic patterns have made it crystal clear that the qualitative integration of these two orientations no longer can be left to *ad hoc,* day-to-day measures. These confrontations are at the root of grave cultural problems, and the best of social engineering is now required to join community and society in a compatible integration as a means of conserving valuable human resources. This in essence is the foremost social challenge which faces modern America.

Society has to effect what throughout this discussion has been referred to as a "dynamic adaptation" of its structure and process as a means of coming to terms with human needs and society's functional imperatives.[5] A start has been made in the institution of public education. The middle school is one of its manifestations. Indeed, in terms of the dynamic adaptation to external conditions which is now needed in systems of public school organization, the middle school of Bunker's day can now be seen retrospectively as an early stage in the evolution of what is generally referred to as "the community school."

The idea of a community school is not new to the subculture of education. But beyond a lighted schoolhouse program for youth, evening adult education classes, or some other community use of a public school facility after school hours, the idea of a community school has made little developmental progress in American education, although major facets of the idea have been advanced in contemporary literature with increasing urgency. Nevertheless, responsive internal strivings to satisfy external demands for new outputs are inexorably moving public school systems in the direction of the community school idea. "The institutionalized school system," wrote Van Miller, onetime editor of *Educational Administration Quarterly,* "will have to find ways of accommodating modern man and society or the educational needs of both will be pursued through other channels."[6]

5 The sense in which *dynamic adaptation* is used here follows Selznick's meaning. See Selznick, *Leadership in Administration,* pp. 29–38.

6 Van Miller, "Understanding and Respect Between 'Traditionalists' and Newcomers," *Educational Administration Quarterly,* Vol. II, Winter 1966, p. 4. For references in the literature to the community school concept, see, as examples, Chapter 3, "The Farmville Community School," in *Education for All American Youth* (Washington, D.C.: The Educational Policies Commission, 1944); W. E. Armstrong, Maurice R. Ahrens. William H. Bristow, and E. T. McSwain, "Conditions Compelling Curriculum Change," in *Action for Curriculum Improvement, Yearbook* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1951), pp. 33–34; also Samuel H. Popper, "The Challenge to the Two Professions," in Robert H. Beck (ed.), *Society and the Schools: Communica-*

A mature community school is still in the distant future. But when it does materialize, *a coordinate family of professions* will be required to apply *a multiple-skills process* with a capacity to satisfy both community and society. Such a school will evolve from adaptive responses in public school systems to new consummatory relations with society. And it will be more than a school in the traditional sense, it will be a Center for Human Development. Not all units of a public school system, however, are equally equipped for these adaptive responses. Here is where the middle school unit has the advantage of an orientational readiness.

A multiple-skills process is precisely what the middle school has been striving to attain all along. Organically, it is best equipped in public school organization to initiate an efficient adaptive response to new social conditions. Therefore, with the guide of institutional experience, adaptive middle school innovations at this time could lead to two highly desirable ends: the revitalization of the American middle school as a unique cultural system, and, in the course of its own revitalization, it can function as a social laboratory in which the superordinate system can perfect the complex communications network which a multiple-skills process, applied by a coordinate family of professions, will surely require.

The Past Is Prologue

No one was more keenly aware than James M. Glass of how required categories of community and societal values had to be integrated in the process of middle school organization. His intuition about this was exceeded by no known contemporary of his period. Both the gratificational orientation of community and the rationalistic orientation of society were captured in his definition of middle school structure and process.

Glass understood well enough that each school unit differentiates its structure and process in accordance with some differentiated function in the division of labor of a public school system. A middle school unit, Glass held, is differentiated by the dominance of its psychosocial

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tion Challenge to Education and Social Work (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1965). Hereafter cited as *Society and the Schools.* Flint, Michigan, Winchester Elementary School of New Haven, Connecticut, and the Children's Center of the Mount Vernon, New York public school system perhaps have given the most advanced developmental expression to the community school idea.

values. Middle school organizations have to effect an integration of community and society in which community is dominant. It is, therefore, the singularity of this differentiation which should govern orientations to middle school structure and process.

According to Glass, the dominant orientation of middle school organization is to "the individual" and not to mass society: "The identity of the junior high school is, therefore, established in its purpose to treat each pupil as an individual problem."[7] Glass left no doubt that his reference to "an individual problem" was directed at the human condition of early adolescents in modern society. The middle school phase of education, he said, is the "finding, testing, and trying-out period of the public-school system."

Glass had thus spelled out the norms of middle school education. These norms were later incorporated in the 1924 middle school pattern of the North Central Association. It is a pattern which evolved from institutional experience, and it had survived the test of critical North Central consideration for some eight years before it was officially adopted.[8] In all of its larger essentials, this pattern has been the normative framework of middle schools in the United States to this day. Hence, if Herodotus, father of history, was right and "the past is prologue" in human affairs, then the middle school of tomorrow will in all likelihood take its shape from this pattern.

Directly to the point then is *The Junior High School Program* of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The middle school pattern of the Southern Association embodies the critical norms of North Central's pattern, but redefines them in a modern idiom. It is a pattern which expresses the most advanced stage of middle school development in the United States.

Protective intervention in the process of education at the onset of adolescence is legitimized, as heretofore, by the social value of attending to the human needs of this period. But these human needs are now explicated through Havighurst's conceptualization of developmental tasks at early adolescence and their relevance to mental health. Moreover, the singularity of a middle school is defined by six manifest functions, as these were intuited by Glass and later delineated by Gruhn.

[7] These remarks are taken from the same 1922 address before the NEA which was cited in Chapters 11 and 12.

[8] See "Committee Recommendations Regarding the Organization and Administration of Junior High Schools," in *Proceedings*, NCA, 1916, pp. 171–74.

But, again, these functions are scaled to early adolescent exigencies of today. The socialization function serves as an illustration.

Whereas Glass spoke abstrusely of socialization as an "objective" in "junior citizenship," the Southern Association's pattern focuses directly on particularistic primary group relations:[9]

> The junior high school has very important responsibilities which it should assume in helping early adolescents satisfy their need for friendships and, in particular, their relationships with the opposite sex. During this transitional period students must develop new social skills which will help them be comfortable in the presence of the opposite sex. Moreover, there are new, more mature, understandings in the area of social relationships which schools can assist students to acquire.

And, as in the case of other manifest middle school functions, socialization comes to grips in this pattern at "the teachable moment," to use Havighurst's expression, with the difficult matter of sex education:[10]

> As sex interest increases it is a topic of conversation among members of the same sex, with a pooling of sex information and misinformation. Smutty stories which survive from generation to generation, sex words and words on elimination become a part of the vocabulary. The more sexually mature often introduce the immature to the act of masturbation. Recent studies indicate that while masturbation is common among early adolescent boys, it is practiced much less by girls. Authorities believe this is not harmful physically but that there may be emotional harm should a guilt complex develop because of the practice. Young adolescents are disturbed by the seemingly unfounded causes for sexual stimulation. . . . With the change from childhood to adulthood, there comes an awakening of the sex drive. . . . Adjustment of young people to this change, while primarily the responsibility of the home, has implications for the junior high school program.

The Southern Association's pattern blueprints a middle school which embodies the continuity of institutional experience, but at the same time is also attuned to the modern social scene. Bunker, Greeson, and Glass would recognize on sight institutional hallmarks in this middle school, despite the modernity of its process. It is a process which is oriented to human needs at early adolescence, but at the same time does not neglect purposive society. "The instructional program," when the Southern Association's pattern is followed, "should be designed to pro-

9 *The Junior High School Program,* p. 12.
10 *Ibid.,* p. 13.

vide for needs of early adolescents and of society."[11] But, and in keeping with its unique institutional character, "needs of early adolescents" come before "society," even in the instructional program.

The instructional program, like the larger pattern, bears a close institutional and organic resemblance to the middle school program of 1924 from the North Central Association. However, the Southern Association has modernized the instructional program by means of two innovations: block-of-time scheduling coupled with a Core approach to curriculum organization. These two innovations have added cognitive values to the learning experience without jarring the centrality of a psychosocial focus in middle school process:[12]

> Scheduling students to one teacher for an extended period of time provides increased opportunity for the needs, abilities, and interests of individual students to be identified and dealt with satisfactorily. It also affords a gradual and effective means of adjusting to transition from the self-contained classroom of elementary schools and makes possible better guidance of students. These are a few of the many increased advantages which teachers have by virtue of being with the same students over a longer period of time along with the newer approaches to teaching which are a characteristic of the block and constitute its chief advantage.
>
> Effective core classes make extensive use of teacher-student planning and of problem-solving techniques. The specific curricular experiences which are dealt with through the problem solving approach are identified through teacher and total staff study and planning, and through careful planning with students to determine the problems which are significant and of concern to them. These problems are real and are derived from what we know about the growth and development of early adolescents, their developmental tasks, their common and individual concerns, the demands of our democratic society, and the most significant clues we can distill from research.

In sum, the six manifest functions of a middle school are built into every facet of structure and process in the Southern Association's pattern. Few, if any, American middle schools have succeeded in giving full operational expression to this pattern.[13] Some, like Como Park

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.
[13] John H. Lounsbury provides a supporting footnote to this contention. He sampled, in 1954, developmental trends in 251 middle schools for his doctoral dissertation. A resampling, in 1964, of 202 schools in the original study led him to conclude: "In the majority of the practices there were few differences between the practices in 1964 and

Junior High School of St. Paul, have come closer than others. But when a middle school organization does move toward the Southern Association's pattern, it equips itself developmentally to use past institutional experience as prologue to the middle school of tomorrow.

Toward a Dynamic Adaptation

The Southern Association has patterned a middle school organization which is implementable now and which, by means of a dynamic adaptation, can be tomorrow's middle school. For a middle school which already embodies the administrative and technical processes of the Southern Association's pattern stands in what Selznick thinks of as "the shadowy area where administration and policy meet" and where dynamic adaptation, as distinct from routine adaptation, takes place.[14] And any projection of a future development which can be sustained by what is already feasible has to be set apart from crystal gazing.

The notion of a "shadowy area" conforms to Selznick's conceptualization of leadership in administration. He thinks of it as a zone of interaction between the institutional and managerial subsystems where agreement has crystallized about the organization's long-range future and where "organizational processes profoundly influence the kinds of policy that can be made."[15] And conversely, policy decisions can now be made about innovations which will move the total organization to a dynamic adaptation.

Such innovations, however, have to be substantive and not routine. Routine innovations are not what Selznick has in mind when he speaks of a dynamic adaptation. Tomorrow's middle school will no doubt introduce many new procedures which will transform the *modus operandi* of early adolescent education. These, however, have to be seen in a projection of future middle school developments as *implementing routines of a more substantive innovation*. Assuming, by way of an illustration, a dynamic adaptation has been effected in some middle school which adhered to norms of the Southern Association's pattern, then what follows is a likely image of implementing routines that will be employed.

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the practices followed ten years earlier." See John H. Lounsbury and Harl R. Douglass, "Recent Trends in Junior High School Practices, 1954–1964," *The Bulletin,* NASSP, Vol. 49, September 1965, p. 88.

14 Selznick. *Leadership in Administration,* p. 35.

15 *Ibid.,* p. 36

Neither bell ringing nor competitive report cards will be allowed in the psychologically protective environment of that middle school. There will be no need actually of these pressure-generating devices. Modular scheduling, an invention made possible by computer technology and already operational, will regulate a program in which a large number of exploratory experiences materialize through short courses, student-interest activities, learning laboratories, and frequent excursions into the community to observe first hand its patterns of culture.[16]

Likewise, no instrumental value will be associated with conventional report cards because pupil progress in mastering the larger developmental tasks will be conveyed to the home through regularly scheduled parent-teacher conferences. And because this unit will function as an organizational component of a Center for Human Development, grading practices which are ego destroying, and, hence, are dysfunctional for building a positive self-concept, will be replaced by a "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory" evaluation of completed short-range tasks. Even higher education, it is significant to note, is beginning to back away from anxiety-laden letter grades as a means of encouraging the intellectual traits of creative and critical thinking.[17] Motivation in this middle school will stress the stimuli of an upwardly spiraling self-competition and not fears of failure or embarrassment. Early adolescents, in the throes of a hyperidealism characteristic of this age, will not be expected to compete with classmates for grades at the same time as their school attempts to teach what Mary Parker Follet, a noted industrial human relations counselor of the pre-World War II period, has called "the art of cooperative thinking."

Procedures of this character proclaim that central to all things in our middle school of tomorrow is the human condition at early adolescence. Every aspect of middle school structure and process has been differentiated in accordance with the centrality of this orientation. Consequently, all of middle school organization, including its physical plant, is functionally equipped to fuse social-psychological gratifications of

[16] See, among many others on modular scheduling, Robert N. Bush and Dwight W. Allen. *A New Design for High School Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964); Judith Murphy, *School Scheduling by Computer: The Story of GASP* (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratories, 1964). Modular scheduling in middle schools is already in use and reported in the literature. See Almon G. Hoye, "Flexibility and the RMS Program." *Minnesota Journal of Education*, Vol. 44, February 1964.

[17] Prestigious Carleton College of Northfield, Minnesota, for example, has instituted a pass-fail evaluation of courses taken outside of a student's major field.

community with purposive-rational imperatives of society. *The singular institutional purpose of the American middle school has remained the same, but its social value has been enhanced by a pattern of organization whose structure and process is now adapted to new social conditions.*

Although a host of such new routines are likely in tomorrow's middle school, essentially only *two substantive innovations* are required for the dynamic adaptation of a middle school which is already structured in the Southern Association's pattern. But these two innovations will necessitate an enlargement of its role structure, they will expand administrative expectations of technical roles, they will require a communications network of unprecedented complexity, and they will in all likelihood accelerate the developmental pace of nongradeness in all units of a public school system. In short, the total organization will be modified by these innovations. These innovations, moreover, are feasible now, because each has already secured a beachhead in the middle school. As each is expanded, and gains in developmental maturity, the service capacity of the American middle school will be enlarged and even infused with new attributes of social usefulness.

A Family of Professions

One of these substantive innovations is the assignment of *a coordinate status* to all "helping" professions which contribute to the process of a middle school. Education is, of course, a long-established helping profession. Central to all formal education, from the Greeks to this day, is a helping function. A teacher in ancient Greek society was expected to guide the footsteps of his pupils on pathways leading to the good life. Some two millennia and more later, and many transformations in the world community, the social role of a teacher is still the same, albeit, technologies of education have changed. But since the steam engine, then electricity, and now nuclear power, pathways to the good life have become increasingly difficult to transverse. Many pupils falter, give up the effort altogether, and, to the detriment of themselves and society, never attain the good life. A teacher can no longer help such pupils singlehandedly. Consequently, teachers in time had to enlist other professions as auxiliaries.

Now, a public school system in the United States is considered derelict if it does not have a family of professions to service its pupils

Doctors, social workers, psychologists, guidance counselors, and nurses perform *auxiliary* functions in formal socialization. Education, to be sure, is still the dominant profession in this family, but exigencies of modern society are rapidly transforming education into a multiple-skills process in which the role of teacher has to be coordinated with other professional roles within a complex communications network.

Society characteristically evolves temporary structures, usually within established systems, in response to new cultural conditions. A host of such temporary structures have mushroomed in modern educational systems in which other professions, now no longer in subordinate auxiliary functions, are *coordinated* with the classroom. In addition to the usual complement of teachers, these emerging structures also consist of social workers, youth activities counselors, guidance counselors, nurses, doctors, psychologists, and parent-education specialists.[18]

Temporary structures, however, have a way of becoming permanent. They are the trial-and-error stage of new social patterns that lead to dynamic adaptation. Especially when social problems which initially materialize them persist and intensify, society will institutionalize those that have demonstrated their adaptive utility. In anticipation of this development, the National Association of Social Workers convened in 1964 a group from the professions of education and social work to contemplate its implications for these two professions in a public school organization.

Social work, more than any other profession, has become indispensable in the process of education. Therefore, the conference was altogether timely. Indeed, it may in time be viewed as an historical landmark in both education and social work. Pressures of the community-society dilemma have brought these two professions together early in the twentieth century and points of interaction between their processes have multiplied since.[19] Public school systems seem to be integrating skills of social work and education in a new type of social process.

It soon became obvious in the four days of conference that the evolving process is modifying the character of interactions among the pro-

[18] One account of such a temporary structure is provided by Louise G. Daugherty, "Working with Disadvantaged Parents," *NEA Journal,* Vol. 52, December 18, 1963. This reports on the Special Project of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement in Chicago's District Eleven. See also, *The Community School and Its Administration,* Vol. IV, February 1966. The Board of Education of Flint, Michigan, and the Mott Foundation.

[19] Popper, *Society and the Schools,* pp. 162–63.

fessions in public school organization. Werner W. Boehm, Dean of the School of Social Work, Rutgers University, captured the essence of this dynamic in a view of social work in education which he illustrated with two models:[20]

> Model I reflects the residual view of social work. In this model the teacher is the major agent of service, and the social worker together with other professions such as the guidance counselor, the school psychologist, the nurse, the doctor, etc., perform a subordinate role.
>
> Model II . . . represents the institutional view of social work, it describes the family of professions, all of which are deemed necessary on a coordinate basis rather than on a subordinate one to carry out the teaching-learning mission of the school. In this model, the principal occupies the center because the principal is the administrative locus of school personnel deployment, and on the periphery of the circle are the teacher, the school social worker, the guidance counselor, the school psychologist, the nurse, etc., all deployed on a coordinate basis in accordance with the mission the principal assigns to them and performing the functions which, by virtue of their professional training, they are equipped to perform.

The pattern of the second model is already in the making. It has been evolving, *ad hoc,* in emerging temporary school structures. Now, however, *planned design* has become urgent. The communication challenge which already confronts education and social work is but one manifestation of this urgency. It is of a piece with the larger social phenomenon which is shifting the source of human gratifications from weakened primary systems to rationalistically structured secondary systems. More and more of the quest for community is being satisfied for youth in public schools. But a public school, no matter how much of community may be built into its structure, still has to "fulfill the teaching-learning mission," or else forfeit its distinctive competence. This means that each unit of public school organization, in congruence with its differentiated function in education, will have to devise its own pattern for integrating on a "coordinate basis" the multiple skills of a "family of professions." Such a pattern would constitute a dynamic adaptation in each unit. Out of these adaptations is likely to emerge a mature community school—a Center for Human Development—in

20 Letter from Werner W. Boehm to author, June 4, 1964. Dean Boehm's paper for the conference is given in *Society and the Schools,* although these two models are not in it. They were presented by him during one of the early discussion sessions, and a reference to them will be found on pp. 132–33.

which, as ASCD's *The High School We Need* puts the matter, each pupil will be treated as "a resource of our nation." And this straightaway leads to the special adaptive capability of middle school organization.

A New Middle School Pattern

For the middle school unit this is a season of great opportunity. Organically, it is best equipped to initiate efficient adaptive responses to contemporary cultural conditions. Its inherent capability of moving toward a multiple-skills pattern is now a principal adaptive asset in the public school system. Unlike elementary and high school units, the middle school has been striving internally from its inception in American education to develop precisely such a pattern. External pressures for a dynamic adaptation of the public school system now favor the fulfillment of this striving. A middle school which has already assumed the pattern of the Southern Association is organically and orientationally ready for the more sophisticated pattern of a coordinate family of professions and a multiple-skills process.

Spurred on by its unique institutional mission in education, the American middle school has made its way, falteringly to be sure, toward the pattern of the Southern Association. It is a pattern in which the teacher, following Boehm's first model, "is the major agent of service" while other professionals perform in "a subordinate role." But even in this pattern, because of its dominant psychosocial orientation to early adolescent education, skills of other professions are drawn upon more extensively than in any other unit of public school organization. A bold adaptation of this pattern would change service relationships among the family of professions to a coordinate basis, in line with Boehm's second model, without inducing a discontinuity.

Primary evaluative orientations would continue to be toward the special case of early adolescents in American society. At the center is a principal who, following norms of administrative leadership, deploys professionals, "on the periphery of the circle," on a coordinate basis in accordance with requirements of technical tasks. All professionals are familiar with the communications network of this pattern and, therefore, interact with one another without strain. Each has been socialized to its norms in a preparation program for the middle school, and each has satisfied discrete middle school certification criteria.

The process of education in this school is an integration of skills which are provided coordinately by the following professionals:

1. Teachers who, regardless of the teaching field, have mastered skills of the Core curriculum. These include, in addition to those engaged in formal classroom instruction, remedial reading and mathematics specialists, a teacher of the educable, a director of a learning laboratory in which teachers work with pupils engaged in individual or small-group study, and a librarian under whose charge is the library and a materials center and who dispatches on carts large quantities of books to classrooms as they are requested by teachers. Extensive team planning is done, but teachers do from time to time improvise a union of classes for some special school experience; as when a class presents a play in one of the larger spaces to one or two other classes who at the time have a learning interest in the same play. Team teaching is one of several instructional methodologies which are employed. However, no master teacher heads a team. The skill of each team member is regarded of coordinate importance to the task and, therefore, such team teaching does not mean that two or three teachers combine to do collectively what each would do alone. Core teachers, and not guidance counselors, provide individual guidance in classes which are scheduled in multiple modules of time.

2. Guidance counselors who administer all routine testing, construct test profiles, and take on pupils with difficult problems. They attend to the intake of pupils from feeder elementary schools and to their departure for high school. In line with these articulation tasks, they arrange scheduled contacts during the school year between middle school teachers and those of feeder schools and the high school. All other time is devoted to the preparation of in-service guidance clinics for teachers and to parent workshops. By means of these in-service guidance clinics, teachers sharpen already learned guidance skills for use in classrooms. Parent workshops, on the other hand, mean to enlighten parents about the psychological and physiological characteristics of early adolescence. Some of these parent workshops, moreover, are scheduled during the school day and evenings, and they are conducted by a team which includes, in addition to a guidance counselor, a Core teacher, social worker, and the clinical psychologist.

3. School social workers who are equally skilled in case work technique and family education. They take charge of pupils who are referred by a guidance counselor. Many of these pupils, especially in

cities, are likely to come from multiple-problem families who are known to one or more social agencies in the community. The school social worker, therefore, is the liaison between the middle school and other social agencies. He enlists their help on behalf of a pupil whose home conditions can be improved by means of special family education procedures. The pupil's self-concept is central to everything he does professionally. Together with others in the school, but more especially the Core teacher, he initiates procedures for strengthening it.

4. An activities director who has mastered fundamentals of group work, as these are defined in the social work profession. He organizes and directs the pupil-interest activity program in which all teachers and pupils participate during school hours at least once each week. Pupils are placed in three activities of their choice each year in which they explore with teachers a large variety of leisure time and, for ninth graders, potential vocational interests. This pupil-interest activity program enlarges upon other exploratory and socialization functions of the middle school. The activities director also arranges for all field trips which teachers schedule, a weekly assembly program, after-school activities and clubs, and the election of a student council. The communications network of the school facilitates his interaction with teachers and school social workers, and his own tasks are therefore coordinated with theirs. He too conducts in-service clinics from time to time as a means of enlarging the group work capacity of teachers.

5. A school nurse, with an R.N. certification, who watches over the physical well-being of pupils. She supervises a dispensary and quiet rooms to which pupils come for short periods of rest when, in a teacher's judgment, this is salutary. She arranges for the annual examination of each pupil by a doctor and dentist who come to the school and makes necessary follow-up referrals. Her tasks necessitate frequent interactions with all other members of the professional staff. Indeed, she participates coordinately with teachers in the planning of programs for health and sex education.

6. A clinical psychologist who administers diagnostic tests to pupils that are referred by guidance counselors. His special concern is with pupils who display difficult adjustment or learning problems. His time is equally divided between individual testing and programs of the guidance department for teachers and parents.

Optimum ratios between professionals and pupils in each service field is determined in this pattern by social conditions of the attendance

area in which the school exists. Also, social conditions in the attendance area, and not central-office prescriptions, govern technical decisions in educative process. Moreover, performance time of the professional staff is husbanded with care by means of a large number of back-up clerks, readers, and other helpers. The principal keeps a sharp eye on the flow of demand for service from each professional member of the school team, and at no time is it allowed to become excessive.

The foregoing is suggestive of how Boehm's second model might be followed in the middle school of tomorrow. Four professional services —education, social work, medicine, and psychology—are controlled from the administrative hub of a complex communications network and coordinately mixed in educative process. Elements of this pattern are already embodied in the Southern Association's middle school. Gradually, some middle schools are taking first steps beyond it. Skokie Junior High School of Winnetka, Illinois, as an example, has in operation a learning laboratory, while General Wayne Junior High School of Berwyn, Pennsylvania, has a library which also serves as a materials center and which is closely coordinated with classroom activities. Others are experimenting with a breakfast program. Much bolder, however, is the Higher Horizons project of New York City. It is one of the emerging temporary structures which embodies in nascent form the two principal elements of Boehm's second model: a coordinate family of professions and a multiple-skills process.

Higher Horizons originated in a middle school organization during 1959, and now it has been extended downward to elementary schools. In this project:[21]

> An attempt is made to build a cooperative relationship between the school and the family so that parents will encourage the school careers of their children.
>
> The same spirit of teamwork also is characteristic of the teaching and guidance personnel involved in the project.

The dominant focus of Higher Horizons is academic motivation. A family of professions is coordinately involved in such activities as parent workshops, remedial services, frequent excursions into the community for the enlargement of cultural experiences, family education, physical and mental health programs, and more. A similar multiple-skills pat-

21 *Curriculum and Materials*, Board of Education of the City of New York, Vol. XIV, Winter 1960, p. 10.

tern, in microcosm, has been employed in St. Paul middle schools even before Higher Horizons in the form of a permanent Committee on Pupil Problems. Social worker, teacher, nurse, and guidance counselor convene at least once a week as a coordinate professional team and attend to hard-core pupil problems.

These forms, and others like them, are temporary structures which are still lacking in definition, but there is no mistaking their central inclination. They mean "to build a cooperative relationship between the school and the family." They are, in sum, idiomatic of the modes through which public school systems are attempting to bring more of community into educative process. Contemporary cultural conditions are now supportive of innovations in public school systems which heretofore have been anathematized as radical. The middle school is, therefore, singularly served by this turn of events. More of community in school structure and process would blend naturally with the institutional character of a middle school.

Here, then, is one of the two substantive innovations which America's middle school will require for tomorrow's tasks and which in an inchoate form has already secured a beachhead in its organization. Boehm's second model, fleshed out by planned collaboration between schools of education and social work, could take the middle school to a developed multiple-skills process and the coordinate family of professions for which it has been groping since its inception in American education. Similarly, its extensive experience in the use of Core technology performs the beachhead function for the second of these substantive innovations.

Core in Middle Schools

"In a very real sense," Paul Woodring claims, "all education *is* applied psychology."[22] But, he points out, "recent reform movements" in education have paid scant attention to this all-important verity of the teaching-learning process. Woodring deplores this trend, as well he should. At the same time, however, he has pinpointed, by indirection, the reason why a Core curriculum has been used more extensively in the middle school than in any other unit of public school organization. For central to Core is the psychological motivation of the learner.

22 Paul Woodring, "Reform Movements from the Point of View of Psychological Theory," in Ernest R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning and Instruction,* NSSE *Yearbook,* Part I, 1964, p. 303.

Therefore, like social gratifications of community, the diffuseness and particularism of Core blends naturally with the institutional character of a middle school.

But despite this affinity, Core curriculum is one of those innovations in American education which heretofore has been anathematized as radical. Its theoretical origins can be traced to John Dewey's pioneering theory of learning, it has been gaining in sophistication ever since, but to this day the Core curriculum is still struggling for general acceptance. From all indications at hand, however, it now appears that curricular modes which are employed by Core are also favored in current efforts at curriculum revitalization.

Core, or "common learnings," as the Educational Policies Commission has characterized it in *Education for All American Youth* (1944 and revised in 1952), is a flexible, but nonetheless complex, pattern of curriculum organization which follows the Organismic Field theory of learning. In its larger orientation. Core curriculum follows John Ruskin's dictum: "Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know—it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave." But because the guiding theory of Core clashes head on with patterns of curriculum organization which still reflect influences of the long-time discredited Mental Discipline theory, or faculty psychology, advocates of Core curriculum have had a difficult time of it. Core curriculum has been demeaned, and its pioneers have been denied honors in places where they should have been honored.[23] Despite an uphill struggle, however, Core technology has grown in influence, most especially in middle schools, and according to one survey of the results, "The people who have had experience with core have overwhelmingly approved of the program."[24]

[23] One of the pioneers of Core in the United States is Nelson L. Bossing. He has published a vast literature in which the principles of Core are defined. For representative titles see Roland C. Faunce and Nelson L. Bossing, *Development of the Core Curriculum* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1958): Nelson L. Bossing, *Teaching in Secondary Schools* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), especially Chapter 3. See also Emma Marie Birkmaier, "The Core Curriculum: A Promising Pattern for the Education of Adolescents," *The School Review,* Vol. LXIII, September 1955.

[24] Wayne B. Jennings, "What Is the Effectiveness of the Core Program?" Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., 1961, p. 77. This is perhaps the most complete survey extant of Core evaluations, as these have been reported in the literature up to 1961. See also, among many others which report on the use of Core technology in middle school education, Grace S. Wright, *Block-Time Classes and the Core Program in the Junior High School* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin No. 6, 1958); and John M. Mickelson, "What Does Research Say About the Effectiveness of the Core Curriculum?" *The School Review,* Vol. LXV, Summer 1957.

Core stresses problem solving, critical thinking, the use of creative capacity, exploration, teacher-pupil planning, and other learning activities of this character. Upon his retirement from a long and distinguished career as "Teacher of Teachers," Earl C. Kelley used the occasion to highlight one particular Core value which has a direct bearing upon the community-society dilemma of our age. He noted:[25]

> It is most difficult to change method in the light of new understandings about the nature of learning and of the learner. We bring to this problem an enormous baggage of habit and custom. I believe that the biggest problem in education today is how to move from a method to which we are habituated to one which is indicated by the democratic ideal and the findings of research on learning.
>
> The core curriculum has the advantage of over thirty years of experience. It has a considerable literature on what is meant by core, and a good deal of evaluative data as to its success. It has built into its very structure the tenets of democracy and humanness. That is why I commend it to all who want to change in the direction of humanizing education.
>
> We should not, I think, pretend that we can change method without changing outcomes. With the core method, I believe that students will learn more than they do now, but what they learn will not necessarily be what the teacher cherishes. The biggest gain will be that young people will learn the problem-solving method. They will learn to have a better view of themselves, their peers, their teachers, and all other people. They will become better human beings.

The humanization of education: there is the rub! A host of "projects" have produced in recent years new courses in mathematics, science, English, social studies, and more are in the offing. These courses assault the monolithic curriculum, they follow Cognitive Field theory, they show a pronounced predilection for some Core methods, but, following Kelley's reference, they fail to incorporate Core's humanizing values. Moreover, directors of these projects are either unaware, or choose to ignore, that "the core method" of curriculum organization "has the advantage of over thirty years of experience" in the use of interdisciplinary curricular materials. Nevertheless, the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dilemma of modern society which is forcing more of com-

25 Earl C. Kelley, "Core Teaching—A New Sense of Adventure," in *Teaching Core*, Vol. XIV, June 1965. General Education Committee of Metropolitan Detroit Bureau of School Studies.

munity upon the purposive-rational scheme of school organization also seems to be fusing Organismic Field and Cognitive Field theories of learning in what Jerome S. Bruner has called a "spiral curriculum." Imperatives for humanizing education, it appears, can no longer be ignored by curriculum builders.

A Humanizing Spiral Curriculum

A fusion of these two theories in curriculum revitalization is altogether feasible because they both employ methods which follow the same general school of psychology. Both, moreover, will not tolerate "that most common blight on human thinking: clutter."[26] But whereas the dominant orientation of Cognitive Field theory is to rationalistic skills, the dominant orientation of Organismic Field theory is to humanistic skills. Both, however, are anchored in *Gestalt* psychology, and *Gestalt* is empirically most congenial to the concept of common learnings. In the new age of probabilistic knowledge, the methodologies of *Gestalt* are best equipped for training pupils in what William J. Cory, a nineteenth-century English schoolmaster and lyric poet, has characterized as "the art of assuming at a moment's notice a new intellectual posture."

The press of the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dilemma in curriculum revitalization efforts has been caught by John I. Goodlad in a survey of current curriculum projects which he prepared for the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Goodlad was a sharp observer and his impressions are penetrating. One of these states:[27]

> There is a striking similarity in the aims and objectives of nearly all projects. Objectives, as they are defined in various descriptive documents, stress the importance of understanding the structure of the discipline, the purposes and methods of the field, and the part that creative men and women played in developing the field. One of the major aims is that students get to explore, invent, discover, as well as sense some of the feelings and satisfactions of research scholars, and develop some of the tools of inquiry appropriate to the field. When more remote aims are implied, the impression is created that the student should prepare for intellectual and academic survival in a com-

26 Jerome S. Bruner, "How Can Schools Provide a Liberal Education for All Youth?" *Addresses and Proceedings*, NEA, 1965, p. 44.

27 John I. Goodlad, *School Curriculum Reform in the United States* (New York: The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1964), p. 54.

> plex, scientific world. Such social aims as preparation for citizenship or intelligent participation in decisions facing the community are only rarely mentioned.

Elsewhere Goodlad also reports:[28]

> In all this agitation—some of it denoting progress, some of it not—a faint glimmer of light is growing stronger: the belief that, increasingly, curriculum reform will be based on the cultivation of the individual and the assurance of a self-renewing society, whereas the curriculum revisions of the past were largely a result of pressures for societal preservation.

The "faint glimmer of light" which Goodlad perceived, it is important to underscore, was a growing awareness that curriculum revitalization in the United States has to join "the cultivation of the individual and the assurance of a self-renewing society." Here is the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dilemma in a curricular context. Goodlad reports that the universalistic orientation of "a complex, scientific world" is sharply defined in these projects by new courses which spiral "ideas in increasing depth," whereas "the cultivation of the individual"—the particularistic orientation of community—is but "a faint glimmer of light." One detects in Goodlad's mood an optimistic: but a light nonetheless!

Altogether, Goodlad saw much that augurs well for tomorrow's curriculum, but he also saw a lack of planning which is characteristic of temporary structures. "The current curriculum reform movement," he writes,[29]

> has refurbished shockingly overworn courses and has given us a fresh way of approaching various subject fields—a fresh way as regards school practice, if not curriculum theory. But planning from the top down has in some instances brought with it a strait jacket, a strait jacket that is incongruously ill-suited to childhood schooling. A really significant reform movement . . . looks ahead to a time when the curriculum will be planned from the bottom up, with knowledge of students and their achievements built into the sequence of subject matter in the curriculum design. This movement will be marked by experimentation and by the emergence of curricular alternatives far exceeding the number of alternatives that have emerged so far through the current curriculum projects.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

In line with Goodlad's assessment, then, what is coming out of these curriculum projects is not acceptable as the curriculum of the future. He is on this point in the large company of other curriculum specialists who regard the output of these projects as *ad hoc* responses to the sudden onset of a space-age world. Much of what these projects offer is important, but what they *fail to offer* is also important. The curriculum of tomorrow will have to have a structural unity and a multidimensional design which, as Goodlad proposes, shall have to be "planned from the bottom up." Even so, a rapidly developing consensus about the curriculum of the future suggests that Organismic Field theory and Cognitive Field theory are likely to fuse in a design whose controlling norms already can be anticipated.

Norms of its design, we can be certain, cannot ignore the vast body of knowledge about human development which science has produced. And also for sure, the curriculum of the future would be dysfunctional for fulfilling "the American dream" should it fail to integrate particularistic orientations of community with universalistic orientations of society; it must come to effective grips with the ubiquitous social problem of individual and society in conflict.

On the other hand, what Bruner has called the clutter of "irrelevant detail" will have to be displaced by a spiral arrangement of curricular content so that pupils could move to higher levels of abstraction in the mastery of "basic ideas, attitudes, and skills."[30] Grading of classes in the old Prussian manner would have no functional value in such a curriculum design, because pupils will progress on the spiral, within each unit of public school organization, at a pace in keeping with individual capacity. Finally, a built-in flexibility would have to provide for the many "curricular alternatives" in Goodlad's reference.

And of all public school units, the middle school, again, is organically best equipped to accommodate the substantive innovation of such a curriculum design. The following "notebook sketch" by Emma M. Birkmaier anticipates the more salient characteristics of tomorrow's curriculum and and helps to illustrate the point:[31]

> In the past half century both the macrocosmic and microcosmic communities have been undergoing tremendous stresses and strains, almost

[30] Bruner, *Addresses and Proceedings*, NEA, 1965, pp. 42 and 44.

[31] Emma M. Birkmaier, "Notebook Sketch of the Curriculum of the Future." Birkmaier, a curriculum specialist, has prepared this introspective "notebook sketch" for use here. The author gratefully acknowledges the courtesy.

to the point of disintegration. The worker lives far from his work. The quality of the work done is hidden from sight. Today's vast field of service operations are hidden from the public eye. Many occupations have so altered the control and the satisfaction of men at work that youth has been excluded from direct observation of an important phase of human experience: aspiration and fulfillment.

The shuttling between home and the world of work, the mobility of the American family are weakening the fabric of community life. The definition of a community as a place where residents live, work, vote and interact has become obsolete. This dilemma in our society gives great importance to the school and the agencies with which it must work, the design of its curriculum, and the close interaction of the school personnel with the youth it serves.

As a result, the school must provide the institutional and organizational resources to meet the large proportion of youth's needs. But most of all it must also provide the small flexible organizational units in which the individual s needs are observable, where he manifestly matters, where the tasks are large enough to be a challenge yet small enough to give importance to his energies, where problems are within his direct experience and comprehension, where he lives with others who share his heritage or who come from quite different backgrounds.

The concepts of teaching the whole child, of teaching subject matter, of preparing students for life, of having students participate in life's daily activities, of teaching through solving problems, through learning abstract ideas are not concepts to be pitted one against the other. They are a part of a *Gestalt* in which each plays a significant role at certain times but interacts constantly with the others in the maturity and development of the individual.

With the increase in knowledge, skills, and insights needed for today, learning must be developed in as efficient and economical a way as is possible. Subjects must telescope and fuse. Others must be eliminated. The field of English can no longer be taught separately from modern languages. Mathematics becomes a communications science, social studies can not keep within its confines and must work hand in hand with the sciences. In a world which in the near future will seem no larger than the megalopolis of today, the nature of language and communications demands an entirely new approach—a contrastive approach in the analysis of one's mother language with that of other languages. This means that young people, the earlier the better, will be exposed to the field of descriptive linguistics and cultural anthropology. In the future, cultures must be analyzed and contrasted and insights must be developed to break narrow monolingual and mono-

cultural backgrounds which promise no good for the future. Youth must understand that language is a verbal manifestation of culture but which at the same time also confines the thinking of a people. Youth must also realize that culture, created from an environment which develops its own habits and customs, creates its own verbal symbolism —language. Insights and concepts such as these can only come about when teachers are educated through a cross fertilization of courses which differ from those usually seen in our colleges and university prescriptive programs.

Nor is one pattern for teacher training enough. Some teachers will be spending their time presenting facts and information over mass media, and films and tapes become an integral part of the learning situation. Some teachers will spend a greater portion of their time working with small groups and individuals in analyzing, developing, synthesizing and challenging the creative potential of the individual student or the small group.

Such telescoping and interdisciplinary approaches demand a different concept of the classroom, of the teaching act, and of the learning act. School programs must foster the creative potential of each individual. Content information and skills can be more effectively taught by teaching machines and mass media, but the actual development of the individual is nurtured only through face-to-face, person-to-person communication and interaction individually and in small group situations.

Birkmaier's sketch reflects the general consensus which is crystallizing around the design of tomorrow's curriculum. Elements of this design, as it applies to the middle school phase of education, are already incorporated in the middle school pattern of the Southern Association. The singularity of the American middle school can be impressed upon variations of this pattern, and nothing in Birkmaier's sketch would compromise the institutional integrity of the middle school. It anticipates an innovation which, as in the earlier case, a middle school of the Southern Association pattern is equipped to undertake forthwith. Its implementation but awaits the curriculum maker's art.

Even the *general design* of a plant for the middle school of tomorrow already exists. As the following sketches show, it is a design which, in the relative disposition of its parts, is capable of accommodating the normative framework which is anticipated for tomorrow's middle school program.

Acknowledgments

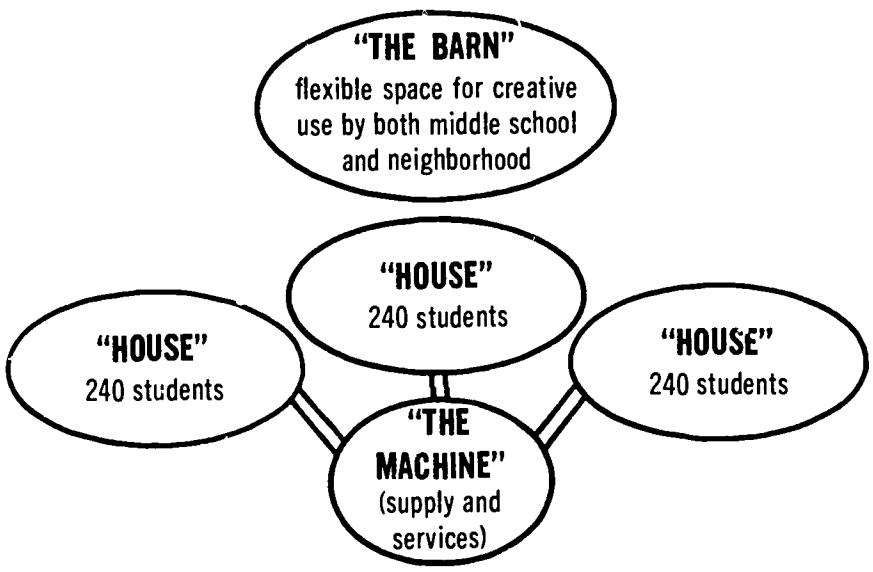
These architectural sketches were prepared by C. William Brubaker in consultation with Stanton Leggett. They stem from the proceedings of a middle school conference which was convened in 1960 under joint sponsorship of the editors of *School Management* and the architectural firm of Perkins and Will. The following were the participants: Bernard Donovan, now Superintendent of Schools in New York City; Felix Festa, Superintendent, New City, New York; William Gragg, Superintendent, Ithaca, New York; Philip Koopman. Superintendent, Lower Merion, Pennsylvania; C. William Brubaker, Architect; James D. Lothrop, Architect; A. Whitney Murphy, Architect; Lawrence B. Perkins, Architect; Stanton Leggett, Consultant; and Willard W. Beatty, Consultant. See "Five Superintendents Plan a Junior High School," *School Management,* Vol. 4, November 1960. By permission of *School Management.* Variations of this general design are already incorporated in middle schools that have been built since 1960 and can be seen in Judith Murphy, *Middle Schools* (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratory, 1965); see especially "Three Houses Around a Court," pp. 33–38.

"Middle School" *for tomorrow*

Program • *Each middle school provides for the [psychological], social, and academic needs, interests and desires of 720 students.*

Organization • *Three "houses," each with 240 seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students, plus common facilities.*

Design Components • *A "house" of varied, flexible classrooms. A "machine" for service and supply functions. A "barn" for creative assembly and exercise.*



The key to middle school design is flexibility. As needs change, so do programs. Enrollments vary, too, and groupings change with them. Adaptable facilities, therefore, are essential. Rigid schedules have no place here. Emphasis is placed, instead, on the individual. The components are designed with this in mind.

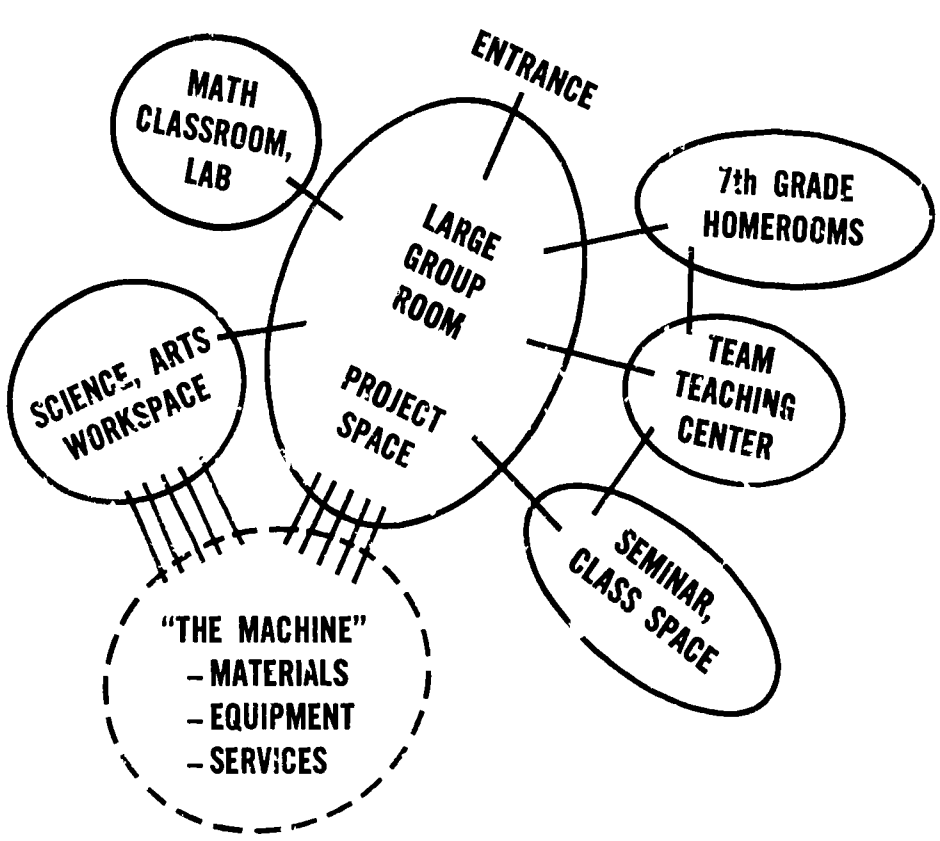
Each "house" consists of 240 students of middle school age, plus a team of teachers. The three houses share common facilities: "the barn," an adaptable shelter (theatre space and swimming pool) to encourage the natural creativity of pupils; and "the machine," to provide supplies and services. Mechanical and electrical aids will be used liberally in order to free teachers for program planning and individual student contact.

"The House" *component 1*

Each house provides spaces adaptable to large and small group work as well as individual study. While details can vary with the particular school, these are the general space and facility requirements:

Homeroom area • Seventh graders will spend about 75% of their time here. Space allowances should be made for about 80 students in the typical house.

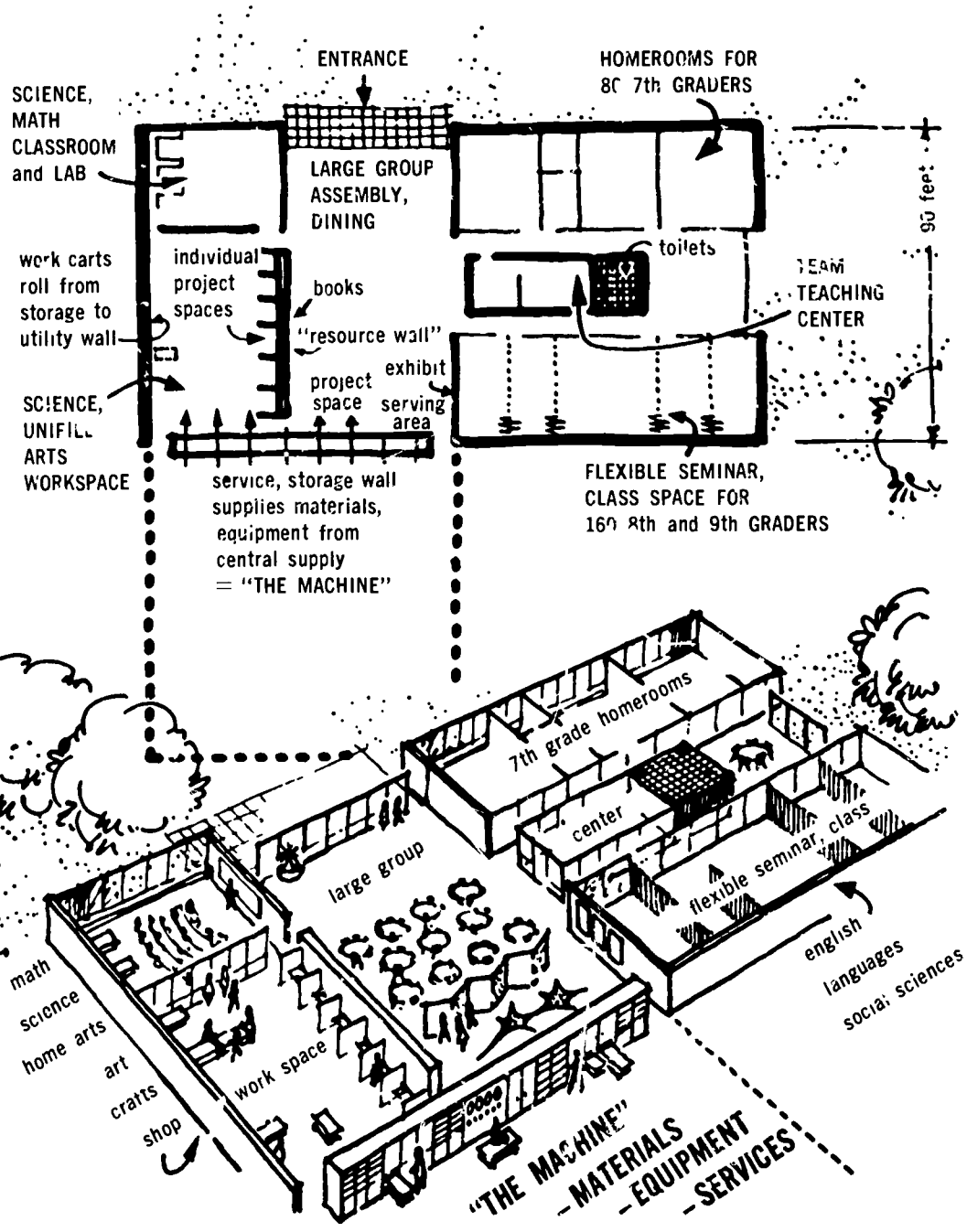
Seminar and classroom space • Eighth and ninth graders, in sections of various sizes and class hours, will need flexible learning areas.



Work space • Two areas are allotted for this purpose: a combined science and unified arts work space and a smaller, combined science and math classroom and laboratory. Emphasis here is on small group and individual study, experiment, and project work.

Large group meeting room • Assembly, dining, lectures, films, group projects, and social affairs are carried on here.

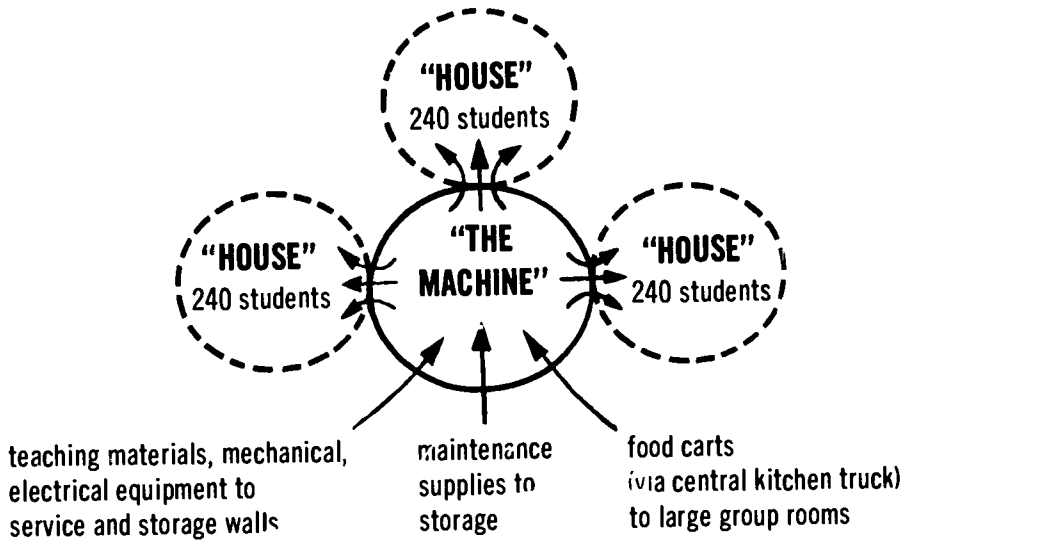
Team teaching center • A headquarters for teachers and a place for their equipment.

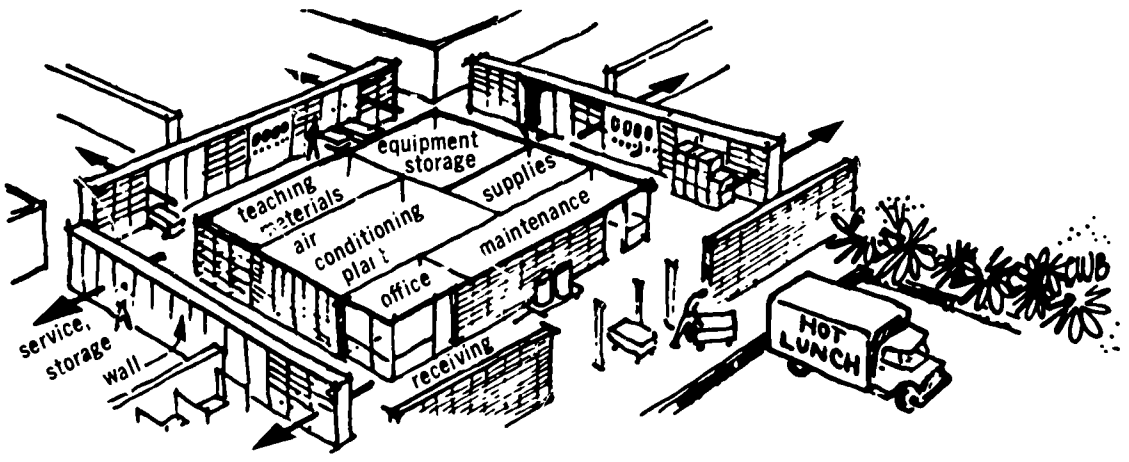


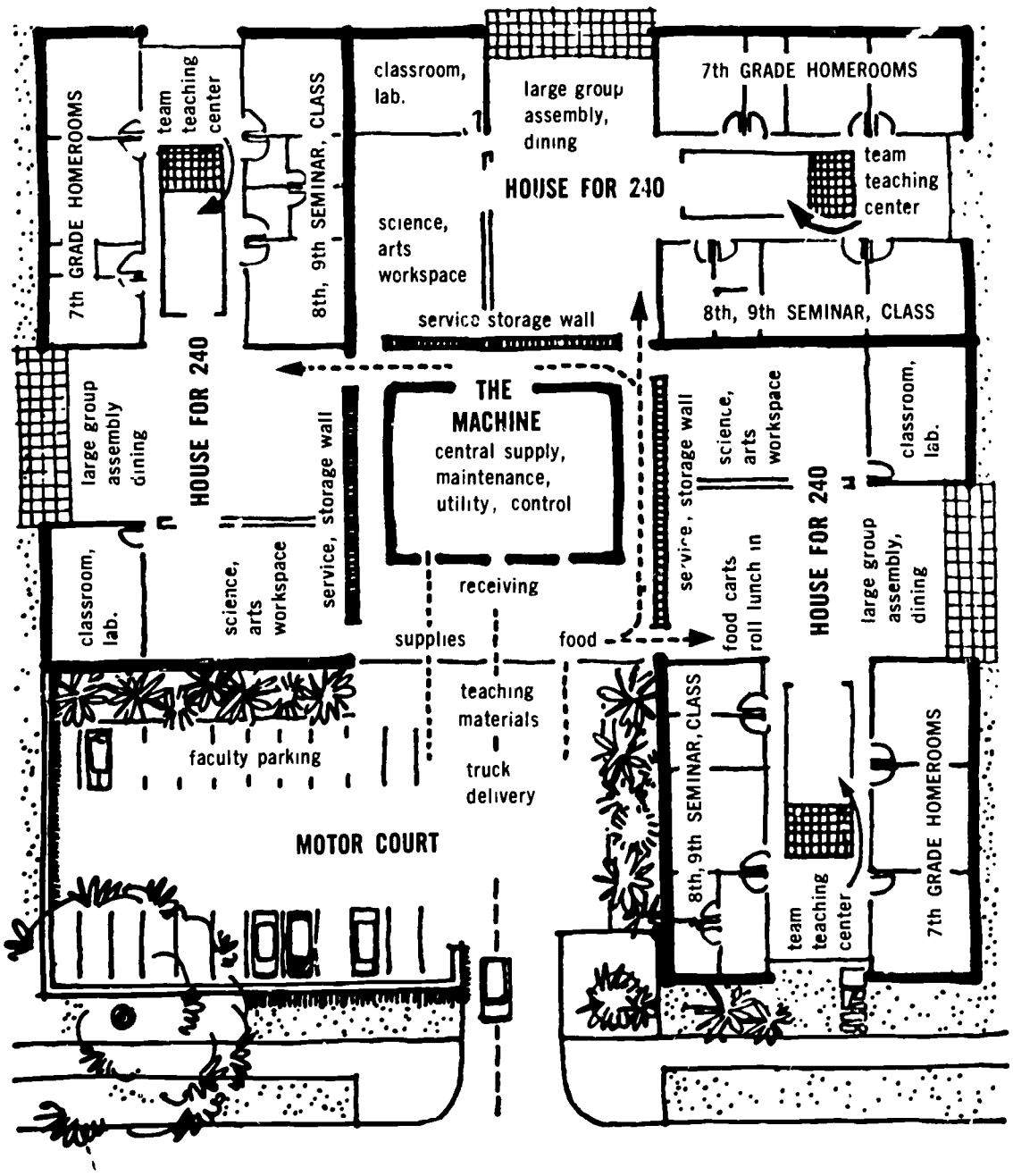
"The Machine" *component 2*

One side of each house is attached to "the machine," the school's storage, supply, maintenance, and control center. The house is serviced through this common wall separating its work space and large group meeting areas from the machine. Teaching aids, electronic equipment, and learning materials are passed over as needed. Food, prepared in central kitchens, is delivered to the machine and rolled on carts into the dining areas of each house at lunch time. Heating and cooling equipment is located in the machine. Centered here, too, might be the school's administrative offices.

[**Added note:** Testing facilities of the guidance department, as well as other professional services, can be located here.]





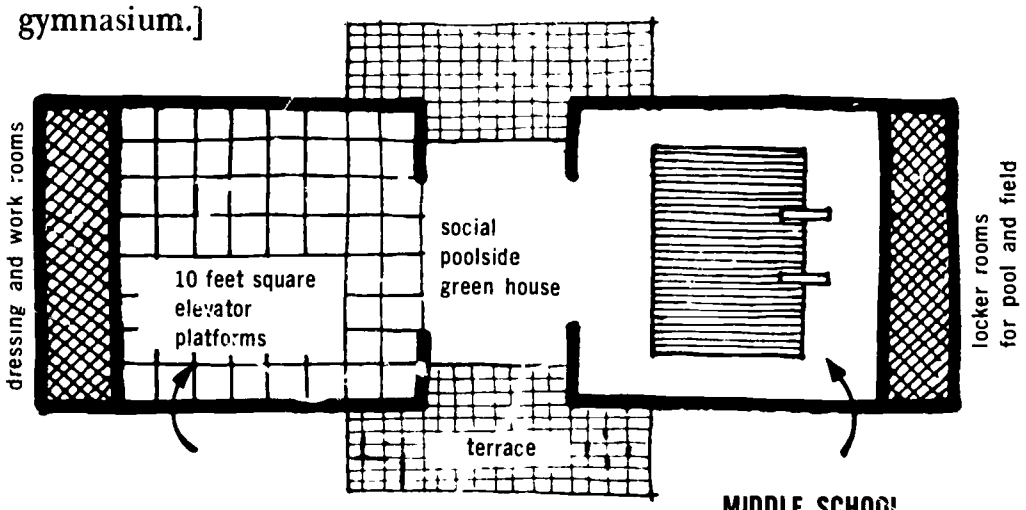


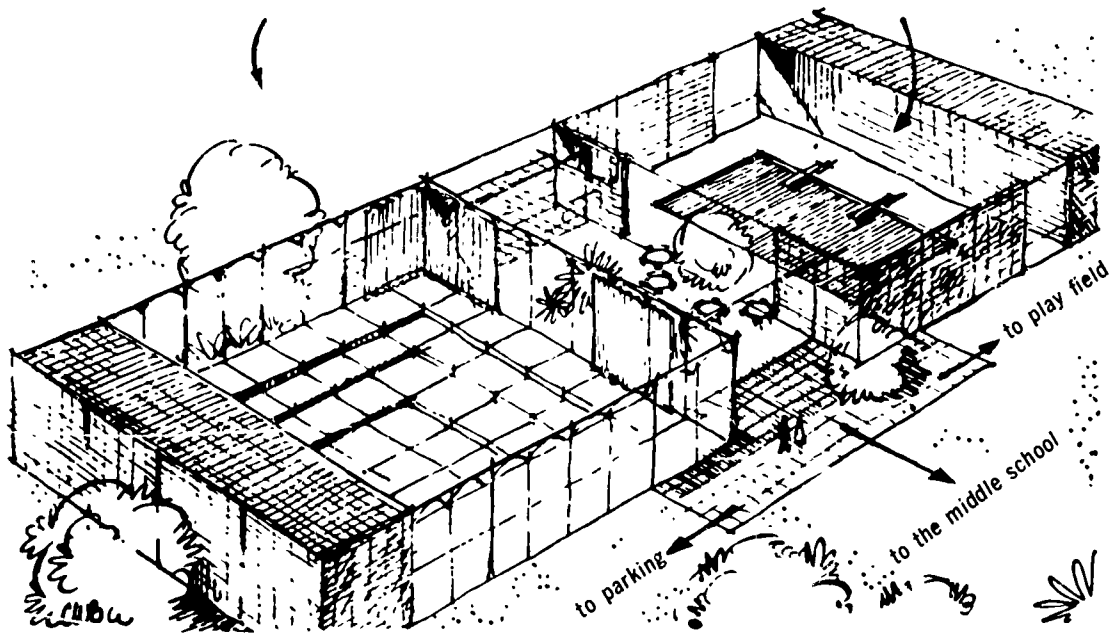
Three houses around the machine create a middle school for 720 students

"The Barn" *component 3*

"The barn" is actually a large building divided in two by a central, covered social area. On one side is the theatre and exhibit hall with dressing rooms, work spaces, and a flexible floor. On the other, are the swimming pool and locker rooms. Both school and neighborhood share these facilities. Space for community parking is provided near the barn for the convenience of the public. Students use the pool area lockers before going out to the playing fields next to the building.

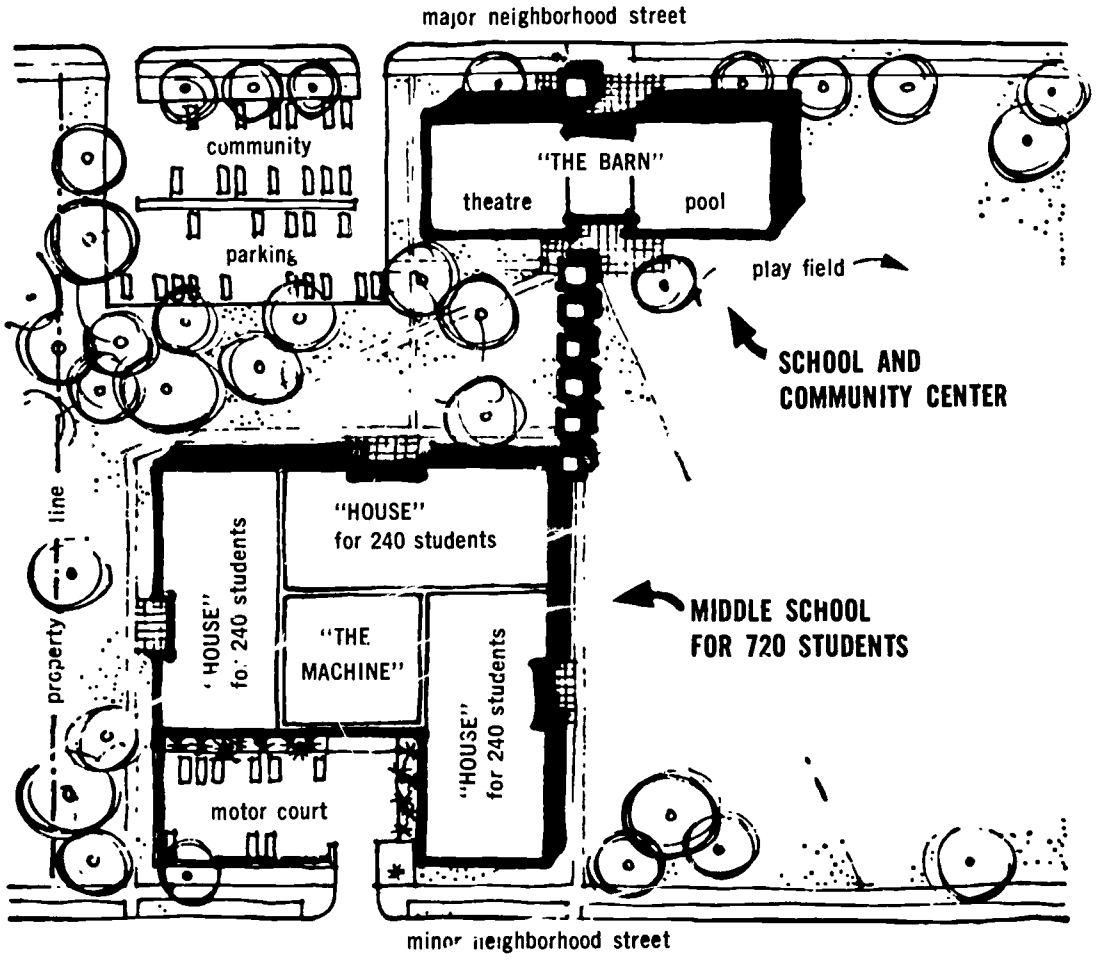
[**Added note:** As determined by climatic factors, or social conditions in the attendance area, this area can be enlarged to include a gymnasium.]





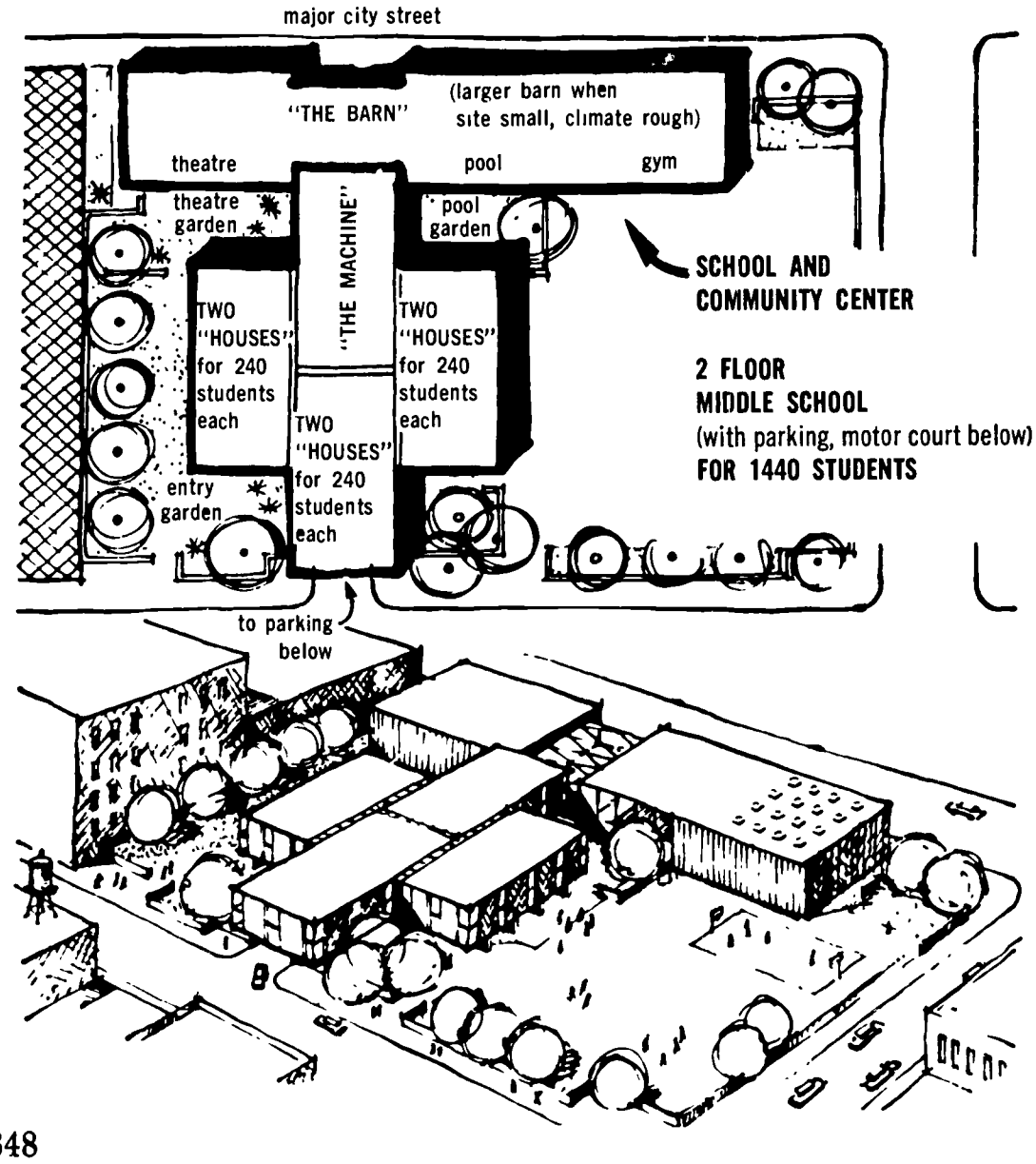
Suburban Middle School
the components assembled

This example of a typical, available, flat suburban site presents one way a middle school can be laid out. The arrangement of its elements can vary with . . . needs and desires and the limitations imposed by the shape and location of . . . site. The houses, however, must surround the machine on three sides. In effect, they are treated as one large unit. In the plan given here, the barn faces a major street, making it easily accessible to residents who needn't pass through the rest of the school to reach it.



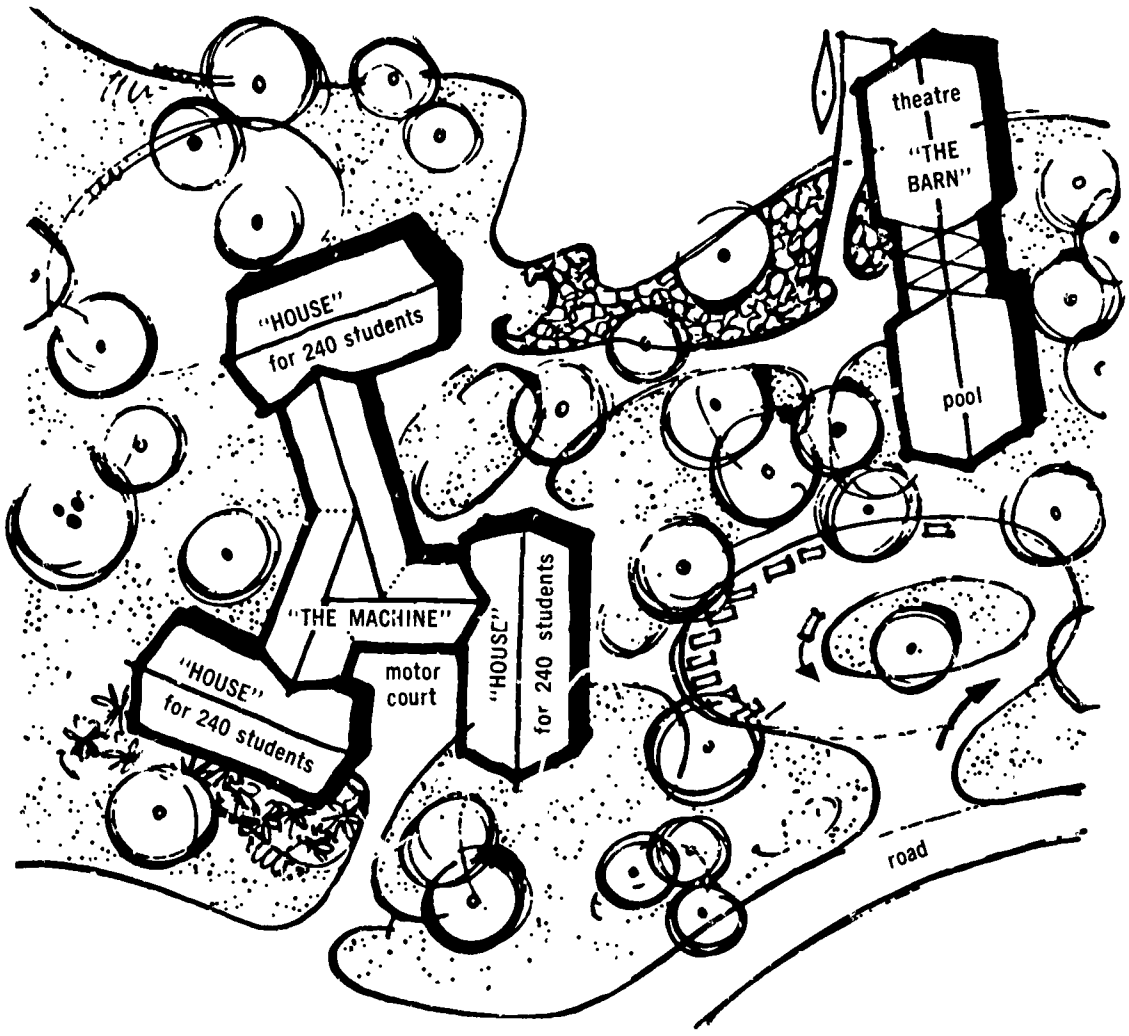
Urban Middle School
in the city

Restricted by a small gridiron site in a crowded city area, the urban middle school expands upward rather than outward. Components still have the same relationship to each other, but the two house-machine units, built on separate levels, serve twice as many students. The larger barn is necessary for the same reason. In this case, it has been extended to include a gymnasium, since climate and site limitations restrict the size and number of outdoor playing fields. School and community parking space is underground.



Exurban Middle School
in the country

Unhampered by a cramped site, the middle school of the exurbs spreads over an ample, wooded, rolling area set beside a lake. More freedom is possible here in the design, size and location of the school's components to take advantage of natural features. But whatever the geography, the interrelationship of the middle school's components remains the same.



To Antaeus Again

American society has not maximized the social value of its middle school because, all too often, its organizational mechanism has been used for improper ends. It has been abused by short-run opportunism, abandoned by schools of education, and neglected in serious research. A pity! For the middle school can be endowed with attributes of social usefulness it does not now possess and which contemporary American society needs more than ever before.

In 1932, George Sylvester Counts shocked American education with the query: "Dare the school build a new social order?" And, of course, he was branded a radical forthwith. Indeed, there were those at the time who misconstrued Counts' question altogether; they understood it as a political question. Actually, the thrust of his question was conservative and reconstructive in character. He, like President Johnson now, also talked of fulfilling the American Dream, of High Civilization—"the most humane, the most beautiful, the most majestic civilization ever fashioned by man"—but, as is frequently the case with men who have the power of vision far beyond their own time, Counts could muster only a handful of "buyers" for his bold proposition. Now, however, it is society which is commanding American education into the lead position of a revitalizing drive to build a new social order. This is the latent meaning of Public Law 89–10 and other such legislation. To miscalculate now the latent meaning of these Congressional enactments would be tantamount to a declaration of social bankruptcy in public school education. But this need not come to pass. Bold innovations, aimed at the dynamic adaptation of public school organization to new cultural conditions, can spell the difference between catastrophe and self-renewal in systems of public education. The middle school has an important place in this development.

Especially in large urban centers, where the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dilemma of modern society manifests itself among youth in rising mental health problems, high rates of delinquency, and a lack of quality in the constructive use of leisure time, the middle school has a yet untapped built-in capacity for contributing to social processes which conserve human values in a mass culture. The middle school, so we have noted, is not an American invention, but its adaptation in the urban culture of the United States is essentially one of the social

responses to the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dilemma which is expressed in David Riesman's euphemism "the lonely crowd."

An innovated middle school can serve both community and society well. None of the curriculum innovations which are anticipated by Goodlad, Birkmaier, and others who share their orientation to curriculum design, are incompatible with the institutional commitment of the middle school. Such innovations would merely articulate the necessary cognitive values of a middle school curriculum in a modern idiom and thereby enhance their social utility.

Indeed, Birkmaier's analytic "contrastive approach" to the study of English would put modern language back into the middle school curriculum, as it was in the North Central middle school pattern of 1924, without displacing any of the nonacademic subjects which are important to the middle school phase of education. "Study after study based on objective testing rather than actual writing," reads a report of the National Council of Teachers of English, "confirms that instruction in formal grammar has little or no effect on the quality of student composition."[33] One can imagine the blessed relief from boredom when an innovated, concept-oriented curriculum will spare middle school pupils the irrelevant detail of such grammar instruction. Surely, whatever keeps boredom out of effective classroom learning serves society.

In a like manner, a multiple-skills process applied by a coordinate family of professions would serve community well. It would be a more functional utilization of what Birkmaier refers to as "institutional and organizational resources" for attending to the human needs of early adolescents. More than that, it can accelerate the pace of socialization research which focuses on early adolescence and which is now retarded by a lack of suitable laboratory conditions. Such research in public school systems under present norms produces deterring strains. But when every tenth middle school of a large city school system is designated as a research center, experimentation in the use of a multiple-skills process could be established as standard operating procedure. And whatever the price, returns in social value from such experimentation would justify the cost. The rising tide of juvenile delinquency provides a dramatic illustration.

Recent empirical studies of deviant behavior in the adolescent sub-

33 Richard Braddock, Richard Lloyd-Jones, and Lowell Schoer, *Research in Written Composition* (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1963), p. 37.

culture suggest that the quality of a self-concept at early adolescence might be a *critical variable* in the containment of juvenile delinquency. A study of the early 1950's revealed that 22 percent of the boys and 8 percent of the girls in the ninth grade of a metropolitan public school system have had a *first* official contact with either the police or juvenile court, or both, during the preceding two years, years of the adolescent onset.[34] Revealing as these statistics are, they assume even deeper sociological significance when they are juxtaposed to conclusions that have been drawn from a longitudinal study at The Ohio State University and also started in the 1950's.

Walter C. Reckless, a specialist in criminal sociology, headed the investigation. The investigators set out to study the phenomenon of "good boys" in high delinquency areas of the city who seem to be impervious to influences that lead to delinquency. What accounts for the immunity?

Reports of the investigation have been published since 1956 and on into the 1960's. One very significant conclusion that has been drawn from the data is that the internalization *at early adolescence* "of a favorable self-concept is the critical variable in the 'containment' of delinquency."[35] The investigators report:[36]

> In our quest to discover what insulates a boy against delinquency in a high delinquency area, we believe we have some tangible evidence that a good self concept, undoubtedly a product of favorable socialization, veers slum boys away from delinquency, while a poor self concept, a product of unfavorable socialization, gives the slum boy no resistance to deviancy, delinquent companions, or delinquent sub-culture. We feel that components of the self strength, such as a favorable concept of self, act as an inner buffer or inner containment against deviancy, distraction, lure, and pressures.

One might speculate at this point, if, as the foregoing suggests, self-concept is of such significance in the quality of social behavior, why not

[34] Starke R. Hathaway and Elio D. Monachesi, *Analyzing and Predicting Juvenile Delinquency with the MMPI* (Minneapolis, Minn.. University of Minnesota Press, 1953), p. 109. A more recent report of this research is Starke R. Hathaway and Elio D. Monachesi, *Adolescent Personality and Behavior* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1963).

[35] Frank R. Scarpitti, Ellen Murray, Simon Dinitz, and Walter Reckless, "The 'Good' Boy in a High Delinquency Area: Four Years Later," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, August 1960, p. 558.

[36] Simon Dinitz, Frank R. Scarpitti, and Walter C. Reckless, "Delinquency Vulnerability: A Cross Group and Longitudinal Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, August 1962, p. 517.

intervene earlier in school life and spot behavioral trends? According to Reckless and his associates, such interventions would be "unrealistic" before age twelve. They claim:[37]

> . . . Spotting behavioral trends of children at 12 years of age for purposes of predicting delinquency or nondelinquency in the next four or five years of their life is certainly superior to case spotting at 6 years of age. The 12 year-old is closer to the problem in time. The child himself can be the focus of the assessment rather than his family. . . . He is old enough to be mobilized in his own behalf for direct prevention and treatment.

Age twelve marks the beginning of the middle school phase of education. The Ohio State University research, therefore, has a special relevance for middle school organization. Granted, conclusions of a single inquiry are tentative. But when conclusions tend to support cumulative findings of other social science research, they have to be reckoned with as significant clues to the explanation of phenomena.

Reckless and his associates tend to confirm the self-esteem thesis of Albert K. Cohen who, like the Ohio State investigators, has also taken a social-psychological, rather than a psychoanalytical, approach to juvenile delinquency.[38] And according to I. Richard Perlman, Chief, Juvenile Delinquency Statistics of the United States Childrens Bureau:[39]

> Most studies indicate that the juvenile delinquent who comes to the attention of juvenile courts is more likely to be a boy than a girl (chances are 5 to 1); he is generally about 14 or 15 years old when referred although he had exhibited behavior problems considerably earlier. His attitude is hostile, defiant, and suspicious. He is usually retarded in school work and in reading ability and shows a chronic history of truancy.

But in order to ascertain the true worth of these clues, they would have to be tested as hypotheses in longitudinal research. Assuming, then, experimental and control groups in a middle school which has

37 Edwin L. Lively, Simon Dinitz, and Walter C Reckless, "Self-Concept As A Predictor of Juvenile Delinquency," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. XXXII, January 1962, p. 168. Copyright the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Inc. By permission of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

38 See Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (New York: The Free Press, 1956).

39 I. Richard Perlman, *Delinquency Prevention: The Size of the Problem*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration—Children's Bureau, 1960, p. 4.

been designated as a research center, promising intervention techniques might be designed by a coordinate family of professions which are aimed at strengthening pupil self-concept. Intervention procedures would constitute the experimental variables and the record of social behavior through high school, and even beyond, the dependent variable.

Here are clues which suggest that the middle school might well fulfill a value in the urban culture far beyond the expectations of its founders; it is, after all, a product of the modern urban environment. Moreover, the follow-up research that is capable of testing the actual social worth of these clues is also feasible now by means of delinquency proness scales that have been developed. Prediction instruments of this type include the Kvaraceus KD Proness Scale, De and Re scales from Gough's California Personality Inventory, which were employed in the Ohio State research, and the Glueck Social Prediction Table for Identifying Potential Delinquents. The reliability of the Glueck scale has been tested experimentally since the 1940's and, according to its designers, with good results.[40]

Despite these promising clues, both from psychoanalytical and social-psychological approaches to the problem, very little has been done in the American middle school to test them empirically in educative process. But where, as in Higher Horizons, such action research has been conducted, it is of singular significance that the pattern of a multiple-skills process and a coordinate family of professions was used.

The expanding subculture of juvenile delinquency confronts contemporary American society with a host of social problems. Society is now searching desperately for means of containing it. Research evidence points to the self-concept at early adolescence as a critical variable in the containment of deviant behavior. Such evidence does more, however, than just point to a promising strategy in the control of juvenile delinquency. It supports Josselyn, Redl, Erikson, and others from the psychoanalytic field, who hold that early adolescence in American society is a special case; even as it supports Wattenberg and Havighurst in educational psychology.

The middle school in mass American society intervenes protectively in socialization and by means of its six manifest functions helps early adolescents to achieve what Kelley has called "the self." For the self

40 Eleanor Touroff Glueck, "Efforts to Identify Delinquents," *Federal Probation*, Vol. XXIV, June 1969.

cannot be achieved apart from significant others; "it is not given."[41] The self, therefore, has to be achieved by social definition in interaction with significant others. " 'Self and other,' " Kelley holds, "is not a duality, because they go so together that separation is quite impossible."[42] But in mass society "self and other" do become separated, and, especially during the psychologically vulnerable years of early adolescence, the intervention of a social agency becomes necessary for achieving the self.

All of which leads to one conclusion. Should the turn ahead bring to extinction the middle school which Bunker, Greeson, Francis, and other educational statesmen of the 1910 period founded, then American society will have to reestablish it or invent some institutional substitute. But no matter what the outcome of that turn ahead may be, one fact of middle school development in the United States stands out above all others: Like Antaeus of Greek legend who was made vulnerable once he came detached from the source of his strength, so does the American middle school turn vulnerable when its *primary orientation* veers from the social meaning of early adolescence in modern society.

[41] Earl C. Kelley, "The Fully Functioning Self," in Arthur W. Combs (ed.), *Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Yearbook, 1962), p. 9.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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