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Humanistic education and the actualization of social development in young children : an exploration of possibilities.

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HUMANISTIC EDUCATION AND THE ACTUALIZATION
OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN YOUNG CHILDREN
AN EXPLORATION OF POSSIBILITIES

A Dissertation

By

MARY T. SHEERIN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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December 1973

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OF POSSIBILITIES
(December 1973)

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ABSTRACT

Chapter One gives an overview of the study, discussing the relationship between self-actualization and academic achievement, and setting forth the declared purpose of the study, namely, to identify specific, development-linked educational objectives derived from a study of the stages of social development in children reared in the tradition of Western civilization and roughly between the ages of three and five years. The significance of the study to curriculum specialists, teachers, administrators, and researchers is pointed out.

The conceptual nature of the study is stated, and hence, the method of working out the concepts is declared to be inferential, that is, from the definition of humanistic education that is advanced and from the data regarding the social development of young children that are described, educational goals are derived.

Chapter Two identifies and discusses several dimensions of the humanistic education field. From the various approaches to the essential issue

of uniting the cognitive-affective aspects of learning an operational definition of humanistic education is evolved. Because it best adapts itself to the purpose of the study, humanistic education is construed as a set of educational programs which have as their primary goal the direct facilitation of the learner's development as a person immersed in the society and culture of his time. Gerald Weinstein and Mario Fantini's view of humanistic education as relevant curricular content in itself and apart from the traditional academic disciplines, is considered particularly appropriate to the goals of the study.

Chapter Three looks at social development in children between the ages of three and five years. Heavy reliance is placed on the work of Susan Isaacs whose minutely detailed descriptions of the behavior of children in the Malting House Nursery School follow the form of participant observation. She employs the recording techniques of systematic observation with a decided psychoanalytic bias evident in the conclusions and principles drawn from the data. The rating method of describing developmental continua supplements the Isaacs material; the outstanding germinal work of Arnold Gesell is here the primary source.

The descriptions essentially trace the social development of the child from the totally ego-centric being who knows nothing beyond his own immediate needs and pleasure to the nursery-age child who is just beginning to experience the dynamic of identification by which he can take on the point of view of another. The years of early childhood under discussion witness the first large steps from primitive simplicity and intensity of emotions to the beginnings of controlled and

social modes of behaving that are peculiar to children of the Western world.

Chapter Four is the pivotal component of the study. It specifies and elaborates upon some realizable goals for educators that will safeguard and nurture the proper rate and sequence of the child's unfolding social maturation. These goals are drawn from the data of the second and third chapters. Specific methods and prescriptions are cautioned against; the quality of the relationship among the persons involved and the nature of the environment are identified as critical elements if the goals formulated are to be actualized. A primary principle operating in the shaping of the objectives is that healthy social behavior is built upon the natural thrust of the organism, that is, that the needs and drives of the child are neither denied or denigrated, but recognized and utilized as the foundation for educational intervention.

The fifth chapter views the study in terms of future implementation in specific learning environments. Hence, it suggests both broad and specified areas for research in curriculum design and teacher preparation if the goals outlined are to be translated into operational modes of working with children. The literary works of "romantic" educators, contemporary and historical, curricular models which deal with the affective dimension of learning, descriptions of flexible models of actual learning environments, such as the British Infant School design, are suggested as possibly useful sources for a curricular model that incorporates the objectives identified in the study into a total growth-oriented environment for young children. The preparation of teachers for working in such an environment is seen as critical. It is suggested

that since humanistic education shares similar goals with psychology and psychotherapy (that persons fully realize their potential), and since education is considered one of the helping professions, then the connections between the preparation and functioning of successful therapists, social workers, counselors, and other "helpers," might fruitfully be investigated by educational researchers. The study identifies some specific areas where further research might well prove helpful in both the design of learning environments and the preparation of teachers.

The study as a whole may be regarded as a necessary first step in the shaping of learning centers in which the developmental order of children's lives is nurtured and supported by competent, sensitive adults who understand the need for and have the skills requisite for sound educational intervention. Intervention here is viewed as the considered facilitation of natural development.

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CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The time is ripe for educators to accept the task of dealing concretely with the human purpose of education. Schools can be so constituted that they direct their energies as effectively toward the human component as toward the achievement of academic standards. By "enhancing human potential in normal individuals" (Alschuler, 1969, p. 1) schools can be instrumental in developing persons who function well both individually and societally, and who are more adequately prepared to cope with the academic requirements of the educational establishment.

The correlation between self-actualization and academic achievement is suggested by Maslow:

All definitions of self-actualization imply:
(a) acceptance and expression of the inner core or self, i. e., actualization of these latent capacities and potentialities, "full-functioning," availability of the human and personal essence; and (b) minimal presence of ill-health, neurosis, psychosis, of loss or diminution of the basic human and personal capacities (1962, p. 36).

He continues:

The goal of objective and true description of any reality is fostered by psychological health. Neurosis, psychosis, stunting of growth, all are

cognitive diseases as well, contaminating perception, learning, remembering, attending, and thinking (1962, p. 41).

Furthermore, Combs reports:

An adequate person can launch himself without fear into the new, the untried, the unknown. A positive view of the self permits the individual to be creative, original, spontaneous (1962, p. 51).

The humanistic education thrust, which has many and diverse forms, embraces the one generalized goal of relating meaningfully to personal development in a humanly enriching setting. By engaging such psychological issues as developing personal talent, identifying interests and concerns, vocational decision-making, and actualizing the full range of healthy personal and interpersonal potential, the humanistic education movement is supplying some concrete possibilities for bridging the gap between the needs of developing students who are entrusted to or engaged with educational establishments and the manner in which education reaches out to meet these needs. "Education must now do what it should have been doing all along: dealing concretely with the human purpose of education" (Skorpen, 1969).

This study will identify some of the goals related to patterns of social development in young children of the Western world which the humanistic approach to education can implement in educational settings.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to identify specific, development-related goals that curriculum specialists in humanistic education may transpose into methods and techniques that will foster the social growth of young children between the ages of three and five years. A definition of humanistic education is advanced and a description of how young children develop socially is included. From the data regarding the process and sequence of social development, goals are identified that are appropriate for educators to nurture at particular points in children's development. Further, implications for the design of learning environments which stimulate and support positive patterns of social development in young children are set forth. Finally, recommendations for research and for the design of curricula and environments that are directed toward establishing an early positive experience of social life are proposed.

Significance of the Study

From the investigation of the conceptual relationship between humanistic education and the development of young children as social beings, inferences are drawn about the kinds of learning environments which will effectively nurture healthy affective growth. The multifarious aspects of developmental theory as it occurs in different cultural matrices is a monumental task to adequately describe, and is well beyond the feasible limits of this study. Hence, the material and concepts that emerge in the study have as a constant referent the framework of Western civilization. Development-linked goals toward which

curriculum builders and designers of learning situations may direct their efforts are spelled out. The curricula and spatial arrangements which emerge will utilize humanistic approaches to fortify the natural tendency of the organism toward self-actualization. This study of the young child's social maturation greatly reinforces for the humanistic educator Maslow's axiom:

The sources of growth and of humanness are essentially within the human person and are not created or invented by society which can only help or hinder the development of humanness, just as a gardener can help or hinder the growth of a rosebush, but cannot determine that it shall be an oak tree (Maslow, 1962).

The study is important because by describing the stages of social growth present in typical Western children it offers a stable framework within which specific goals meant to facilitate the process of healthy maturation can be translated into curricular language. Too often curricula have been designed and put into effect that are unrelated to scientifically researched data about the unvarying sequence and age correspondence of various patterns of development.

For example, a basic premise of the increasingly popular Distar Reading Program (Englemann and Stearns, 1972) is that the child comes to school a "tabula rasa" and that the program, starting from this void will move children in its time and within its techniques, to acquire specified decoding and reading skills. Neither the learner's cognitive capacity nor his experience, nor his personal tempo and style is viewed as a critical factor in his mastery of reading skills. Again, the "New Math" experiment exemplifies the failure to take into

account the qualitatively different reasoning abilities of children and adults. For example, it was hoped, at first, that the construction of a new language would facilitate comprehension of set concepts. The new language has not been generally successful and program planners are presently attempting to construct a physical model to convey "new math" concepts. Attention to research on children's thinking, to Piaget's work in particular, might have helped avoid such difficulties.

This study provides an understanding of the stages of social growth in young children and a defined set of developmentally appropriate objectives from which educators can develop realizable pedagogical techniques and procedures.

The environments and curricular models which may emerge from this study will be useful both to enhance what is already a nurturing home and community situation, and also to offset the negative effects on self-actualization of a less fortunate milieu.

This study is of value to administrators and to those involved in the upper echelons of the educational structure. Inferences about curriculum revision, pre-service and in-service teacher training, and implementing personally-oriented programs in schools are stated.

For researchers important questions and possibilities are proposed. Hypotheses generated in the study are significant for the new directions that schooling in this country seems to be taking. It is of value in the field of education that the conceptualized relationship here set forth between social

development patterns and specific educational goals and objectives be thoroughly investigated. Moreover, the study only suggests a limited set of goals toward which educators may direct their efforts. There are doubtless numerous other objectives not touched upon here which further study and research can identify.

It is important that outcomes of specific segments of curriculum based on goals here identified be analyzed by researchers for their actual effect on the social growth of the children affected.

The study is of merit because it identifies specifically fundamental development-related goals upon which to build meaningful curricula in humanistic education, because it suggests broad areas of innovation in the establishment of learning centers for young children, because it points out areas of investigation for researchers which are of significance to the educational matrix as a whole. Its greatest significance will come about if children are assisted by the conceptualizations advanced to develop into healthy, well-functioning members of society.

Approach to the Study

The study attempts to conceptualize how healthy social development in young children may be one of the facets of the over-all psychological growth promoted as a function of humanistic education. Practical and theoretical implications of the conceptualizations are presented. A definition of humanistic education and a discussion of the stages of a young child's social development lead to theoretical and practical objectives for schools and educators as well as educational theorists. Recommendations for research with a view to

discovering and analyzing the actual effects of the emerging curricular models are suggested.

The study begins with a comparison and contrast of several definitions of humanistic education as set forth by psychologists and educators. From the several viewpoints a single working definition is derived. In the second chapter the social development of young children is outlined and discussed and patterns of growth are identified. In this section there is heavy reliance on the work of Susan Isaacs and Erik Erickson, and Arthur Gesell. The study proceeds, in the third chapter, to indicate that the process of developing socially well-functioning persons can be facilitated by drawing on the data of developmental theory for the identification of specific goals for educators relating, in this case, to the social growth of children between the ages of three and five years. These objectives, in turn, are to be the foundation upon which educational theorists may design practical, realizable curriculum in humanistic education. The final aspect of the study is to point out its own significance from both a practical and a theoretical point of view.

The review of the literature is disseminated in several sections throughout the study. It appears more fitting to the conceptual nature of the treatise that pertinent written matter be referred to in the context of the ideas and concepts to which it directly relates. To restate as a unit a rationale for the use of particular material, then, would be superfluous in view of its necessary inclusion within the body of the study.

It may be stated here, however, that the heavy reliance placed on Susan Isaacs' seminal work, Social Development in Young Children, is due to the prominence of this work in the field. It is particularly noteworthy in the scope of its descriptions, the depth of its perceptions, and the wide range of behaviors it undertakes to identify and explain.

The work of Jean Piaget and Lois Barclay Murphy, while they are of predictable high quality, are deliberately limited in the breadth of the subject matter to which they address themselves. Murphy, in The Widening World of Childhood (1962), for instance, subjects to minute investigation the coping behaviors of young children in previously unexperienced situations. Piaget, who, early in his career, studied and described social growth, particularly in The Child's Conception of the World (1951), The Moral Judgment of the Child (1948), Plays, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood (1951), has chosen to concentrate on intellectual development.

Isaacs, as an early student of Piaget, has taken up and elaborated on his findings regarding social development and has, in addition, set her own unique course of study in the field. Her concentration on social as well as intellectual growth of young children has evolved its own method, namely, systematic observation of children in natural settings, which is qualitatively different from the controlled testing situations that have become characteristic of Piaget's recent work.

For the purpose of this study the concrete descriptive and analytic method of Isaacs is particularly appropriate. However, Piaget's thought is also a source, though not called upon as heavily as Isaacs'. This is due, as indicated above, to Piaget's own limited study of social growth and his concentration on intellectual development.

Supportive data has been drawn from the work of Arnold Gesell and others whose "rating method," while offering a view of development that is relatively easy to chart on a conventional scale, is, in view of its quantitative approach, less able to offer a full picture of the complex patterns of inter-relationships and of real events that are the substance of the lives of the children under consideration.

Abstract of the Study

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The fifth chapter views the study in terms of future implementation in specific learning environments. Hence, it suggests both broad and specified areas for research in curriculum design and teacher preparation if the goals outlined are to be translated into operational modes of working with children. The literary works of "romantic" educators, contemporary and historical,

curricular models which deal with the affective dimension of learning, descriptions of flexible models of actual learning environments, such as the British Infant School design, are suggested as possibly useful sources for a curricular model that incorporates the objectives identified in the study into a total growth-oriented environment for young children. The preparation of teachers for working in such an environment is seen as critical. It is suggested that since humanistic education shares similar goals with psychology and psychotherapy (that persons fully realize their potential), and since education is considered one of the helping professions, then the connections between the preparation and functioning of successful therapists, social workers, counselors, and other "helpers," might fruitfully be investigated by educational researchers. The study identifies some specific areas where further research might well prove helpful in both the design of learning environments and the preparation of teachers.

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CHAPTER II
THE DERIVATION OF A WORKING CONSTRUCT
OF HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

A commonly agreed upon working construct for humanistic education is as difficult for practitioners to evolve as has been a generally acceptable label for the movement itself. There is a proliferation of titles: humanistic education, psychological education, confluent education, process education, affective education. Likewise, a profusion of definitions has grown out of the different viewpoints, philosophies, and pedagogies of the practitioners and ideologues involved. It is necessary for the reasonable pursuit of this study to consider several of these definitions and evolve from them a single working definition suitable to the purposes of this study.

The general categories, cognitive and affective learning, have been so defined that a general consensus exists. Objectives of cognitive learning

emphasize remembering or reproducing something which has presumably been learned, as well as objectives which involve the solving of some intellectual task for which the individual has to determine the essential problem and then reorder given material or combine it with ideas, methods, or procedures previously learned (Krathwohl, et al., 1964, p. 6).

According to George Brown "cognitive refers to the activity of the mind in knowing an object, to intellectual functioning" (1971, p. 4).

Affective objectives "emphasize a feeling tone, an emotion, or a degree of acceptance or rejection" (Krathwohl, 1964, p. 7). The range here may extend from simple attention to selected phenomena to complex and generally consistent attributes of conscience and character. Such objectives are described in the literature as interests, attitudes, appreciations, values, emotional sets or biases. Brown states simply: affective refers to the feeling or emotional aspects of experience and learning (1971).

Neither the affective nor the cognitive domains can adequately be described without seeing them as closely interrelated aspects of a person's dynamic integrity. The title of Suzanne Langer's book, Mind: An Essay on Human Feeling, (1967), indicates the connectedness of the emotional and intellectual aspects of life.

How educators involved in the humanistic education movement resolve the problem of confluence/distinctness is made clear by the definitions that they propose for the discipline.

George Brown, director of the program in Confluent Education at the University of California at Santa Barbara, describes confluent (or humanistic or psychological) education as:

•
a philosophy and a process of teaching and learning
in which the affective domain and the cognitive
domain flow together. . . and are thus integrated
in individual and group learning (1971, p. 10).

He is convinced that since much of curricular content has arisen out of human experience, human dimensions can be reintroduced into classroom learning.

The work of his present program and of the Ford-Esalen Project of which he is director attempts to offer direction and guidelines as well as specific techniques which facilitate the merging of affective experience with cognitive curriculum material in order to lend vitality to the cognitive material and to make it relevant to the individual student in the classroom.

Serious consideration must be given to Brown's operational thesis and the large body of research which supports the confluent nature of cognition and affect. That the two cannot be separated has been demonstrated by such studies as: Barker, Dembo, and Lewin's experiments with frustration in young children (1941); Bloom and Broder's study of problem-solving in college students (1950); Thistlethwaite's work on causes of distortion of reasoning powers (1950). Donald Johnson's The Psychology of Thought and Judgment (1955), David Russel's Children's Thinking (1954), and Max Wertheimer's Productive Thinking (1954) corroborate Brown's thesis.

However, neither Brown nor his colleagues in humanistic education have investigated the possibilities that the one is in large part a function of the other. Jerome Bruner proposes that the process of problem-solving and inquiring will develop in the child

an interest in learning and with it an appropriate set of attitudes and values about intellectual activity generally (1960, p. 18).

On the other hand, Whitehead, describing the first stage of mental growth, the romantic stage, states unequivocally:

Education must essentially be a setting in order of a ferment already stirring in the mind: you cannot educate mind "in vacuo" (1929, p. 18).

He is in agreement with the body of educators who believe that by nurturing and stimulating appropriate affective behaviors, the learning of cognitive material will be facilitated at a high level of complexity.

Richard Jones is in partial agreement with the above view and also with Brown's operational principles. He concurs with the thought that affective elements must be introduced and dealt with in order to enhance the quality and depth of cognitive learning. He states axiomatically this ultimate derivation of that principle:

Confrontation of emotional issues in instructional settings should be means to education (that is, cognitive ends) and not ends in themselves (1968, p. 178).

He adds that the subject matter must in itself be significant and believable--or make-believable--and in dealing with the subject matter all emotions and images be welcomed and considered relevant to the educative process.

In contrast to Brown, Jones believes in dealing exclusively with the content of the disciplines and conjointly with whatever affect may arise out of the students' engagement with the material. Brown's citations of confluent situations (1971) indicate that direct involvement with emotions and feelings often is prerequisite for effective engagement with cognitive material.

Louise M. Berman states as a fundamental assumption that the person is a process-oriented being, by which she means that a man's personality is a

dynamic, responsible composite which enables him to live adequately as a contributing member of society. Berman proposes curricular models aimed at developing process-oriented persons. The processes which she has identified for development, such as perceiving, loving, decision-making, creating, valuing, clearly involve both affective and cognitive components. She describes each process clearly and succinctly in her work, New Priorities in the Curriculum. From the descriptions she draws both total models for curriculum and some specific exercises directed toward developing both an individual process and a well-functioning total person. There is in her scheme so tightly woven an integration of the affective and cognitive that the two become indistinguishable as separate entities. An example of this integration is an hypothesis for testing decision-making ability:

If children can learn that frustration and dissatisfaction may accompany decisions in an area which is new to the individual, they will be better able to cope with their emotional states when dealing in a new area than if they did not have such knowledge (Berman, 1968, p. 116).

Terry Borton, in outlining his curriculum of concerns, also defines man as an information processing organism, responding to massive data inputs. In contrast to Berman, however, he identifies as the processes around which his curriculum is built the three broad areas of student concerns outlined by Fantini and Weinstein: connectedness or relationship, self-identity, and power or control (1970). From this base Borton goes on to hypothesize three basic information processing functions:

1. A Sensing, or perceptual, function which intuitively picks up information, or stimuli.
2. A Transforming function which conceptualizes, abstracts, evaluates, and gives meaning and value to the sensed information.
3. An Acting function that rehearses possible actions and picks one to put out into the world as an overt response (Borton, 1970, p. 78).

He utilizes these to lead students to

an understanding of the process of change, to give practice in using it, and to instill confidence that he can go about the business of changing himself in his own time and as he sees fit (p. 85).

Like Berman's, Borton's processes involve an integration of affective and cognitive skills. He describes his curricular design as an organized way of achieving his end: self-knowledge. This "What, So What, Now What" model aims at increasing awareness (What), evaluating intention (So What), and experimenting with new behavior (Now What). The specific techniques suggested involve the students' use of both cognitive and affective methods. It is clear that Borton is unwilling to draw lines between the affective and cognitive or to lean exclusively on either one or the other. Both he and Berman rely heavily on the actual content of the processes, for example, valuing and developing a sense of power, as curricular content distinct from, though utilizing when appropriate, the traditional disciplines such as social studies, language arts, music.

Neither Borton nor Berman, however, unequivocally identify a process-directed curriculum as a discipline with its own integrity. In contrast to this

ambiguity, and as a natural outcome of their initial premise Weinstein and Fantini do establish their program on the premise that the concerns of students are legitimate material for the school curriculum. They state as the objective of their proposed curriculum of affect:

Education in a free society should have a broad human focus, which is best served by educational objectives resting on a personal and interpersonal base and dealing with students' concerns (1970, p. 18).

They further state that students must be prepared in schools to "engage in constructive personal and social behavior" (p. 19). They by no means denigrate cognition; it is placed in a framework where it receives proper regard. It is simply not exclusively or exorbitantly prized and cultivated. The authors continue:

The chances of affecting behavior will be greater if the learner's feelings and concerns are recognized and made to direct the cognition that logically should follow and if cognition is used to help the learner cope with his concerns (p. 32).

Within the design described by Weinstein and Fantini--the Three-Tiered Curriculum--cognition is an accepted and valued component. The Three-Tiered Curriculum, based on Bruce Joyce's original modes as described in Alternative Models of Elementary Education (1969) defines the curriculum in tripartite but simultaneously overlapping areas:

Tier I involves the basic skills (reading, penmanship, etc.), the data of specific disciplines (social studies,

science), and the major concepts of the specific traditional disciplines.

Tier II is engaged with the peculiar talents and interests of individual students--the personal discovery tier.

Tier III deals with social inquiry and personal ways of being and relating. Weinstein and Fantini envision this tier as the most suitable for the curriculum of concerns, their affective education program.

From the several humanistic education models noted, a single functional construct must be derived--a description that clearly abets the concepts this study advances.

A view of the skeletal framework of the models indicates that they vary in their sense of their place in the total curricular arrangements of the schools, in the goals they set for themselves, and in the content they intend engaging in order to attain their stated goals. This study attempts to suggest that humanistic education inputs will enhance the possibility of healthy social development. It does not address itself to cognitive growth directly. Therefore, for the purposes of the study, humanistic education is viewed as a powerful entity in itself, one not dependent on the rigors of the traditional disciplines, nor bound by their content. A humanistic curriculum, then, is a deliberately designed set of

congruent learnings aimed directly at personal psychological growth.

This study, then, accepts the place of humanistic education in the curriculum as outlined by the Berman and Weinstein-Fantini constructs. The meshing concepts of Brown and Borton, and Jones's secondary role for the affective component are seen as inadequate. The goals which deal with enriching and heightening the relevance of the traditional disciplines are regarded as inappropriate to the study; so too, Berman's development of stated processes, since the processes cited do not demonstrate clear connection to social development. Borton's and Weinstein and Fantini's goals of developing students adequate to deal with change and growth in their personal and social situations fit well into this study's purpose. Weinstein and Fantini's description of student concerns identifies the problem of relatedness or of becoming a social person as a prime concern of students. This aspect of their design is pertinent to the study here undertaken. So, too, are the other concerns: is there, and if there is, what is that core of me that remains essentially the same while I engage in and encounter change about me? And, what power do I have to determine the course of my life in this society and culture? They are integrally related to the student who is not only a unique entity but who is part of the social stream of the Western world.

In this study, then, humanistic education is viewed as a set of educational programs which have as their primary goal the direct facilitation of the learner's development as a person immersed in the society and culture of his time.

CHAPTER III
A DESCRIPTION OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN
YOUNG CHILDREN

Erik Erikson states that the development of the human person, whether it be physical, intellectual, social, regardless of the variations that occur within different cultures, invariably remains within the "proper role and sequence which governs all epigenesis" and that persons "develop according to steps pre-determined in the human organism's readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with a widening radius of significant individuals and institutions" (1968, p. 93).

This chapter looks at social development in young children reared in the tradition of Western culture in order to describe specific behavioral patterns from which to later draw some goals appropriate for educators to nurture at particular stages of children's growth. It is important to state at this point that most of the behavior about to be described is not considered "social" in the narrow sense. "In the strictest sense of organized group reciprocity there is little truly social behavior among children under seven or eight years" (Isaacs, 1933, p. 11). Piaget further states that it is not until seven or eight years that "the social instinct develops. . . in clear-cut forms" (1928, p. 209). The very

young child is essentially a naive egoist who views other children mainly as rivals for the approval and love of adults. Not until the middle period of childhood is the child able to establish "stable" group relations, that is, able to find identity for himself in his peers and to maintain a positive attitude to them despite differences in preference.

With this distinction in mind the chapter proceeds to a twofold consideration of social development in children between the ages of three and five years. Susan Isaac's description of the problems and crises of early social development is summarized, and an overview of the sequential phases of social growth as found in the work of several child psychologists is presented.

In Social Development in Young Children (1933) Isaacs formulates qualitative records of preschool children's social behavior through systematic observation. Systematic observation has been defined as:

A technique. . . in which the observer selects beforehand from a mass of events which are occurring in the development of a child a particular event or series of events for observation and develops a technique whereby the observations are recorded regularly in accordance with a predetermined plan. . . . The behavior which is recorded is that which occurs naturally,
 (Anderson, 1931, p. 1).

Isaacs brings to this method of child study a decided psychoanalytic view of individual behavior.

Following the Isaacs material an overview of conclusions drawn from the rating method of describing developmental behavior is presented. The rating

method is a refinement of systematic observation which attempts to arrive at a developmental, universally applicable scale for every sort of behavior, in this instance, in the relations of children with each other and with adults. Though such scaling is ultimately based on the qualitative judgments of the observer, it does attempt to standardize these judgments and render them more precise and objective than ordinary impressions. Such social, emotional scales as those devised by Gesell are used to supplement the observations of Isaacs in relation to certain behavioral trends, and to offer a further scientific basis for educational intervention. What immediately follows, then, is a theoretical survey of social relations among children from approximately the first through the fifth year of life.

Piaget's theory of egocentrism (1928, 1948) is lucidly illustrated in the primary situation found in a group of children between the first and third years. Egocentrism is the inability of the child to assume another's point of view. It involves recognition of the other's presence, but not of his personality or independent goals. One child needs and uses the other for his own satisfaction. This is not a perjorative term in regard to a child since the child cannot take another's point of view, as opposed to the egocentric adult who can but will not. Egocentric children cannot form a psychological group; they act as several independent persons, each involved in his own purposes regardless of whether these purposes impinge on or mesh with the needs of the others. The children remain to each other either means to an individual's goal or an obstacle to its

realization. This is the characteristic stance of children under four years, though it is often true also of older children who lack previous social experience. In addition, a child influenced by a strongly felt desire or vividly conceived purpose may display this behavior.

In itself it (egocentrism) seems to constitute the primary matrix of social feeling out of which all others are developed by experience of one sort and another (Isaacs, p. 213).

It inheres in a continuum that extends from solitary play in which the presence of others goes almost unrecognized to true egocentric behavior interwoven with a genuine appreciation of the points of view of playmates and a recognition of independent but complementary roles in cooperative play.

Typically. . . the play of a number of young children is little more than a congeries of individual fantasies. When these fantasies happen to overlap, they give rise to common activity, and may for the time being weld the players together into a group. As the children get to know each other, and build up a common history, the mutual adaptation of fantasy occurs more and more often. They gain the experience of doing things together in some way, and discover the benefits and delights of mutual support, both in imaginative play and in real achievement (Isaacs, p. 215).

Frequently, however, children's fantasies do not harmonize and it is then that the child has his first experience, effective or ineffective, of social education. Some children submit passively to the roles, usually subordinate

ones, imposed by dominant peers. Others, in order to participate in any communal play, must be the acknowledged leaders. Others again, whose feelings of rivalry are too fraught with anxiety, are hardly able to enjoy free play with peers, and substitute solitary play or more "serious" pursuits (e.g., studies) for group play. Players often rebel in their own games and demand that the roles their phantasies require be recognized.

Isaacs, reviewing the period at the Malting House School during which she recorded the detailed observations of children upon which Social Development in Young Children is based, notes that every child was hostile to others at one time or another, in some degree and form. The aggressive behavior appeared in many ways: biting, spitting, hitting and kicking, scratching, throwing objects, snatching and spoiling the work or belongings of others, verbal expressions of hate, and threats of attack with excretory products, teasing, boycotting and exclusion from pleasures, arousing others' hostility to one's enemy.

There is undeniable satisfaction in having things all one's own and chagrin at another's having more or better than oneself. Actual possessive impulses assume several forms. There is evidently the unequivocal wish to have or exclusively use an object. The sense of ownership extends to ideas: "I thought of it first," and also to such things as songs or nurse's rhymes heard at home.

All the children felt that anything was "theirs" if they had used it first, or had made it, even with materials that themselves belonged to all (Isaacs, p. 222).

There is a proprietorship present in the dispensation by a self-appointed agent of public property and materials, for example, of clay or paper. "Taking turns" with property desired by several children, for example, swings, a tricycle, emerges as a critical proprietary impulse which is highly difficult of resolution for the child under five years.

Only the proved evenness of justice of the controlling adult will make a transition possible from the impetuous assertion of "I want it now" to that trust in the future which makes "taking turns" possible (Isaacs, p. 223).

The seizing of property as an aggressive act rather than because the object is desired in itself is a more complex phenomenon than the clear wish for possession. It is more important, here, to deprive the other than to have for oneself. The element of power in aggressive behavior most often reflects what the child feels has been done to him--either in reality or in phantasy. It is clear that the motive of possession is intimately involved in the motives of power and rivalry; it is a social, not an individualistic, response. William James points out that finally one's possessions are perceived as extensions of the self.

Open rivalry falls into two categories: rivalry with other children and rivalry with an adult for the possession of another adult. An attitude of hostility to other children is a primary response of any youngster on entering a group.

This attitude moves along a continuum from the passive but highly defensive watching of two to three year olds or solitary or negativistic older children, to some form of actively hostile behavior, such as, pushing or hitting, which at least represents recognition of the existence of the rival(s), to friendly, cooperative play, punctuated by aggressive attacks for specific reasons.

This aggressive behavior is yet the most promising response from a young child who has not already had plenty of social experience among his fellows. It presages an active and vigorous social life in the not distant future--under careful handling (Isaacs, p. 232).

Rivalry against adults is often demonstrated in an inability to be friendly to two adults perceived as rivals when both are present at one time. Little children are generally jealous and fearful of the relationships between their parents or any significant adults. The child does not view the situation as being merely that the adults are not showing love for him, but that they are withdrawing their love from him.

For to the very young child love is not first and foremost a state of mind, nor is it even a way of behavior--it is something more concrete than these. It consists of concrete physical experiences and even of actual bodily substances. It is (first and ultimately) the breast and the mother's milk. . . . And this cannot be shared--it is either given or withheld. This is what love means for the child in his first actual experience, and what it remains in the deepest levels of unconscious phantasies (Isaacs, p. 238).

Outbreaks of moody and apparently unprovoked hostility often include a motive of rivalry, or with certain individuals, are involved with an unspecified sense of personal helplessness or ineffectiveness; however, feelings of inferiority are clearly significant as inner stimuli responsible for such behavior. Children may deal with these feelings by aggressive assertion of superiority, or by pretending to be grown up. Such behavior is easily linked with the simpler motive of seeking power, and so carries over into the field of guilt and shame.

In addition to the phenomenon of hostility arising from individual children, there is the frequently occurring experience of group hostility. Genuine, albeit ephemeral, group phenomena occur generally with four to five year olds; younger children are incapable of experiencing sufficient fellow-feeling to make common dislike of another possible. It is a common device to elicit the favor of one by inciting hostility toward another. This is an essential mechanism to help the child pass out of his inherently egocentric attitudes into true social feeling. Whenever a group is created an enemy is identified, shut out, and hated.

The casting forth of hatred and aggression onto outsiders not only brings to those within the group a warm sense of togetherness. It makes possible the active experience of doing things together. Egocentric isolation is broken down in action as well as feeling. The members of the group are enabled to follow a common aim. Common habits, common standards of judgment and behavior slowly set their seal upon individual wishes and opinions, and a common history is built up. In this way, the group gradually gains some ascendancy over its individual members, slowly assumes an organisation and wins a measure of permanence (Isaacs, p. 253).

The stability of the group in the years under study is tentative and highly dependent on adult leadership. Early social contacts help stabilize the fluid loves and hates of young children; the spontaneous, ever-shifting group fellowships and animosities evolve into the recognizably social modes of later thinking, feeling, and doing.

Group hostility is manifested in several directions. Indiscriminate group animosity toward a single newcomer arises in such young children and with such intensity as to suggest that it is not merely a social convention, but a spontaneous and integral mode of human reaction. However, the disappearance or maintenance of the hostility seems to depend on the newcomer's actual behavior.

Open expressions of defiance toward adults is clearly related to every child's dual feelings of affection and of hostility toward his parents. In the presence of two or more adults the child experiences the relief he needs by splitting the love-hate feelings, and displacing hostility unto other adults. This ambivalence of feeling toward adults is true of both individual and group behavior; children quickly bond together as allies against the power and prestige of grown-ups. They realize that their sense of powerlessness and inferiority can be assuaged by the potency of group action against adult authority. However, playful teasing defiance is more the rule than overt aggression.

Open shows of hostility to the grown ups, whether serious or playful, are but indications of an adjustment that is going on in the deeper levels of the child's mind, and that reveals itself also in many other and more commonly approved ways. The greater freedom of spirit, the greater openness and confidence of disposition shown individually as well as cooperatively by children who play freely among their fellows, as compared with solitary children, rests upon the greater security which this discovery of other children as allies makes possible (Isaacs, p. 260).

The banding together involved in displays of group hostility is a fundamental advance in social development; it is an integral part of growth toward cooperation and love within the social group. It is a critical, albeit incomplete, development in a long process which is consolidated after the sixth or seventh year in a loyalty to peers as opposed to the previous dependence on adult approval or disapproval.

Instances of open hostility to younger or inferior children occur more frequently than any other form of group hostility. Observation of such hostility indicates that the child sees in the weaker peer all the "bad things" he fears and regrets in himself, and is thus enabled to express his anger at faults perceived in himself and not yet overcome. As the child develops self-confidence, and as internal conflicts are resolved, tender, protecting impulses toward the younger and weaker gain ascendancy.

A study of social development is incomplete without a discussion of the expressions of friendliness and cooperation which, though less dramatic and

demonstrated in a relatively quiet emotional tone and with few overt expressions of feeling are as critical components in growth as the more specified and dramatic demonstrations of hostility and aggression.

Children's attitude toward nurturing adults, though it involves instances of hostility as described above, is generally one of trust and affection; the child looks to the adult for leadership, protection, approval, and love. The successive phases of social relations to adults has been described thusly:

In brief, children between the ages of two and five years progress through three roughly defined stages of development in their social relations with adults. In the first or dependent stage the child is somewhat passive and relies upon the adult for assistance and attention. The second stage which reaches its height between two and a half and three years is one of resistance against adult influence, and striving for power and independence. The behavior of the child gradually changes from being restive or obstinate to being cooperative and friendly. The desire to win approval and avoid disapproval grows. Conversation develops, and topics change from protests and wishes to description of events or actions of mutual interest between child and adult. Thus, the third stage, reached usually between the fourth and fifth year, is one in which the child shows self-reliance, trustworthiness, and friendly cooperation with adults (Bridges, 1931, p. 88).

This description does not take into consideration the notable differences among children, and the considerable influence of environment which militates against a scheme so rigid in its determination of age-related changes. However, the general and normal outline of tendencies during this period are verified by

the observations of children, especially as described by Isaacs.

Children are generally content to be guided for constructive ends by an adult who understands their needs and whose rulings and suggestions follow the lines of their social growth. This dependence on adult authority springs both from the child's simple determination that the adult is wiser and stronger, and from his trust that the adult will check the child's disruptive and aggressive tendencies, thus relieving inner tensions. If the adult is to enable the child to pass from the defiant, obstinate phase of growth to friendly trust and free cooperation he has not only to check the child's hostilities and rage but also to provide positive means of making good and of being good.

Children's friendliness to each other appears in various forms. Gratitude for gifts received and services rendered is a sign not so much of greed as of love; the child to whom a gift is denied feels that he is bad and unlovable.

The child's identification with another, feeling what happens to the other as occurring to himself, is a further mechanism for friendly peer behavior. However, the enlarged vision of the adult is usually needed to achieve this reciprocity, for example, when the teacher intervenes in a delicate situation with: "If you were playing in the sand, would you want Bobby to destroy your castle." Other pathways from egocentrism to social feeling include negotiating for exchange of gifts or services, joining in a common and especially

a disinterested activity, feeling remorse at having, for instance, hurt a peer and a desiring to make amends, and finally cherishing and protecting younger children or newcomers to the group. The latter two behaviors are seldom seen in children younger than four years.

Isaacs makes it clear that the nursery years are filled with acute conflict for the child; it is during them that the ego-centric being must take first large steps from the primitive simplicity and intensity of his loves and hates to some sort of controlled and social mode of behaving. Intense feelings of hostility and aggression gradually diminish as the child grows in self-confidence, as he learns to trust his burgeoning skills.

To extend Isaacs' descriptions of child observation, and to present an alternative method of study and an increment in relevant data, an overview of the rating system of defining and describing social development is now presented. The primary references are to Gesell's Child Development and Gesell and Ilg's The Child from Five to Ten.

In the behavior of the newborn infant lies the germs of sociality, language, and perception. He is utterly ego-centric, involved only in his personal, immediate comfort and satisfaction, alternating between positive and negative reactions as needs are either satisfied, ignored, or denied. According to Gesell, by the sixteenth week of life, this behavior expands from total self-involvement to outreaching social behavior: the infant smiles, he laughs

responsively, he vocalizes on social approach. By the seventh month, while concentrating on the development of his own physical powers, he is, nevertheless, able to relate amiably to strangers. He is usually friendly--alternating pleasantly between self-containedness and sociality, between self-directed and socially referred activity. He listens both to himself and to others. By the end of his first year he is able to discriminate clearly between strangers and familiars. His perceptiveness enables him to read with some accuracy the emotions of others, and, relishing an audience, he readily performs for admirers, laughing at and enjoying the play, the tricks, the demonstrations of skill he puts on. He passes from a passive, receptive member of the family to one who initiates social contacts.

At eighteen months he has scarcely made a distinction between persons and things; at twenty one months he hits or hugs a playmate without discretion, and without modulation; at two years his constant refrain is "It's mine." But at three years he shows a germinating capacity for cooperative play and can even wait his turn (Gesell and Ilg, 1943, p. 335).

At age two years the infant shows in his social behavior the developmental delimitations he demonstrates physically. "He has a robust sense of mine but a very weak sense of thine. He can hoard, but he cannot share. . . He can smile at praise and can hang his head in disgrace" (Gesell and Ilg, p. 53). At two and a half he retains the yours-mine dichotomy, but he has developed a strong awareness of persons apart from himself. He will "show off" his toys to play-

mates; he still will not share the toys with them. He demands what he covets; but once in possession abandons it indifferently. His newly emerging sense of ownership is apparently in a transitional phase of development. He discovers that life is charged with double alternatives, that it is a two-way street. He has to learn to intermediate between contrary impulses and to become acquainted with opposites.

"The child's competency in adjusting to social situations varies greatly in the years between the first birthday and the time of entering school" (Garrison, 1959, p. 307). At eighteen months he is into everything, refuses to accept help from anyone and resists strenuously if inhibited in any way. By the close of the second year he has an understanding of the property rights of others, gets into fewer things around the house and is willing and able to run errands. He shows his enjoyment of the companionship of other children, especially those somewhat older, by his preference for parallel play. The two and a half year old is domineering, bossy, insists on the routinization of household tasks.

The three year old emerges from his struggle with diametric opposites no longer paradoxical and unpredictable as he was at two and a half.

Three is a nodal age, a kind of coming of age. The conflict of opposites which a half year ago expressed itself in "negativism, " willfulness, " and "contrariness" gives way to a new realization of social demands. He even asks, "Do it dis way?" (Garrison, p. 58).

He is able to judge and choose between rival options and enjoys the experience of choosing. He is sure of himself, less self-involved, better equipped to sustain

the ever-precarious balance between self-dependence and sociality. He is more flexible, less reliant on fixed rituals for protection in exploring the world and others. The third year "marks a culmination and a prophecy in the cycle of child development" (Garrison, p. 58).

While the three year old is conforming, the four year old is asserting and expansive. He is volubly communicative, he brags, tells tales, tattles, threatens, calls names. He bursts with motor activity and bubbles with mental gymnastics, manifest in the ebullient use of words, in fantasy, in flights of fable. What he is striving for through all this bravado is identification with his culture and penetration of its unknown recesses. Though there is a powerful attraction to move away from home, he still has strong family ties. His clear preference for the company of other children over that of adults does not negate this firm connection to home base, a stabilization achieved at age three. The three year old is likely to be found boasting about his parents to peers and other adults; he tends to vest them with the aura of admired authority.

The fifth year witnesses a general slowdown in the tempo of development which comes to characterize further development throughout life. Changes between the fourth and fifth years are not as dramatic, but development continues as an ongoing, complex process. During the fifth year the child feels quite comfortable in his world--an environment he has consolidated and identified and settled into from the unrest and harum-scarum behavior of his fourth year. His is an existential world--it is all present here and now, and it is all his: his

mother, his father, his cap, his tricycle, his room, his block, his kindergarten. This concept of ownership is not generalized: he knows only his own, not yours, hers, ours. There is no awareness of conceptual detachment and abstract ideas. He is always first; his primacy is personal, realistic, concrete, not markedly aggressive or combative.

Mother is the center of his universe, and home the focus of his attention. The familiar, complex world of home is rendered still more familiar through hours of dramatic play and improvisation. The child integrates through such play the outlines of social order which for him start in the home and are strongly matriarchal in tone.

He actively seeks affection and applause and demonstrates an elementary sense of shame and disgrace. His verbal volubility will serve eventually to detach himself constructively from his mother and from the environment which now firmly holds him in its grasp. While he is a great talker, the five year old deliberates before he speaks; he is often seeking an answer. He is cooperative, asks permission, is caring for and protective of younger siblings. He is poised, determined, and exercises inhibitory controls which help him to get his own way and follow through pragmatically on his own ideas. He's dogmatic, seeing only one way to do something. If pushed beyond endurance he'll become angry, crying and/or calling names. He tends to hold his own ground, however, and is less likely at five to seek comfort in one of his special toys.

While apparently not as independent as at four, the five year old is more aware of the relationship of his acts to people and to his environment. Though initially shy, he gradually builds up slow, steady relationships. Though he plays well with siblings, he prefers the company of children his own age, an optimal group size being two, outdoors being the preferred environment. Because of social fatiguability he finds it difficult to sustain social engagement for long periods.

The five year old is ready for the experience of being with children his own age, especially in a supervised group. He enjoys routine and adjusts well to an activity program which permits free movement while maintaining control of the sequence of separate activities. Transitions come easily, and on a signal from the adult in charge he can complete a task, and with some help put away materials. Then he is ready for the next activity. The existential stance of the five year old requires immediate attention, approval, and affection. In free play five's still do not tend toward highly social behavior. Often groups of two, three, or four may sit at a table working independently side by side (parallel play), apparently enjoying the closeness, but needing little social interaction. However, if play continues unsupervised beyond a half to three quarters of an hour there tend to be emotional eruptions. The five year old still gets along best with one child at a time, regardless of age and sex.

Although by no means a finished product, the five year old already indicates the man he is to be. His already recognizable uniqueness declares

itself to a significant degree in his capacities, talents, qualities of temperment, and his modes of meeting the demands of life and growth.

Erikson, in describing the years roughly between three and five, balances the potential dangers of man's long childhood with the possibilities for growth and expansion of powers that this extended period uniquely offers him.

He says:

It is well to look back at the blueprint of the life stages and to the possibilities of guiding the young of the race while they are young. And here we note that according to the wisdom of the ground plan the child is at no time more ready to learn quickly and avidly, to become bigger in the sense of sharing obligation and performance than during this period of his development (1963, p. 258).

The school or learning center, and the educators engaged with young children within it, have in the nursery years the opportunity to lead the child to full participation in the wider world that will soon be his.

The study now proceeds to draw out from the data presented in the outline above specific educational modes and procedures which may enhance and expand upon the child's inherent potential for healthy, constructive development as a social being and a responsible member of a wide-reaching complex society.

. . . The "oedipal" stage. . . sets the direction toward the possible and the tangible which permits the dreams of early childhood to be attached to the goals of an active adult life (Erikson, 1963, p. 258).

CHAPTER IV
IDENTIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS
RELATING TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN
YOUNG CHILDREN

Chapter four of the study selects significant patterns of social behavior from which objectives to be utilized by educators in developing humanistic education programs are suggested. The outline of these objectives which follows is expanded upon and described more fully in the body of the chapter.

1. The child's primitive mode of learning through touch and actual sensory experience can be utilized by the educator to encourage the emergence of a self-reliant, relatively independent personality.
2. The child's passionate urge to make and do for himself can be turned into an early form of social learning.
3. The child's natural impulses toward destructiveness when understood and accepted by the educator can be channeled into viable social behaviors.
4. For the two-to-three year old, deeply involved as he is in ego-centric behavior, the educator can provide opportunities to engage in common, shared experience with peers.
5. The young child's generally friendly attitude toward other children can be utilized to guide him in the direction of enriching and eventually sustained relationships.

6. The child can be led to accept and deal with his emotional conflicts regarding parental love and hatred so that in time these feelings become tempered by reality and socialized in their modes of expression.
7. The common phenomenon of group hostility can be made use of to help the child pass from egocentric attitudes to genuine social feeling.
8. From the primitive intense feelings of rivalry toward other children, the young child can, through the patience and skill of the educator, be led to view peers as allies and as companions with whom to share life's joys.
9. The young child's feelings of insecurity in the group can, through utilization of the equally prominent competitive instinct, be encouraged and strengthened to move toward a general condition of self-acceptance that permits competent social activity.
10. The young child can be encouraged to accept and deal actively with his feelings of frustration and anger.
11. Feelings of inferiority, generalized anxiety, and guilt and shame that young children typically experience can be worked through in an atmosphere created to provide the opportunity for relationships in which they can deal with these often unconscious feelings.
12. The possessive impulse to have things and persons all for oneself can, in a thoughtfully constructed physical and psychological

environment, be encountered and engaged by the young child so that appropriate social behaviors eventually develop.

13. The young child's need for personal power can be permitted expression through socially acceptable modes, that is, new models can be offered by the educator and/or the child's own way of working out his sense of powerlessness in an adult-dominated world can itself be accepted.
14. The young child's freely granted acceptance of adult leadership can be capitalized upon the assuage early fears of rivals and feelings of guilt, and can be utilized to establish an ordered environment within which children can expand the social dimension of their personalities.

The threads of development from the totally unsocialized, self-gratifying, existential behavior of very young children to the emergence of an early and primitive social sensitivity, that is, "an awareness of himself (the child) in relation to others and an appreciation of the feelings and rights of other humans" (Fraiberg, 1959, p. 189), have been briefly reviewed. The study now proceeds to identify and elaborate upon some realizable goals for educators that will safeguard and nurture the proper rate and sequence of the child's unfolding social maturation. These objectives may also serve to offset prior negative experiences and, as Erik Erikson (1963) points out in his description of the "Eight Ages of Man," to re-establish the person on the path to normal, healthy growth.

It cannot be over-emphasized that the effectiveness of efforts to guide the child toward realization of his full potential rely not on following specific methods and prescriptions, nor even in being fully informed and aware of the

stages of a child's development, but in the quality of the relationship and of the total environment established by the adult in charge. Persons in authority:

must not only have certain ways of guiding by prohibition and permission; they must also be able to represent to the child a deep, almost somatic conviction that there is a meaning to what they are doing. Ultimately, children become neurotic not from frustrations, but from the lack or loss of societal meaning in these frustrations (Erikson, 1963, p. 250).

The need now arises to pass from description to some practical ways of using the information in order to have significance in the present life of children and in the total process of social development. It is essential to deal with both the general questions that arise, as well as the detailed problems that crowd the educator. In the material that follows, the general goals which are identified are connected to specific forms of behavior in order to place the objectives in their proper matrix which, because it is human, is also complex and not always amenable to clear delimitation.

Every aspect of a child's later social responses is related to his deep phantasy life, on the one hand, and his earlier real experiences, on the other:

The way in which, for example, the child's relation to his first teachers is intimately influenced by the special colouring of his previous relation with his parents; the way his attitudes to playmates at school, and friends in later life, reflect his earliest conflicts about possible rivals in the home; the way his feelings and phantasies about father and mother are taken up into his adult sentiments about home and country and government; the cross-currents of his later relations to men and women, to his own children or his parents' parents; the way in which his earliest play interests become elaborated or deflected into the sustained pursuits of adult life; his inner attitudes to work and recreation alike. . . (Isaacs, 1933, p. 207).

Before advancing to a discussion of the objectives themselves, it should be clear that for the sake of syntactic simplicity and clarity, the environment identified as the locus of activity is the nursery school; it could well be a day care center, a play group, a large or extended family, or whatever variations are appropriate. The nursery school or other learning center is particularly well-suited to the study of the emergence and development of social behavior in children.

As soon as a child becomes a member of a nursery school group. . . he becomes a member of a small world of children, all near his own age, although differences in age may vary with the arrangement in different groups. This world of children furnishes, from this time on, a major part of his social diet; he is constantly assimilating this, by direct imitation of patterns of other children, by spontaneous reaction to things which they do or to situations which they create, by resistance to this pressure, by repeated experience of tensions aroused by their mere presence (Murphy, 1937, p. 49).

What is critical is that the physical environment include children that are roughly peers and an adult or adults in charge. In this case the adult is identified as the educator. Here again many variations are conceivable.

A relatively simple, realizable goal for the educator is: to utilize the child's primitive mode of learning through touch and actual sensory experience to encourage the emergence of a self-reliant, relatively independent personality.

The nursery school can provide a safe opportunity for children to satisfy their curiosity about their world: to take apart clocks, and engines, to open boxes and drawers, to explore cupboards and tunnels, to "see wheels go round."

It is by actually seeing the "wheels go round," by lifting and pushing and pulling, by taking things apart and fitting them together, by measuring and weighing, that children gain their knowledge of physical changes and properties--not by having these explained to them (Isaacs, 1929, p. 74).

Not only does the encouragement to find out for oneself stimulate the growth of intellectual curiosity, but it also suggests strongly to the child that he is capable, competent, and able in his own right; that by himself he is able in some way to master elements of a world that is generally overpowering and within which he is dependent on adult protection.

All human beings old enough to have achieved even a rudimentary self-definition, or sense of personal identity, need to view themselves in at least a moderately favorable light. . . . As a general characteristic of the development of the healthy child, nothing appears to be more central or significant, or more critical as a motivating factor in behavior, than this need to think well of oneself (Gardner, 1964, p. 231).

The adult role here in terms of the child's social growth is to identify for him his competencies, what he has mastered, how important and significant it is, how he is becoming more and more a person with powers and talents peculiarly his own.

Just as the infant thinks with his mouth, so children of older years think with their fingers and limbs. Without active touch, vision tells the three to five year old little, and without the actual sensory experience of the world, what adults explain to them means hardly anything at all. According to Piaget

(1951) the ability to think with words develops very slowly and is correlated to the child's physical involvement in his world, this regardless of a child's apparent facility with speech.

The young child's intense physicality and abundant supply of energy is leverage for another goal, namely, to turn to social purposes the child's love of doing things.

The young child's leg bones are soft and unable to support the weight of a relatively large trunk and head continuously and steadily. Hence, the delight in and need for climbing, swinging, holding on with the arms. It is also difficult to keep balance when standing still for any prolonged time without undue strain. Children practice balance by walking along the edge of the pavement, following the lines in the cement, walking along the top of a wall, or along a chalk line on the floor.

The nursery school can simultaneously nurture the physical development of its young wards and also provide experience that allows the child to participate in the real life of the community in which he participates. The demand of the organism to test and expand its physical abilities can be recognized, and at a low level, development-appropriate entry into social responsibility can be provided by encouraging the youngster to help lay and clear the dining table, to carry water or glasses, to hang up his clothes, to wash his hands, and to dress and undress himself.

Related to the child's need for active engagement in his world is the drive to assert himself through both creative and destructive behavior. The educator's goal in this regard is to understand and channel into acceptable social behaviors the child's natural impulses toward destructiveness, and to encourage and support the child's passionate urge to make and do for himself.

Young children who are beginning or have just learned to walk, and who have little skill or patience with the process of construction on their own are commonly seen to enjoy destroying the products of others, for example, they delight in knocking down towers of blocks built by older children. This explosive behavior, requiring as it does less skill and effort, attention and control than constructive activity, serves as a definite and desirable relief for nervous tension. It can be channeled away from infringement on the activity and property of others by the thoughtful provision of alternative activities that still serve to release excess energy, for example, chopping up wood, tearing or cutting up paper or fabric to make streamers or stuffing for pillows or play animals. It is also important to provide ample time and space for free exercise, particularly of the large muscles, in the open air: running, climbing, jumping, throwing. However, a guiding principle must be kept in mind here:

A child's own limited motor coordination may prevent him from satisfying his urges or strivings, as when he would like to swing but cannot yet coordinate his body properly to "pump" and make the swing go. . . Equipment for the child that stimulates activity but demands a level of action beyond the ability of the child proves frustrating and essentially negative in its

effects, since it produces anger and is a stumbling block in the way of need satisfaction. On the other hand, equipment which is stimulating but which lies within the realm of the child's control serves to increase his feelings of competence, allows for need satisfaction, and generally makes the anger reaction less probable (Gardner, 1964, p. 230).

The young child learns through the guidance of adults that it's right and good to heed the impulses of his body, but also that the rights and needs of others are not to be recklessly disregarded. The child cannot comprehend intellectually that he must modify his behavior in response to the rights of others. "Firmness must protect him against the potential anarchy of his as yet untrained sense of discrimination, his inability to hold on and to let go with discretion" (Erikson, 1963, p. 252). However, that he is consistently guided in the direction of responding to his needs in the context of a social environment, is absorbed and later utilized when he develops to a level where he is able to see the other's point of view and later to make ethical judgments about his own behavior.

As skill and control develop, the child turns to making and inventing things, utilizing for his purposes every and any sort of material. This growth in constructive power brings with it the strong positive self-image and self-regard that is naturally concomitant with real achievement.

From the isolated play of infancy, the very young child gradually moves toward the social play that characterizes the middle years of childhood. It is important, then, that the nursery school provide young children, deeply immersed in the ego-centric stage (two-three years), the opportunity to engage in common, shared activity with others.

As stated in Chapter Three, true ego-centric activity involves a mere recognition of the presence of others, but not of their personalities or independent purposes. One child either ignores the others, or uses them as his needs dictate. When these "congeries of individual phantasies" overlap by chance they give birth to common activity, and, for a short period, join the players into a group.

As the children get to know each other, and build up a common history, the mutual adaptation of phantasy occurs more and more often. They gain the experience of doing things together in some way and some sense, and discover the benefits and delights of mutual support, both in imaginative play and in real achievement (Isaacs, 1933, p. 215).

There is immeasurable value in the companionship of peers. Early ego-centrism, and indeed group hostility and aggression, become real independence with the discovery of the worth of other children as allies against the fears of adults and of their own internalized super-egos. On the other hand, the mishaps that occur in these early encounters are perhaps of even greater social-growth value than the peaceful engagements. When the individual purposes of children clash, the child is brought to a sudden, albeit momentary, acknowledgement of the reality of others as persons with independent lives of their own.

Conflicts appear in large numbers in all groups of children. Conflicts over property, including snatching another child's toy, and arguing about property rights, are considerably greater among three-year olds than conflicts in which an attack on the child's person is the starting point (Murphy, 1937, p. 65).

Again, the child who happily and considerately plays the leader or pre-empt the superior part on a regular basis, seems less ego-centric than the child who naively subordinates peers to positions of pawns in his private game or who tries to cajole or frighten them into accepting this submissive role. The need to be the leader and with it the crude imposition of the child's phantasies on others of his peers is often a benefice to those harnessed into his vision of things. For they are thus drawn into active play with others, and though their subordinate role may not be as glamorous as the dominant part of the organizer, nevertheless, there is always room, and likely less threatening room, for minor improvisation. Even for the followers, then, this is a step forward in social experience and is likely to lead to movement from exclusively passive to occasional dominant roles.

However, some children, their lives so fraught with anxiety and acute feelings of rivalry, are unable to indulge freely in play with others. It is these youngsters, circumscribed at an early age in feeling and deprived of adequate social response, who seriously challenge the educator. They are far more in need of adult intervention than the mischievous, moody, and perverse youngsters who are endowed with warmth and vivid social gifts.

The goal of creating an environment, personal as well as spatial, which will nurture the natural movement from total ego-centrism to true social behavior is related to the psychological fact of the ego-centric demands of the young child at play. The first effective form of social education often comes to the young

child in initial shocks to his ego-centric assumptions brought on by the rebelliousness of fellow players and the enforced reality of their phantasies and desires. The part to be played by the adult in the clashes of children, in the drawing out of the solitary child, in the assignment of passive/active parts in play, must be entered upon tentatively and open-mindedly with consideration given to the sequence of social development.

From the tentative, transient social contacts of the third and fourth years evolve the stable, established friendships of later childhood. It is a goal of the educator to make use of the young child's friendly feelings toward other children to guide him toward enriching and eventually sustained relationships.

The movement of the child toward the give-and-take of genuine relationships is in accord with Comte's "law of affective evolution." "This law holds that with time there comes a diminution in the preponderance and intensity of personal inclinations, and a growth and extension of other regarding sentiments" (Allport, 1955, p. 30).

There are several noteworthy dynamics involved in the child's friendly relations with peers. As has been mentioned in Chapter Three, the giving and receiving of gifts is of greater psychic significance than the surface behavior at first intimates. To a child the receiving of gifts means that he is lovable, not hating or hateful, and the withholding of gifts that he is bad, wicked, and unworthy of love. On the other hand, the giving of gifts or services by the child

to another satisfies the wish to be potent, to be safe (that is, powerful enough to be unselfish), to be so full of good things (that is, to be so good) as to be able to share out of bounty.

The child's real growth, not only in friendliness and generosity, but also in personal responsibility and social skill, depends very largely upon his assured belief in the good parent, and in the possibility of becoming a good parent. The translation of this phantasy, the make-believe play, into real behavior and character traits, will largely depend upon the nature of his real experiences (Isaacs, 1933, p. 274).

Related to giving and receiving is the negotiation which is common between two children for exchange of gifts and services. The exchange itself activates a feeling of reciprocal action, while the bargaining process leads away from pure egoism to social feeling. The sharing in any common activity, and especially a non-threatening one, tends to replace the primitive monadic outlook with a sense of reciprocity.

Genuine social interaction begins when one child responds to the desire of another; this occurs in many situations where there are no conflicts of interests (Murphy, 1957, p. 58).

The possibility of "taking turns," too, is related to the sense of mutuality as well as to the more psychically-based mechanism of identification, that is, to the child's ability to experience what happens to another as happening to himself.

In brief, the child's humanization is a two-way process of identification. He acquires the capacity to extend himself beyond the boundaries of his own ego, to

occupy imaginatively the egos of other human beings and hence "to know how others feel" and this constitutes one side of the process we call "identification." But he also has the capacity to take other egos into his, to incorporate the personality of another person, to make certain qualities of that personality his own (Fraiberg, 1959, pp. 192-193).

The adult in charge can nurture the identification syndrome by offering the child the broad vision not available to him in his present stage of development. A gentle statement of things as they appear to the adult is a highly successful mechanism of settling disputes. Children respond with surprising reliability to a new point of view when it is presented sensitively and undemandingly.

True remorse and a desire to make amends, behaviors that grow out of the identity mechanism and the love-hate ambivalence, are perceived most often in children of four years and older. Remorse involves the wish to comfort and make whole again the injured persons and at least some acceptance of responsibility for the consequences of one's deeds or words. As the child grows older, he can assuage the wounds he has inflicted in words, at least, if not in actions. The possibility of remorse for hostile behavior is connected to the development of a strong positive self-image through real experience and the receding of phantasies of retaliation and punishment.

Identification with the good parent is the source of the ability to care for and cherish younger or weaker children, or newcomers. It is once again made possible both by blossoming maturity and the experience and influence of adults.

Emotions engendered by the ambivalent relationship of children and parents are complex and difficult if not impossible to neatly identify and categorize. However, it is clear that children need help to enable them to accept and deal with their emotional conflicts regarding parental love and hatred so that in time such feelings be tempered by reality and socialized in their ways of expression.

Every child experiences intense feelings of jealousy and rivalry; they are inherent in his state of weakness and dependence on adults, and in the primitive simplicity and absoluteness of his emotions. During the period between the end of the first and the sixth or seventh year these conflicts are most acute.

It is then that children have to take the biggest and most difficult step away from the primitive simplicity and intensity of their loves and hates, their hopes and fears, to some sort of controlled and social ways of behavior (Isaacs, 1929, p. 95).

Often before their second year they come to feel the conflict between love for their father and love for their mother. It is even more difficult for children than for adults, who presumably are better equipped intellectually and emotionally to keep an even attachment between two love objects or to forestall the tension of rivalry between two loved ones. The birth of a younger sibling usually intensifies the situation acutely. The child sees in the newcomer a second rival (after each of the parents themselves) for the mother's and father's attention and love. All children feel such jealousy of the new arrival in the home, though some display it more clearly in, for example, overt

hostility to the baby, regression to infantile behavior. The jealousy is so overpowering that it is important that parents and other adults make it very clear in ways that the child can comprehend that he is loved just as much as before and that adults can be relied upon to be equally just and equally loving to all.

The only child's fear of possible rivals arises from early hostilities and jealousies in regard to his parents and from phantasies of parental loss of love or dread of punishment. The child who does not suffer the actual crisis of the newborn rival cannot gain the comfort and support of real experience. His appetite for possession may become inordinate and he may find no viable outlet for his insecurity and guilt. Moreover, he lacks real brothers and sisters to act as allies against the world of grown-ups and to educate each other by the give-and-take of actual social life. It is especially important for him to find a secure place outside the home where he may work through with other adults and children his jealousies and rivalries so that he need not grow up fearing and feeling guilty about these unresolved emotions. The nursery school is obviously one such place.

The child will not, however, be able to verbalize for even the most sympathetic adult his wishes, anxieties, guilts. They are too deeply rooted in him, well beyond the reach of words. They make themselves known to him in unarticulated longings for hugs and caresses, in desires to remove and destroy, in fears of rejection and retaliation. The guilt and dread so bound up with these complex and shifting emotions are so keenly experienced as to close the child

himself off to them. He may deny in himself not only behaving angrily or possessively, but even the wish to so behave.

The longing to have his mother to himself in infantile ways, and the anger with his father or the rival child, spring from his deepest nature, and cannot be annulled by his guilt and fear. They can in time be tempered and socialized in their ways of expression; but in the meantime, they and the guilt belonging to them find an outlet in roundabout ways (Isaacs, 1929, p. 96).

Fears and phantasies are one means by which the young organism releases the pent-up emotional residue from deep inarticulate conflicts. Night terrors are common in the second and third years, bed-wetting, distaste for certain foods, inexplicable phobias, storms of tears about trivial disappointments, inability to leave his mother, are all means through which these emotions are released. Play, particularly dramatic play, is a safety valve for children's hidden longings and fears. The release in the role playing of inner tensions makes it easier for the child to modify his real life behavior.

One of the most critical tasks of the adult in the child's world is to recognize and accept the ambivalent condition of the child's emotions.

Only through such realistic awareness of these feelings, only through the recognition that they are normal and inevitable can we be of real service to the child whose task it is to learn how to deal with his own domination of negative and positive feelings (Gardner, 1964, p. 247).

An additional related goal for the educator is to utilize the common phenomenon of group hostility to help children pass from ego-centric attitudes to true social feeling.

As has been stated in Chapter Three, two and three year olds cannot experience even a minimal enough degree of fellow-feeling to make possible a common dislike of another; it is with four and five year olds that actual group formation begins to occur. While such groups are evanescent and unorganized, feelings are often warm and vivid during their life-span.

These very small groups of three to five members thus form a definite transition between the primary ego-centric attitude of the first three years and the more inclusive social entities which become possible later on (Isaacs, 1933, p. 250).

Observation of such groups shows that whenever they form they tend in the very act of drawing together to identify an enemy, one whom they harshly shut out and hate. It appears that the existence of the pariah is an essential preliminary condition to even minimal group coherence. "The child is able to love one of his fellows more wholeheartedly, more faithfully, more steadily, because he has turned his hostility on to another" (Isaacs, 1933, p. 251). Moreover, hostility in these early groups may reach levels of intensity which very few of the group members as individuals would rarely, if ever, attain.

In Chapter Three it was pointed out that group hostility takes different directions: It is directed at strangers and newcomers, or at adults, or at younger or inferior children, or any temporary scapegoat. The role of the adult in charge in such situations is crucial. Considering the ephemerality and lack of strong leadership in the group itself, the adult authority is in the long run more influential than the most effective child leader. It is not difficult

for a sensitive, skillful adult to change the mood of the group toward the newcomer-enemy, after the initial, spontaneous expression of hostility and suspicion has run its course.

The sporadic banding together of children to challenge the power and authority of adults offers a preliminary glimpse of an essential and normal thread of social maturation which will continue through the middle years of childhood. The support which is experienced in shared action against grown-ups is, despite its often inchoate appearance, integral to the child's movement toward cooperation and love within the social group. This movement away from total dependence on adults for love and approval, and the correlative feelings of fear and rivalry toward peers, is indeed a giant step forward in the continuum of social development.

The nursery school (or play group, or large family) offers ready ease and relief from conscious and unconscious fear of parents and adults through the comraderie children bring each other. The well-trained, perceptive adult will recognize and accept the child's need to express hostility toward grown-ups and will channel hostile behavior into appropriate modes that will point out the acceptability of expressing anger and rage, but will also define reasonable limits for that expression. It is important to note here that it is the emotions that bind children together; the "hated" adult need not even be present once the merits of the alliance against adults have been established in the child's mind. The delights of conspiracy and the sense of unity with other children may be activated by

phantasy; they may be stimulated by a remembered or imagined grown-up enemy.

Aggressive action toward younger or less powerful children is another form of temporary but necessary behavior. When children experience a benevolent regimen and have sensible, protective standards and limits set for them, the compelling need to hate and hurt others because of one's own deficiencies or imperfections diminishes in intensity and becomes less and less frequent. As children develop skill and social confidence, and as internal conflicts gradually lessen, they find less need to be unkind or cruel to their younger peers, and feelings of protectiveness and tenderness begin to assume ascendancy.

Jealousy and rivalry are emotional reactions as common to young children as to their older fellow humans; they must be viewed as powerful forces in motivating the child's behavior. "Jealousy can be a significant determiner of his (the child's) personal adjustment and the adjustment of those around him" (Gardner, 1964, p. 241). It is important, therefore, to help children to resolve the primitive intense feelings of jealousy and rivalry toward other children so that they come to view peers as allies and as companions with whom to share life's joys.

In the earliest years it is obvious that all children (with varying degrees of intensity according to inner conditions and outer circumstances) regard other children as real or potential rivals. Hostility and wariness is the primary active response of any young child on entering a group. As Bridges notes,

aggressive action toward other children is so normal as to represent a definite stage in social development; moreover, the child who behaves otherwise is regarded as "unsocial, egoistic and slow in social development."

The passive watching of the two-to-three year old evolves gradually to the pushing, hitting, and pinching of the four year old. Here we see a definite acknowledgement of the existence and presence of another and a clearly perceptible attitude toward him.

In spite of the practical difficulties it creates for the grown-up in charge. . . this aggressive behavior is yet the most promising first response from a young child who has not already had plenty of social experience among his fellows. It presages an active and vigorous social life in the not distant future-- under careful handling (Isaacs, 1933, p. 232).

It cannot, from a developmental point of view, be expected that the child will be able to sustain a stable, reliable relationship with his peers or older or younger siblings. Such a goal is totally unrealistic, and possibly quite damaging. However, if the adult under whose care the young child is placed is wise, tender, and watchful, and the environment is stable, ordered, and replete with possibilities for expression and movement, the normal child's initially hostile response to potential rivals is liable to be transformed into protectiveness and care, or into friendly cooperation. The initial phantasy of danger and exclusion and loss of love gradually loses its grip on the child's feelings as his experience with consistently loving, protective adults expands. These adults continue to value

and cherish him even after the appearance of the rival; hence, the newcomer is not so dangerous an enemy as first perceived.

It is not helpful for the educator to always encourage cooperativeness; there is a developmental need as well as an ethical and pragmatic value to the motive of rivalry. The detrimental and damaging practice of using competitiveness as a spur to intellectual effort, for example, is worthy of condemnation; it is quite another matter to dismiss or disregard competition as a spontaneous element in children's social relations. In games and sports, competition has its place and value, not, however, in activities of skill and understanding.

Competitiveness itself forms the content of a further goal of the nursery school: to utilize the competitive instinct to help children work through feelings of insecurity in the group to a general condition of self-acceptance that permits competent social activity.

Bigness is often a term of value where there are things or persons involved; children of this age (about four years) appear to be particularly conscious of their own "bigness," and frequently show evidence of longing for the freedom that accompanies being big (Murphy, 1937, p. 87).

In addition to being sensitive to relative size of self, others, and material objects, there also appears about this time a sense of the self as being bigger, running fastest, jumping highest, being older. This identification with size is concomitant with patterns of competition and may be couched either in verbal or active terms. Typical samples of such identification are: "I'm bigger than

you," "Bob is the last one," "I reached it first." Age competition is increasingly evident at the time that children begin to grasp simple number concepts: "You're only three and a half. I'm four." In addition competitiveness often centers around objects and abilities: "Look how high I can swing! I'm going higher than you do."

Competition among young children is hardly extricable from their phantasy lives. Much make-believe is involved and objective criteria do not have in any way to support their claims to ability or qualities they decree are theirs. The frequently evident insecurity of four to five year olds in their group may well be at the root of, or at least be closely associated with the need to perceive much of their activity in competitive terms.

It is necessary that the adult in charge be aware of the apparent universality of the competitive instinct; that rather than attempting to suppress it, he permit its expression and be ready himself to point out to youngsters who, for whatever reasons do not do so for themselves, areas in which they surpass their peers.

Intense "angry" reactions are evident in infant behavior; the young child must be encouraged to accept and deal with feelings of frustration and anger.

By the time the child has learned to walk and talk, he has also come to the realization that his mother and father have lives that are separate from his own: they do not exist solely for him, nor are they constantly at his beck and call. This separateness of mother and father, with its inevitable meaning that

they will not meet all his wishes, brings frustration, anger, and rage. Very young children and infants display this rage by cries and gestures, defiance with bowel movements, biting the mother's breast or other people's fingers, passionately refusing food. Older children can to some extent voice feelings in words as well as in acts. Isaacs' observations of children indicate that when language is not checked, children express their rage intensely and vividly. They say to adults or other children who thwart their desires, regardless of their general love and devotion to them, "I hate you!", "I'll kill you!" This hatred is evidently not a settled disposition, but is more intense and transitory; it may be, however, the source from which an abiding disposition of hate will grow if the rage impulses attach to a single person, for example, the mother, who habitually evokes them.

We can greatly increase the child's hate and give it a hold over him by despotism or lack of thought and understanding; or we can lessen it by patient friendliness and steady love. But we cannot rule it out altogether (Isaacs, 1929, p. 83).

The stimuli to anger are as diffuse and varied as the spectrum of its modes of expression.

The most important stimulus to anger seems to be some kind of blocking, thwarting, or frustration of a child's motives. Any motive might be involved, from his wish to get an attractive toy and to play with it, to his wish to keep his mother for himself and for her not to leave him (at home with the sitter, at the nursery school, in bed in his room by himself, etc.). In other words, anger results not from some specific kind of situation, but from any of

countless situations in which some significant motive in the child's life is blocked and he is prevented from fulfilling the demand of that motive (Garrison, 1959, p. 229).

The intensity of the emotional response can be assuaged by turning the child's attention from the unachievable desire to a substitute motive that is attainable. What is critical in all of this is that the child learn to accept his natural and undeniable feelings of anger, defiance, and destructiveness, than to deny their existence, or bury or dismiss them as wicked, diminishing, or unnatural.

It has been noted in Chapter Three that a child tends to love one adult when there is another to hate. This way of separating his confused dual images of his parents as "good" and "bad" by projecting them unto two separate real adults greatly aids the child's relations with adults. It permits him

to build up real situations of common activity and cooperation with the person toward whom he is feeling love and trust, whilst the possibility of expressing his hostility to another in safety gives him the chance of testing out his aggressive and retribution phantasies in reality, thus lessening their hold upon him (Isaacs, 1933, p. 393).

It is the sense of frustration and anger that is very often the initial impulse leading the child to turn from his infant's way of clinging to parents to asserting and feeling his independence, to turning toward the social world where he finds others with whom to enter into relationship.

As the young child takes his first tentative steps in the world of others, he is beset, in varying degrees of intensity, by feelings of inferiority, general anxiety, and guilt and shame. The educator's task thus includes creating an

atmosphere and providing the opportunity for relationships in which a child can work through these often unconscious feelings.

Much of the hostility and aggression displayed by young children has no immediate identifiable stimuli. It is sometimes defined by them as playful; more often gestures, tone of voice or facial expression (even in cases of verbal aggression) make it obvious that the attack is very real, that definite emotions of fear, anger, hatred, or contempt are involved. The "fun" element, the gaiety or excitement accompanying the attack, are partially direct expressions of sadistic pleasure of attacking. They also serve to minimize the assault, there being no harm intended, and hence also to deter retaliation.

The very need to "hit in fun" is in itself the need to prove that it is safe to do so, the need to test out deep sadistic phantasies in real experience (Isaacs, 1933, p. 244).

Playful attacks are often a safety-valve for unconscious aggression accompanied by overwhelming anxiety and/or guilt.

Outbreaks of moody and unprovoked aggression, which often contain elements of chronic rivalry, are clearly connected to a diffuse sense of relative powerlessness or ineffectiveness. These feelings of inferiority commonly find outlets in hostile assertions of superiority or in pretending to be grown-up or superior. The severity of children's judgments on the achievements of each other springs from the support they need themselves against their own "babyishness," tears, clumsiness, and lack of control. They castigate in each other

the very feelings they are struggling against in themselves.

They can only dare to be mild and tolerant of the weaknesses of others when their own impulses of anger and fear are more firmly leashed, and their own skills more securely won (Isaacs, 1932, p. 80).

In the aspect of inferiority, moody aggression, though involved in the relatively simple motive of seeking power--in this case social and moral rather than physical prestige--is more interwoven with guilt and shame. In observing young children it is often quite difficult to say whether inferiority or guilt and shame are dominating motivations.

Isaacs suggests that the single major source of unprovoked aggression is unconscious guilt and anxiety. Moreover, she cites psychoanalytic data to establish that the "sense of guilt, or, more strictly, the deeper anxieties that represent the forerunners of the sense of guilt, do develop spontaneously in the child's mind, whatever be the precise nature of his educational experiences" (p. 371). Environment can, of course, stimulate and intensify the budding sense of guilt by severe treatment, or it can mollify and diminish it by mild methods of training and teaching. Adults who encourage, recognize, identify, and praise a child's emerging skills and abilities at mastery in either the physical or psychological worlds, contribute to his own acceptance of himself as a capable and worthwhile person.

In view of these factors, it is important that the nursery school provide tasks for the child that stimulate him to develop greater skills, but which are

not so difficult as to frustrate him or so easy as to leave him unchallenged or unexcited. It is evident how diffuse aggressiveness diminishes as skill and self-confidence increase.

Another area that demands the attention of the educator is the child's struggle with the conflict involved in the owning-sharing dialectic. The child needs to learn with the help of the adults in his world to deal appropriately with his possessive impulse to have things all for himself; he needs to be led from the impetuous assertion, "I want it now" to a trust that makes "taking turns" a conceivable option.

As preface it must be stated that there should be possessions that are clearly the unique property of an individual child, for example, his teddy bear, his coat, his set of blocks, his play area. Over these possessions he has absolute dominion with the right to keep the object in question exclusively to himself, to choose to share it, to decide to take it back. The child needs to know that he, like adults, has a domain over which he exerts control.

The issue here is to lead the ego-centric child to the pragmatic realization that most of the world is to be shared with others and that control over distribution of commonly-owned, but exclusively desired goods is a mutually arrived at decision. However, the educator should not press too energetically at high standards of unselfishness; it is more effective in both the practical and psychological realms to recognize the child's rights as a private owner and to respect his possessions just as adults expect him to respect theirs.

The satisfaction of having things all one's own is deep, the chagrin at others' having more than oneself very bitter (Isaacs, 1933, p. 221).

The universality of such responses and their residual power under training suggest strongly that they are innate modes of response to certain types of situations, though the degree and manner of expression vary among children.

Conflicts appear in large numbers in all of these groups of children. Conflicts over property, including snatching another child's toy, molesting or aggressively attacking another's toy, arguing about property rights, are considerably greater among three year olds than conflicts in which an attack on the child's person is the starting point (Murphy, 1937, p. 65).

The impulse for possession, with its intrinsic tie to motives of power and rivalry, is essentially a social dynamic and not merely a reaction to the physical objects with which the child's world is filled. The value of the desired object lies not in its inherent worth but in its ability to satisfy a personal need, and that need can be understood better in terms of powerlessness than of possession. The primitive view of the child sees that only if what he needs to satisfy him is unequivocally his, can he feel safe, that is, empowered. To have less than others, especially peers, to lack what they have, is to experience oneself as weak, unimportant, helpless, and perhaps most critical, as unloveworthy.

It is the responsibility, then, of the educator to create an atmosphere of trust and support in which the young child can learn for himself that gratification is deferrable; this may not bring with it pleasure, or even acceptance, but

an understanding that: I can wait, I can share, I can sometimes do without, and still be loved, and still be powerful in my own world, with my own friends.

The child learns that others can be loved without diminishing the love he himself receives. In short, he learns to share. The learning experience has deeper implications than this socially polite evaluation suggests. Sharing is not a social gesture with a mild emotional implication. . . It is. . . at first charged with strong feelings of love, resentment, jealousy, and rivalry, feelings that finally fuse into a comfortable sharing that is emotionally rich. The struggle that is finally resolved gives depth to the experience of sharing and shows up the shallowness of polite social learning (Josselyn, 1955, p. 333).

The mode of intervention is not so much that of reconciling conflicts--most children can do that for themselves--but of identifying in the adult's behavior and value system the real separateness of regard for a youngster's whole range of accomplishments and of his possessions or dominance over goods or even persons. That accumulation of possessions and authority over them is a negligible achievement in view of more valued qualities, such as, skill at certain tasks, compassion for others, respect for others' property or products, cooperation, the courage to say or do what one wants, is a lesson learned most readily by seeing it embodied in the adults whom the child loves and respects.

It should be remembered that imagination, time concepts, and understanding of future results hinging upon present conduct are not so much developed at this age (three years); it is difficult for a child to give up a toy, even temporarily, because his grasp of "five minutes" is so poor. Probably the important thing to recognize is that these patterns of sharing, where there is plenty

to be shared, are important foundations for later sharing which may involve temporary or permanent sacrifice (Murphy, 1937, p. 73).

In a world dominated by adult power and authority it is a function of the child-centered nursery school to provide socially acceptable means for children to express their need for personal power, that is, to offer new models and/or accept the children's own ways of dealing with their sense of powerlessness in an adult-dominated world.

Isaacs describes an adult's recollection of his childhood:

To be a child was (for him) to be defenceless against untold dangers; and it was to be bad, since it meant being full of fear and rage and envy and forbidden wishes (Isaacs, 1933, p. 230).

The child's power phantasies must find outlets of one sort or another. Overt physical aggression is the most obvious mode; however, close observation often reveals elements of the power struggle in make believe games of "cops and robbers," soldiers and Indians, etc., in "playful" teasing (which may well be viewed as real aggression on the part of the recipient), in threats ("I'll cut you up and eat you!"). In most of these power infused situations the child, in reality or in his imagination, does to others what he feels has so often happened to him. It is important, then, that the nursery school give him the opportunity to live through some of his dreams of power, that it permit, and in some cases encourage him to get "on top of things," literally to climb, to be "bigger than you," to be in a position of supreme control. The young child perceives rightly

that a huge portion of his life is lived under direct or indirect domination of others; it is vital for him to experience in some segment of it a real sense of potency--that he can somewhere exercise power over an otherwise all-impinging, seemingly omnipotent world. "While the child needs and wants love and security, he does not want them to interfere with his impulses, his freedom, or his preferred ways of acting" (Allport, 1955, p. 34).

A development that is initiated about the time the child takes his first steps and utters his first words, and which rapidly accelerates with time, is the ability to sublimate. As the young child's poise and skill in the use of his hands for making and doing expand, as he is better able to express his phantasy life in drawing, story-telling, modelling, dramatic play, as he is better equipped to explore the real world, he is not only acquiring real abilities and broadening knowledge of his universe, but he is also discovering indirect and satisfying expressions for aggressive impulses and is identifying in himself real sources of power and competence. These sublimatory activities, which will more and more expand in his life, accelerate his social development by deflecting and diffusing anxiety.

It is a familiar fact to any experienced teacher of young children that children's emotional relations with each other improve as their actual skill in activity and expression grows (Isaacs, 1933, p. 396).

The role of the nursery school in this area is once again to provide a general environment and specific occasions for children to exercise real power

and to have full control over what they're doing. It is also essential that the adults in charge recognize themselves and identify for individual children the new abilities, skills, and competencies that are constantly emerging through their work, play, and interaction with others.

The child accepts and indeed seeks the leadership of grown-ups even in that microcosm most peculiarly his domain, the nursery school. The adult should be sufficiently sensitive and perceptive to capitalize on the children's freely granted acceptance of his leadership in order to assuage their early fears of rivals and feelings of guilt, and to establish an ordered environment within which children can expand the social dimension of their personalities.

Though many memorable moments of a child's life center on traumatic expressions of hostility and fear, it is usually the warm and loving feelings that dominate and sustain the fabric of his existence and provide a consistent background for long periods of happy play. The adult, though occasionally the object of the child's rage and aggression, is most often comfortably accepted as the group leader; young children regularly regard the grown-up as a referent, pointing out to him his accomplishments, looking to him for approval or disapproval, expecting from him encouragement, advice, support, and an ordering of the environment.

They (children) seek to help the grown-up in charge at the moment maintain the order of the schoolroom, and offer loving appreciation of her services. They find tranquility in obeying her behests, and follow happily what suggestions she

may make for composing their differences or furthering their practical aims. Under her influence as a leader, the whole group draws together in mutual tolerance and often in mutual helpfulness (Isaacs, 1933, p. 267).

This readily granted leadership role is understandable when we recognize that the guiding adult eases the child's inner tensions by relieving him of the burden of checking his own disruptive, often overwhelming tendencies. Hence, children gain a sense of security from the leadership of an adult, provided that he perceive sensitively their needs and that his rules and the limits he establishes follow the natural lines of social growth. As the children's projected super-ego, the educator in the nursery school has the responsibility to help them to be good and to make good again those whom in moments of rage they attempted to vanquish. If he is tyrannical, governing severely by decrees and injunctions and does not encourage and support the children in their efforts to redeem themselves after what they view as enormous transgressions, then he can neither allow them the happiness of fresh starts, nor in general further their social maturation. He may keep disruptions and episodes of intense aggression in check, but unless he provides an environment that stimulates creative abilities, unless he fosters active social skills, thus demonstrating his confidence in the innate goodness and the unlimited possibility of redemption, he cannot form a social milieu for his charges that is expansive and nurturing.

She (the educator) is a true educator only when and in so far as she becomes the parent who offers the means and the encouragement to

make good. . . It is her proved mildness, reliability, and love which enables the children to pass from the defiant, obstinate phase of growth to this of friendly trust and free cooperation (Isaacs, 1933, p. 271-272).

The adult's status may even create and sustain a larger group than would spontaneously arise from the impetus of the children themselves. Ten or twelve children may thus experience a true group feeling for brief periods and for specific purposes, for example, for a game, a meal, a dance, a schoolroom clean-up. However, this genuine sense of group is hardly possible with a considerably larger group or for an extended period of time. The appearance of a group, necessarily enforced by a rigid routine or built upon fear and inhibition of spontaneity, is to be shunned as educationally barren and socially limiting.

The child who attends the nursery school in his young years brings to the staff there the challenge and satisfaction of entering in a significant way into the process of his maturation and growth. Social development, which has long been taken for granted as a fundamental aim of the nursery school, has been discussed theoretically in Chapter Three of this study, and in Chapter Four has been analyzed in terms of identifying and discussing goals for educators in order to provide specific guides for inclusion in curriculum of this essential element of the child's growth. Positive learning experiences in the realm of social interaction can be identified and provided for in the rich environment of the nursery school.

The stages of development of the individual child in learning to play with other children, as he adapts to nursery school over a period of weeks, provide dramatic evidence of the effects of this experience on the child's social adjustment. His increasing ability to await his turn, to share materials, to consider the needs and wishes of other children, all point to the fact that something important is being achieved in helping him to live successfully with others. The increasing capacity to take social initiative, as children become more experienced in group living, is not a simple characteristic accounted for by the experience alone, of course; maturation is also taking place, and sometimes it is difficult to separate maturation effects from those improvements brought about purely by good learning experiences. But the learning is there and can be demonstrated (Gardner, 1964, p. 325).

Social learning can be promoted and enhanced by a wide range of high quality materials conducive to social development as well as by social contacts with other children and adults, thus giving the nursery school the opportunity to further healthy social growth.

For the child who enjoys a normal affiliative groundwork, and who successfully enters the more advanced stages of socialization. . . the foundations of character are established by the age of three or five, only in the sense that he is now free to become; he is not retarded; he is well launched on the course of continuous and unimpeded growth (Allport, 1955, p. 33).

CHAPTER V

THE OUTREACH OF THE STUDY:

SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH AND IMPLEMENTATION

If affective objectives and goals are to be realized, they must be defined clearly; learning experiences to help the student develop in the desired direction must be provided; and there must be some systematic method for appraising the extent to which students grow in desired ways (Krathwohl, et al., 1964, p. 23).

Several developmental-linked goals for fostering healthy social growth in young children have been identified and discussed. It now remains to view what has been proposed regarding practical means of translating the goals into operational modes of working with children. It is also imperative, pragmatically and theoretically, to look at the material presented with a view to validating its assertions through detailed research.

The description of the goals presented in Chapter Four demands their incorporation in an open, flexible environment by educators who are well-trained in developmental theory and group techniques, and who are perceptive, sensitive, intelligent, responsible persons. The evident follow-up of this study, then, is: the development of the goals identified into specific curricular strategies and the training and selection of educators who are personally equipped to encourage

and foster social growth in students on an individualized and on-going basis.

Current educational thought is replete with child-centered models sufficiently flexible for the inclusion of humanistic goals. Indeed, the "romantics" in the field emphasize the realization of personal potential, emotional and psychological as well as intellectual, as the purpose of schools and teachers. The descriptions and prescriptions of such contemporary educators as Dennison (1969), Kohl (1969), Holt (1964, 1967), Kozol (1972), Herndon (1968, 1971), Hawkins (1969), all underscore strongly and intensely the centrality of personal growth and positive self-concept in the learning process. Each of their descriptions are unique and unreproducible; however, they do provide a rich reservoir of ideas, skills, and encouragement for the educator willing to step out of the traditional, teacher-centered, authority-oriented frame. Carl Rogers outlines the broad objectives of these educators and captures their fervor and excitement:

To free the curiosity; to permit individuals to go charging off in new directions dictated by their own interests; to unleash the sense of inquiry; to open everything to questioning and exploration; to recognize that everything is in process of change--here is an experience I can never forget (Rogers, 1969, p. 105).

Contemporary educators hold no monopoly in the field of child-centered education. Tolstoy, in The Pedagogical Essays (Wiener, tr. 1967) and Rousseau, in Emile (1957), set forth philosophies of education precursory to and often more radical than the moderns. Montessori (1967), Froebel (Lawrence, ed. 1969),

Neill (1960), and Dewey (Ratner, ed. 1939) are presently viewed as pioneers and models in establishing their educational philosophies on the inherent human drive toward growth and learning.

More systematic attempts have been made to outline specific components of an affective curriculum. Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook II: The Affective Domain (1964) clarifies and tightens the language of educational objectives in the affective domain. The authors succeed in identifying objectives and placing them within an over-all scheme or matrix. Though the goals discussed in this study go unmarked in the Taxonomy (essentially because the authors neither address themselves to younger children nor to development-linked goals) the outline and procedures they employ are invaluable tools for curriculum specialists who are involved in the almost unexplored field of development-related affective curriculum design.

Louise Berman's New Priorities in the Curriculum (1968), Weinstein and Fantini's Toward Humanistic Education (1970), George Brown's Human Teaching for Human Learning (1971), among others, describe specific curricular models which have as their clearly defined content human emotions and processes. Weinstein and Fantini's generalization can aptly be applied to much of the motivation and work involved in the development of humanistic curricula:

Significant contact with pupils is most effectively established and maintained when the content and method of instruction have an affective basis. That is, if educators are able to discover the

feelings, fears, and wishes that move pupils emotionally, they can more effectively engage pupils from any background, whether by adapting traditional content and procedures or by developing new materials and techniques (Weinstein and Fantini, 1970, p. 10).

The flexible environment exemplified by the British Infant School's open classroom model offers humanistic educators an already existing design within which to integrate their concepts about affective curriculum content. Susan Isaacs' Malting House School and Lois Murphy's Sarah Lawrence Nursery School and the Child Development Institute (New York City) are clearly environments which place a priority on supporting and fostering the normal intellectual, emotional, and physical growth of children. There is presently a plethora of printed material describing the philosophy, content, processes, techniques and methods of the open classroom model. Children and Their Primary Schools (The Plowden Report), a two-volume report by the Central Advisory Council for Education, England (1967), is an authoritative descriptive and evaluative work on the subject. Some others that detail different aspects of the integrated day, the flexible environment, and the family-type grouping are: Blackie in Inside the Primary School (1967), Kohl in The Open Classroom (1969), Channon in Homework (1970), Marshall in An Experiment in Education (1963), Featherstone in Schools Where Children Learn (1971).

In addition to the British modeled open classroom, there are many other proposals for child-centered learning environments; Kozol's Free Schools (1972), Neill's Summerhill (1960), Glasser's Schools Without Failure (1969),

Gattegno's What We Owe Children (1970), are examples.

What may be expected to emerge from this study is an explicit curricular design that incorporates the goals identified into a total growth-oriented environment for young children and a training model for educators that will help form and select adults who can function comfortably and effectively with a curriculum built around the emotional development of children.

If the goals for fostering the social development of young children are to be realized to any significant degree, it is evident that educators have to be personally equipped to deal with the emotional side of their students' lives. They can no longer limit themselves to the technical application of methods in a fairly mechanistic fashion; rather, they must be able to use their unique talents and personal style flexibly so as to achieve satisfaction both for themselves and their students.

Training in the helping professions, such as medicine, social work, teaching, counseling, is moving rapidly away from the development of specific competencies to concern with the formation of creative, thinking human beings able to use themselves, their knowledge, and the resources at hand to deal with complex situations.

The "self as instrument" concept. . . means that individualization of instruction we have sought for the public schools must be applied to these (teacher education) programs as well. It calls for the production of creative individuals, capable of shifting and changing to meet the demands and opportunities afforded in daily tasks. Such a

teacher will not behave in a set way. His behavior will change from moment to moment, from day to day, adjusting continually and smoothly to the needs of his students, the situation he is in, the purposes he seeks to fulfill, and the methods and materials at his command (Combs, 1965, p. 9).

Since it is clear from the above description and from the findings of modern psychology that the individual's self-concept is critical in determining his behavior, then teacher education programs must be concerned with the kinds of self-concepts teachers-in-training are developing. Research is the source from which the needed data about the kinds of self-images that characterize successful teachers are to be supplied. In the field of counseling, A. W. Combs and D. W. Soper (1963) have demonstrated that successful counselors view themselves as "more adequate, trustworthy, worthy, wanted, and identified with others" than their less successful colleagues. C. T. Gooding's study (1964), which compared successful and unsuccessful teachers, concurred with Combs and Soper's findings about the importance of self-concept.

The need to understand precisely the significance of positive self-concept in both the process of facilitating growth and learning and in the very process of growing and learning, is central to the entire mission of the humanistic educator. Investigation into the correlation between a strong, positive self-image and healthy, self-actualizing patterns of social behavior is demanded by this study and by much of the curricular work being done in the field of humanistic education. Teacher education programs themselves should also be thoroughly examined with a view to their effect on the self-concept of their students.

The study implies several methods of utilizing both the theoretical knowledge of child development and practical ways of preparing would-be teachers for work specifically oriented toward fostering the natural growth of young children, in this case, their growth as social persons.

Video-tapes of real situations in carefully chosen nursery schools may well prove a highly flexible tool for teacher education programs. The various phases of social interaction will be observed and possible roles of the teacher in such situations elicited from the students. Video-tapes of the students themselves interacting with children is a method that allows the students to see and study themselves in pivotal situations.

Role playing of various social situations that occur in the nursery school by trainees may also form part of the teacher education program. The student who has "lived through" and reflected upon a variety of adult-child roles may possibly experience heightened empathy, and so be better prepared for more sensitive, appropriate sets of responses than students who have not actually "felt" what it is to be a participant in such situations. Training could also involve trainees' sharing from past and present situations which simulate the emotional tone of the child in growth situations so that their behavior is governed not only by cognitive appreciation of the identified goals, but also by the insight afforded by one's own history and participation and recalled affect.

It is clear that research is called for to test out the assumptions underlying what has just been outlined. Control groups, that is, trainees who have participated in programs such as a traditional cognitively-based, theory-oriented program, or in a competency-based field experience program, can be matched with trainees who have participated in a video-tape and/or role playing type training program. Such research itself must be based on an explicit understanding of the nature and description of successful teaching in a humanistic environment.

In addition to the theoretical study of child development, this study makes clear the need for inclusion within the teacher education framework of training in the techniques of participant-observation and in systematic observation. These skills are prerequisites for implementing any curricular design that involves working with the emotional side of the child's personality. The participant observer, while carrying on all his normal responsibilities as a member (or in this case, leader) of a group, also notes interactions between himself and the others or with the group members themselves. Systematic observation is identified, not by the manner of the observation, but by the content selected for observation. Specific behaviors or types of situations are identified for study and isolated for observation from the welter of activity in the environment. Humanistic educators must be able to perceive clearly and evaluate with some precision the degree and rate of the child's maturation in order that they may nurture his growth along the continuum of development.

The critical import, as has been noted in the study, of the presence of more than one adult in the classroom, and the increasing number of classrooms in which more than one adult functions either part or all of the time, as para-professionals, teacher aides, curriculum specialists, student interns, etc., strongly indicates the need for regarding the educator as a partner rather than as an isolated authority in a world of children. The consideration of the teacher as a co-worker with other adults has received some recognition in the team teaching concept. However, this study identifies another aspect of the situation, namely, the effect on the child of the simultaneous presence of two adults for him to enter into relation with. Isaacs has described the positive psychological effect of the child's being able to displace onto separate adults the love-hate dialectic that so often disturbs his relations with his parents. Scientific investigation of this mechanism as well as of many others flowing from the presence of more than one authority figure is becoming increasingly pertinent and necessary. Teacher training programs, if they are to realistically prepare students for the world of the classroom, must incorporate explicit experiences and analysis of the results of such two-adult situations on both the success of the teacher and on their effect on the children's growth and learning.

There is a need to select carefully the teachers who are to function in a humanistic environment with young children. Research may be conducted with the goal of testing the effectiveness of various selection procedures, checking

correlation of the testing procedure and the eventual success of the teachers selected. There may be a comparison made of two or more groups selected with different criteria in mind, for example, selection based on recommendations, grades, projective techniques of testing, or panel selection and selection based on criteria which have been shown to predict the success of therapists with patients in psychotherapy.

Because humanistic education takes as its basic content data from psychology and psychotherapy, and because its broad goals (that people fully realize their potential) are related to the goals of psychotherapy, then those factors which predict success in psychotherapy may also predict positive growth in a humanistic environment. The roles of outcome variables associated with the likelihood of improvement in psychotherapy, such as, intelligence, social class, age, sex, environmental factors, settings, and conditions have all been rather thoroughly investigated. Therefore, research into the possible relatedness of significant patient variables and student variables as outcome predictors may well prove a short cut to discovering which children are better disposed to growth in a humanistic environment. The results of such study would maximize the efficiency of humanistic approaches, and could prove an important source of criteria in both the selection of students for humanistically oriented learning centers, and in their subsequent placement in classes with certain types of teachers.

Another series of investigations has examined the effect upon outcome of more inherent characteristics and qualities of the therapist. These include studies of interaction effects of therapist-patient characteristics where such studies exist. Such variables as therapist sex, therapist-patient sex pairings, therapist interests, therapist liking for the patient, therapist personality, and therapist-patient personality similarity have been subjects of fairly extensive research (Meltzoff and Kornreich, 1970, p. 294).

Similar research involving the above-mentioned and/or other outcome variables in regard to the educator-student relationship would be of use in selecting teachers to work in a humanistic environment and in matching them with students.

Underlying the operational and developmental problems in the field of humanistic education in general, and in this case, in the area of social growth in young children, lies the fundamental question of which goals or changes are desirable and appropriate for individual children in specific life situations.

The philosopher as well as the behavioral scientist, must find ways of determining what changes are desirable and perhaps what changes are necessary. If we are to muster the tremendous effort and resources required to bring about basic changes in the more complex affective behaviors, we must be certain of the importance and desirability of these new objectives. . . . We must find ways of understanding and determining what objectives are central and significant if we are to sum on the appropriate effort to achieve these more complex objectives (Kratwohl, et al., 1964, p. 90).

A further facet of this question is what humanistic goals society will permit and foster. American society fluctuates greatly in regard to the affective objectives it will permit in its schools; it has been known to severely criticize the school's entering into any areas apart from the cognitive and the physical.

A central research problem posed by the identification of educational objectives related to the social development of young children, as it is of most educational goals flowing from the affective domain, is how to evaluate these goals with validity, reliability, and objectivity. Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (1964) have cited many techniques for appraisal, but they themselves agree that there is a vast amount of work to be done in the area of affective education before testing techniques there measure up to the clarity and precision of testing in the cognitive domain. This paper, then, can be justified alone as an incentive for further research on the evaluation of affective objectives in the broad field of humanistic education as well as in the specified field targeted by the paper. It is logical that only as educators understand more fully the outcome they expect from the work that is done with children can they develop curricula that will enhance the lives of children and will foster healthy personal development.

We are of the opinion that, as better evaluation instruments are developed, we shall be able to see much more clearly what types of environments and learning experiences produce change and which do not, or at least to understand better the conditions and limitations for change in the affective domain. More important, perhaps, is the utility of the evaluation techniques in making more explicit what is meant by a particular

objective, so that one may come to perceive much more concretely what the goal or objective really is as well as some of the requirements for its attainment (Krathwohl, et al., 1964, p. 87).

There is a tendency in the humanistic education field to pursue amorphously described goals with a burning intensity that presumably makes up for the lack of specifically identified outcomes. This is a pivotal problem and until it is investigated in both the theoretical and the practical orders, humanistic educators will continue to diffuse their energies and abilities in an unorganized effort to promote the affective growth of their students. It is essential that speculation be replaced by proven theory, and argument by scientific evidence. Researchers need to show the relationship of specific learning experiences to clearly defined personal changes in the affective domain. Pace and Stern (1958), employ several techniques through which educational environments may be studied and evaluated. Such techniques may be utilized to discover the degree to which affective objectives are influenced by specific learning situations. It is also important to investigate the relative influence of the school and the out-of-school environments on the attainment of objectives.

Darley (1938) strongly indicates that the long term assimilation of affective changes that result from experiences in school is a function of how early in the individual's life the change took place, how deep-seated the learning has been, and the environmental forces experienced by the person during his school and post-school years. This area is an obvious focus for further research

if humanistic educators are to cultivate meaningful and lasting changes in their students.

Though the relationship between traditional academic learning and psychosocial health remains unresolved in scientific circles, it may be demonstrated through research that cognitive achievement does correlate to a wide variety of personal needs. Some of these needs are debilitating, that is, reinforcing neurotic patterns of behavior, others are facilitating, that is, reinforcing healthy patterns. Achievement modes can then be broken down into personally facilitating and debilitating patterns by individualized scales. That is, it can be explored and identified what are facilitating modes for specific individuals.

As a result of such an investigation, exercises can be developed through which student behaviors can be viewed in terms of whether they are facilitating or debilitating achievement patterns. The educator then determines modes best suited for growth, individually and personally. No Procrustean Bed is prescribed. Older students can view their own behaviors and determine for themselves the style of learning that best suits their unique selves. The educator acts as a facilitator, interpreter, or sounding board for the student's own self-analysis.

Investigation of the accuracy of the continuum of social development needs to be carefully scrutinized. This is especially true of the scales developed by the "rating school." They need to be tested for the degree of applicability of their precisely defined age categories through extensive, notated observation of children in natural settings. For example, is the three-year old the essentially

conforming being that Gesell suggests he is; is the four-year old as limitlessly active and exuberant as the developmentalists invariably describe him or are there not perhaps consistent periods in his day of quiet relaxation, of calm.

The social patterns of children in cognitively-oriented nursery schools in comparison with children's patterns in child-centered, affectively-oriented learning centers also offer a significant area for investigation. For example, one could identify the relative ability of such subjects to assume the stance of another, that is, the degree of their ability to identify with others. From such an investigation could be revealed the possible degree of influence of the type of early school experience on the social development of children. A further study could involve the degree of social maturity of children who enter elementary school without prior school experience.

It has been noted in the study that the mechanism of identification plays a pivotal part in the social maturation of young children. The parallel therapeutic process through which identification modes are dealt with in psychotherapy is transference. The humanistic educator, like the therapist, should be able to develop and use the transference dynamic as a vehicle for positive growth. It is important, then, that research on transference and counter-transference be conducted in regard to the adult-child relationship during the early years when this identification mechanism first appears. It is possible that the different modes of interacting and relating that transpire within the classroom, especially

the nursery school classroom, may have significant immediate and long-range consequences. It is important, then, that there be established ways of categorizing the varied dimensions of these interchanges.

Once again educational researchers can look to the investigations into the therapeutic relationship between patient and therapist for possible leads to research into student-teacher relationships. Surprisingly, however, little research on the central therapeutic phenomenon of transference has been conducted. Moreover, there are glaring contradictions among the research that does exist. The automatic assumption that the therapist represents symbolically the parent receives little scientific support (Harrow, Astrachan, Becker, Detre, and Schwartz, 1967; Snyder and Synder, 1961; Sechrest, 1962).

In addition to the mechanism of identification, the study has suggested that other aspects of the interpersonal relationship between the teacher and child may influence the social growth of the child. It was indicated that the educator may function as a role model for the child and that the former's personality and manner of dealing with existential situations may well influence significantly the latter's direction of growth. Investigation into the psychotherapeutic relationship shows evidence, though it is hardly indisputable, that the personality, values, and meaning systems of the patient tend to shift in the direction of those of the therapist (Sheehan 1953; Farson, 1961; Rosenthal, 1955; Nawas and Landfield, 1963).

Research in the field of psychotherapy as well as education demands far more comprehensive and exhaustive studies of the phenomena of identification, transference and role modeling.

There obviously are further fields needing close investigation if curricula dealing directly with the nurturance of human growth are to be effectively translated into living, working environments.

An attempt has been made to focus upon the aspects of man's self which make him an ongoing system of energy capable of movement in a variety of directions. The task of education is to aid the person in harnessing his energies in such a way that he is able continuously to bring his new insights into line with a view he is developing of himself. His idealized and his actual self are in constant movement. Furthermore. . . man is responsible for his own mental and physical health and has the obligation to help foster the human community where each person is concerned for the other (Berman, 1968, p. 2).

This study has addressed itself to social development as it may be affected by the interactions and relationships of young children and adults in a nursery school situation. Though the study, thus, has clear delimitations, nevertheless, it is hoped that the presentation of realizable, development-linked objectives offers the educator of young children defined, practical goals toward which to direct his energies and attention.

The goals outlined in the study are hardly all-encompassing; rather, they are a sampling of possibilities which may give direction to others, curriculum designers and educational researchers, for example, who are

committed to seeing curricular outcomes relevant to the developmental continua of children's lives. The attention in the study has been turned toward a specific way of viewing children and of identifying educational experiences for them; it is hoped that the dimension of humanness which has been explored will lend itself to fruitful reflection and further probing.

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