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WHY TEACHERS FAIL

Many contemporary experimental psychologists of the first rank are unwilling or unable to translate their discoveries into language that will make them useful to teachers who must apply the principles of learning in the classroom. B. F. Skinner, Edgar Pierce Professor of Psychology at Harvard, is one notable exception, much that I has to say about the processes of learning bears directly upon classroom practice. The paper that follows is based upon investigations supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health and by the Human Ecology Fund. It is adapted from an address given to the Philosophy of Education Society.

By B. F. SKINNER

THE most widely publicized efforts to improve education show an extraordinary neglect of *method*. Learning and teaching are not analyzed, and almost no effort is made to improve teaching as such. The aid which education is to receive usually means money, and the proposals for spending it follow a few, familiar lines. We should build more and better schools. We should recruit more and better teachers. We should search for better students and make sure that all competent students can go to school or college. We should multiply teacher-student contacts with films and television. We should design new curricula. All this can be done without looking at teaching itself. We need not ask how those better teachers are to teach those better students in those better schools, what kinds of contact are to be multiplied through mass media, or how new curricula are to be made effective.

Perhaps we should not expect questions of this sort to be asked in what is essentially a consumer's revolt. Earlier educational reforms were proposed by teachers—a Comenius, a Rousseau, a John Dewey—who were familiar with teaching methods, knew their shortcomings, and thought they saw a chance to improve them. Today the disaffected are the parents, employers, and others who are unhappy about the products of education. When teachers complain, it is as consumers of education at lower levels—graduate school authorities want better wilege teaching, wilege teachers work to improve high-school curricula, and so on. It is perhaps natural that consumers should turn to the conspicuous shortcomings of plant, personnel, and equipment rather than to method.

It is also true that educational method has not been brought to their attention in a favorable light. Pedagogy is not a prestigious word. Its low estate may be traced in part to the fact that under the

blandishments of statistical methods, which promised a new kind of rigor, educational psychologists spent half a century measuring the results of teaching while neglecting teaching itself. They compared different methods of teaching in matched groups and would often say that one method was clearly better than another, but the methods they compared were usually not drawn from their own research or even their own theories, and their results seldom generated new methods. Psychological studies of learning were equally sterile—concentrating on relatively unimportant details of a few typical learning situations such as the memory drum, the maze, the discrimination box, and verbal "problems." The learning and forgetting curves that emerged from these studies were never useful in the classroom and came to occupy a less and less important place in textbooks on educational psychology. Even today many distinguished learning theorists insist that their work has no practical relevance.

For these and doubtless other reasons, what has been taught as pedagogy has not been a true technology of teaching. College teaching, indeed, has not been taught at all. The beginning teacher receives no professional preparation. He usually begins to teach simply as he himself has been taught, and if he improves, it is only in the light of his own unaided experience. High-school and grade-school teaching is taught primarily through apprenticeships, in which students receive the advice and counsel of experienced teachers. Certain trade skills and rules of thumb are passed along, but the young teacher's own experience is to be the major source of improvement. Even this modest venture in teacher training is under attack. It is argued that a good teacher is simply one who knows his subject matter and is interested in it. Any special knowledge of pedagogy as a basic science of teaching is felt to be unnecessary.

The attitude is regrettable. No enter-

prise from school—"The dropout is a legal treat."

prise can improve itself to the fullest extent without examining its basic processes. A really effective educational system cannot be set up until we understand the processes of learning and teaching. Human behavior is far too complex to be left to casual experience, or even to organized experience in the restricted environment of the classroom. Teachers need help. In particular they need the kind of help offered by a scientific analysis of behavior.

FORTUNATELY such an analysis is now available. Principles derived from it have already contributed to the design of schools, equipment, texts, and classroom practices. Programmed instruction is, perhaps, its best-known achievement. Some acquaintance with its basic formulae is beginning to be regarded as important in the training of teachers and administrators. These positive contributions, however, are no more important than the light which the analysis

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Table of Contents Why Teachers Fail

1. Understanding the eBook Why Teachers Fail
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Why Teachers Fail
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Why Teachers Fail
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Why Teachers Fail
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Why Teachers Fail
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Why Teachers Fail User Reviews and Ratings
 - Why Teachers Fail and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Why Teachers Fail Free and Paid eBooks
 - Why Teachers Fail Public Domain eBooks
 - Why Teachers Fail eBook Subscription Services
 - Why Teachers Fail Budget-Friendly Options

6. Navigating Why Teachers Fail eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Why Teachers Fail Compatibility with Devices
 - Why Teachers Fail Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Why Teachers Fail
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Why Teachers Fail
 - Interactive Elements Why Teachers Fail
8. Staying Engaged with Why Teachers Fail
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Why Teachers Fail
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Why Teachers Fail
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Why Teachers Fail
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Why Teachers Fail
 - Setting Reading Goals Why Teachers Fail
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Why Teachers Fail
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Why Teachers Fail
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements

- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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