

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The education of American workers is especially crucial at this time in this country's history following the shift from an industrial to a post-industrial economy. Until this study there had been an absence of research studying the career of corporate education for workers -- how conditions accompanying past changes in the economic base of the United States had influenced employer-provided education and the development and purpose of this form of education. Historians had studied and talked about how the transformations in the American economy had changed work but not about the way people had labored and learned in workplaces during the industrial and post-industrial eras. Contemporary historians had begun to look more intently at the changing workplace, but still offered only brief, limited explanations of isolated aspects of education for workers. This increasingly important subject of employer-provided education is addressed in this study.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

American workers are continually adapting and changing their skills and knowledge in response to new technological and organizational requirements in the current post-industrial era. This time is not the first time, however, that American workers and their employers have faced this dilemma. Over 150 years ago, with the advent of the industrial era in the United States, fundamental changes altered the whole character of the workplace and, consequently, the education of workers. The workforce then was faced also with a similar transformation -- that of learning new skills and acquiring new knowledge to adapt to the new technological and organizational industrial environment.

Dynamics of the Changing Workplace

Several contemporary authorities (Drucker, 1969; Toffler, 1980; Naisbitt, 1984 and 1990; Young, 1986) have traced the economic development accompanying the transformations from an agricultural-based to an industrial-based to a knowledge-based economy and have identified how certain conditions -- economic, political, technological, societal, ideological, and structural -- were related to the changing nature of the workplace and, consequently, education for workers. These conditions acting both alone and in combination, though not necessarily working in concert, have influenced the workplace throughout its history.

Some examples will illustrate how these conditions were influential in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when industrialization took hold in the workplace. At this time of

economic expansion, which resulted in the rapid growth of increasingly larger businesses, the new entrepreneurs could easily transform their ideas and inventions into productivity. Further, rapid growth and expansion of increasingly larger businesses occurred before the Federal government became an active regulator of the economy and aspects of the workplace. A technological condition at that time -- production specialization and the growing division of labor in the factories -- resulted in a general deskilling of the workforce. Massive immigration was also occurring, and the immigrants who became factory workers were in need not just of training in job skills but also of education in their beliefs and values in order to adapt their work habits and behavior to the new work environment. Workers' grew disillusioned with the opportunities provided them by the changes in the workplace and expressed that unrest with increasingly frequent and violent strikes. In addition, the new business organizational structures became more authoritarian and bureaucratic, and relationships between workers and their employers became impersonal. These examples reflect how particular economic, political, technological, societal, ideological, and structural conditions interacted to influence the workplace in one specific time period. Variations of the same conditions impacted the workplace during each of the transitions in the economy.

Transition from Agricultural to Industrial Economy

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, America was primarily rural and agricultural. Although some craftsmen and artisans operated small shops and mills outside of their homes, the majority of Americans made their living on self-sustaining farms. These farmers and the small businessmen acted as both producers and consumers only within their own neighborhood markets. In fact, up until the nineteenth century, this country's business enterprises with few exceptions were small, personally managed enterprises where an individual or small number of owners operated a shop, factory, bank, or transportation line out of a single office (Chandler, 1977, p. 3).

The owners and managers of these enterprises were generally determined based on family relationship or money rather than on education or expertise; and, the education of the workers depended upon the particular farm, plantation, shop, factory, or other business enterprise owner and his disposition toward what he thought his workers needed to know. Early informal methods of training on the family farm consisted of farmers passing on their skills and knowledge to the next generation of family members through informal apprenticeship which consisted of casual instruction, guidance, criticism, suggestions, and exemplification. Early forms of education in the shops and factories included apprenticeship and informal training on the premises where a novice exemplified a more skilled worker. These early

methods, still sometimes used today, accomplished their purpose -- they enabled the worker to do his job.

The advent of the Industrial Era brought fundamental changes in the workplace. Although American industry in the 1830's still involved production by a large number of small units, generally with less than fifty workers, with power being provided by natural sources -- water, wind, animals, and humans (Chandler, 1977, p. 62), the changing processes of production and distribution were influencing the workplace. By this time the textile industry had pioneered in integrating the production process under one roof by combining spinning and weaving within a single mill; and, mid century, the United States Armory at Springfield not only integrated the production process but was the first works in this country to develop extensive internal specialization of jobs and use practices and procedures which would later be taken up and perfected by practitioners of modern scientific management (Chandler, 1977, p. 75).

A revolution was occurring in transportation and communication systems. The nation's first railroad boom began in the late 1840's, and 70,000 miles of track were in operation by the 1870's and 200,000 miles by 1900 (Chandler, 1977, p. 88). Work was transformed as business enterprises expanded in size to take advantage of the new manufacturing methods and the developing power, transportation, and communication systems which allowed mass production and distribution. Between 1850 and 1870, the economy shifted from the early industries of the Industrial Revolution such as cotton and textiles, coal, and railroads, to different industries including steel, electricity, chemicals which required a different workforce.

Industrialized Workplaces

Although small shops and factories remained where people continued to work as craftsmen, specialization of work had occurred in many production processes which resulted in an increasing need for unskilled laborers rather than artisans and craftsmen. In addition, the increasingly larger factories required workers able to adapt to and function in an impersonal work environment -- one where they did not have a close or personal connection with the owner. This transformation from an agricultural to an industrial economy resulted in new means of production; and, employee training and education became important as a means for businesses to adapt to these new methods of production.

At the same time as the industrialization process occurred, factory owners also had to contend with a new workforce of both immigrants from other countries and migrants from the rural areas. During the time period from 1840 to 1930, 37 million immigrants migrated to this country. This, the largest influx of people to one country ever recorded (Young, 1986, p. 327), provided a source of relatively cheap, unskilled labor for the growing factories. The

agricultural sector was also waning as farmers were having difficulty making ends meet. By 1880 the farm population had dropped to 48.8 percent, to 42.5 percent in 1890, and to 37.7 percent in 1900 (Cremin, 1988, p. 470). Many of these new workers were not prepared by schooling, nor had they acquired the work habits needed to get along in the factories and business establishments.

Prior to 1860, businesses had not been concerned with managing productivity, but the new businessmen were quickly learning that to increase productivity they had to look for new ways to manage employees. Not only had the transformation of work from man to machine changed the educative role of the employer from that of simply apprenticeship and on-the-job training to other means, but workers' behavior had changed also. That workers were unhappy with their situation in the workplace was evidenced by their lethargy, absenteeism, insobriety, rapid job turnover, and the growing numbers of strikes. Between 1880 and 1900, nearly 23,000 strikes affected approximately 117,000 businesses -- an average of three new strikes a day (Brandes, 1970, p. 1). To create a more stable business environment the new businessmen began experimenting with new forms of worker training and education to give workers the habits, elementary literacy, and skills that they needed to be productive in the new workplace.

Transition from Industrial to Post-Industrial Economy

The same crisis was to occur with the advent of the post-industrial period in the 1950's when, for the first time the number of white-collar workers outnumbered blue-collar workers. In 1860 the single largest group of workers had been farmers, in 1940, industrial, but by 1960 the largest group had become knowledge workers -- professional, managerial, and technical. This transformation from an industrial-based economy to a knowledge-based economy represented a discontinuity in the economy as great as when the new industrial organizations which came into being between the 1865 and 1914 (Drucker, 1969, p. 40). Knowledge, as it replaced experience as the base for employee capacity and performance, placed increasingly greater demands upon worker education.

The Ideal Worker -- Changing Phenomenon

Employers believed that the ideal worker is created by combining the right skill, knowledge, and experience to enable employees to contribute productively. This combination, never limited to strictly technical skills and knowledge, has varied over time, depending upon the needs of the economy. The ideal nineteenth century factory worker was described as being, ". . . thrifty, clean, temperate, intelligent, and especially industrious and loyal" (Brandes, 1970, p. 33). The knowledge-based society no longer needs these standardized, reliable, predictable

workers but rather employees who can act as partners with their employers in a shared venture in a culture of collaboration, creativity, and individual initiative (Perelman, 1984, p. 43).

As the workplace has changed and the pressures on the workforce to produce have escalated, workers have been recognized as a form of human capital and their development has become more important. As America changed from an experience-based to a knowledge-based economy, the importance and kind of employee training and education have both changed and increased. Between 1948 and 1966, 22 percent of the growth in America's total productivity was attributed to employee education and training; between 1966 and 1977 this percentage had grown to 77 percent (Perelman, 1984, p. 1). The value of employees or human capital is determined by the basic education, technical job skills, general education, and values and motivation possessed by employees; these skills, knowledge, and developmental attributes can be acquired through employee education and training.

The activities intended to transmit these skills, attributes, and qualities to employees may be grouped into four areas of learning: basic education, job skills training, general education, and personal and professional development. These four areas, constitute the domain of employee education and training in both the industrial and post-industrial eras. How these four areas began and developed to form the pattern of business education for employees and how and why they changed in response to the changing nature of the economy was the subject investigated in this study.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

No studies had yet treated the historical development of and types of employer-provided education for workers -- basic education, skills training, general education, and personal and professional development -- and the context in which they developed. Historical studies had given only cursory attention to how economic, political, technical, societal, ideological, and structural conditions, which accompanied the change in the nation's economy from an agricultural to an industrial and from an industrial to the post-industrial economy, had impacted the corporate education of workers. Historians have only offered explanations for the development of particular areas of workplace education in specified time periods. They had not created a synthesis of isolated data and information contained in diverse sources to create a synthesis of the varied programs of employer-sponsored education. This study remedies these deficiencies.

The problem investigated in this study is: How has employer-provided education for workers in the United States developed from the time industrialization transformed the workplace in the decades following the Civil War to the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy?

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To answer the broad question posed above, several subordinate questions were framed which guided the study through each of the two major time periods the study addressed -- industrial and post-industrial -- which transformed the workplace:

1. What kinds of employer-provided education -- basic education, job skills training, general education, and personal and professional development -- developed, what were they called, and for whom were they intended? What was the purpose of the programs or activities?
3. How did economic, technical, political, societal, ideological, and/or structural conditions influence workplaces and the interests of employers and employees?
4. How did major agents of influence -- business, labor, government, and/or other individuals and organizations -- impact the decisions that were made?
5. Who were the deliverers of these programs and what was their relationship to the agents of influence?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The historical development of employer-provided education for workers in the United States remained unexplored. A lack of knowledge persisted as to what education was provided, what it was called, for whom it was intended, what its purpose was, and how and by whom it was delivered. No synthesis of the different configurations of employer-provided education existed which assimilated influencing factors. Historical attention ignored the employer and employee conditions associated with the development of workplace education or whom the major agents of influence were -- employers, employees, government, and reformers, among others.

Nadler wrote (1979) that a satisfactory history of HRD in the United States was yet to be written; he discussed the difficulties in writing a history in the absence of a clearly defined field (p. 18). Standard programs and practices did not exist. Definitions and labels not only changed over time, but their use in the same period varied among businesses and industries. As working conditions varied greatly among business organizations, so did the educational programs which they provided for their employees. This lack of standardization and consistency created challenges depicting the development of this heretofore unexplored area.

This pioneering study integrates information and data relating to past practices of employer-provided education and the conditions associated with its evolution and development to arrive at a synthesis of how corporate configurations of education developed to provide training and education for workers. Through this process, the study identifies, compares, and

defines boundaries for the four areas of education for workers examined in the study -- basic education, job skills training, general education, and personal and professional development. This study is the first to examine how various conditions influenced the interests of employers and employees, who the major agents of influence were and how they impacted the development of corporate education. This study fills a void in historical knowledge about the practice of corporate education for employees, an area which to date has received little historical attention in spite of its rapid growth and increasing importance.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of the literature review was to determine to what extent and how comprehensively the history of the field has been investigated and how existing studies were organized and framed. Literature came from two areas: a) existing historical studies of education of workers and, b) studies of business methods used to control employees, which the authors contended were a beginning of modern-day employee training and development. Studies of human resource development practice were reviewed and analyzed. They included those which encompassed the entire history of the United States or which covered only a single activity and concept or a specific period of time and those which were included within histories of adult and general education.

Histories of Education for Workers

A review of histories of education revealed two kinds of studies: those that traced the education of workers from the colonial period to contemporary human resource development and others that either described a restricted time period or a particular activity within a larger framework. The more comprehensive studies were generally cast as mechanical stage theories with the author chronologically listing and briefly describing events and activities he or she attributed to the development of the field from the colonial era to contemporary times. These studies, however, while depicting many of the same events and activities, differed in their approach and characterization of the development.

Leonard Nadler (1970), who has played an important role in the evolution of contemporary human resource development as a field of practice, wrote the most comprehensive history of human resource development in the United States, which traces it from pre-colonial days to contemporary times. Written as the introductory chapter to his book Developing Human Resources (1989), first published in 1970, he renamed the field human resources development (p. 33). Nadler presents a much broader concept of these activities than this study. He believes that human resource development began in the United States when the Native Americans transferred their skills to the next generation and to the pilgrims; he includes

such events as the slaves being educated as artisans in the South in the 1800s and the immigrants exhibiting ability to achieve and cope with change during the late 1800s and early 1900s. He gives credence and importance to these and other participants' roles in responding to the needs of the continually changing and developing nation.

Nadler's periodization scheme encompassed approximately nine different time periods ranging from the early days of the Native Americans to the high technology developments in the workplace in the 1980s. The first period described how the Native Americans used human resource development to sustain their culture. The second period included the arrival of the pilgrims in New England and the colonial days. Of interest to the present study was how Nadler characterized the industrial period from 1800 to 1891; the era of industrial development from 1891 to 1920; the period of prosperity and depression from 1920 to 1940; the war and postwar period from 1940 to 1950; the period of continuing prosperity from 1951 to 1960; the decade of social concern and changing workplace demographics from 1961 to 1970; and, the high tech period of the 1980s. During each of these time periods Nadler described how what he calls human resource development (HRD) responded to the changing conditions. He included, for example, the new kinds of learning programs such as mechanical and vocational schools in response to the machinery being introduced in the factories in the late 1800s, government-sponsored training programs in response to the economic conditions during the Great Depression, and the innovative training programs in response to the manpower and technical needs during World Wars I and II. Nadler argued that once human resource development was established, it adapted, both in title and function, to meet the changing needs of the workplace to provide for workers with different skills and knowledge.

Floyd Steinmetz (1976), who was active in the development of the human resource development practice as a personnel development consultant and the former president of National Society of Sales Training Executive and the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD), wrote another comprehensive history of training for the initial chapter of *Training and Development Handbook* sponsored by ASTD. Steinmetz, like Nadler, contended that employee training and development, what he labels in his study as training activities, began with early man as they passed on to the next generation their inventions of tools, weapons, clothing, shelter, and language. Then, as human knowledge expanded, the need for training and learning to release human greatness and redress societal conditions increased. Steinmetz characterized training as providing for the social needs of society such as freeing workers from the immediate craft requirements in the 1860s and serving the needs of minorities, older persons, and handicapped individuals in more contemporary times by providing for equal opportunity and nondiscriminatory treatment.

Steinmetz's periodization scheme begins with apprenticeship, guilds, and craft training in the pre-industrial period in the United States. Twentieth century periods, of interest to this study, included the training impetus during World War I, the decline of training applications during the 1920s, governmental programs during the Depression Years, and the growing realization of the importance of training as a part of business including the emergence of the position of training director during the World War II period. The study concludes with a history of the activities of the American Society of Training and Development (ASTD).

Nell P. Eurich (1985), a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Technology, conducted a study of education in American industry and business, in which she, like Nadler and Steinmetz, devoted one chapter to the history of training. Eurich, approached training as a positive response of business to the need for worker education and development. In this history, businesses--whether in their efforts in the textile mills of the 1830's or the human relations theory of management evolving in the 1920s--are characterized as being concerned with the development as the employee as a whole human resource. Eurich contended, as she thematically traced the response of business and public education to the need for a trained, educated worker, "that the education and well-being of this resource has evolved as both goal and justification in the developing modern corporate philosophy of education" (p. 41).

Eurich's depiction of how American industry took responsibility for the educational growth of workers was organized around three themes. The first theme, the need for transformation of workers entering the industrial workplace for the first time and immigrants facing a new world, described the demands for workers with specific training for specific tasks and for workers able to function in the new business organizations in the nineteenth century. The second theme, the role of public education in industrial training and education, depicted how public education responded to the need for increased and improved industrial education through manual training schools and other instruction in the mid to late 1800s. The third theme described how businesses responded to the need for skilled, educated workers through corporation schools beginning in the nineteenth century, corporate education and training for managers in the 1900s, and modern-day corporate colleges. Eurich describes the development of education by industry and the traditional educational system as being parallel movements rather than as being linked together in any major way.

Frank Eric (1988), a European researcher, organized his historical study, an article entitled, "The History of Human Resource Development in the United States," according to the dates of events and programs, many the same as those included by Nadler and Steinmetz, but without using a periodization scheme. Eric suggested that sometime after the Civil War and before World War I worker education in America emerged. He briefly described factory

schools, co-operative education, correspondence schools, training schools set up by unions, and other sources such as the YMCA; and he discussed the impact of World War I and World War II upon human resource development. Eric concluded by looking at the history in the context of present and future human resource development practice in the United States. He suggested that current practitioners can plan for and influence future practice when guided by their understanding of the past.

A brief treatment Gilbert Black's (1979) economic study of trends in management education in which he examined the educational aspects of management development and emphasized its economic growth through his depiction of programs, size and scope, and costs to management. Black, purporting that management development historically been a part of industrial training or business education, organized his history by describing events chronologically. After tracing the history of education in business to apprenticeship in Biblical times, he touched upon vocational education in American high schools, the corporate training school movement in the late 1800s, supervisory training in the early 1900s, and corporate management education programs in the 1920s. Stressing the influence of World Wars I and II upon management development, Black briefly described the development of corporate, university, association, and proprietary programs after World War II, contending that this combination of practical and theoretical experience contributed to the success of the management development movement. These one-chapter treatments and the article constitute previous attempts to trace the development of what is known today as human resource development.

Of special interest to this study is a sociological analysis conducted by W. Richard Scott and John W. Meyer (1991) who paid attention to historical factors. Defining training as a sub-form of instruction which includes both education and training, they explored the social reasons for the emergence and expansion of training programs rather than looking at its chronological development. Meyers and Scott's study looked at training as a dependent variable, examining the conditions and factors in organizations which worked to shaped and influenced the development of training. These included technical explanations, control explanations, polity explanations, and institutional arguments. They used this approach, contending that economic and sociological approaches have previously looked at training as an independent variable with consequences for employees and for organizations--contributing to productivity, stimulating and supporting organizational change, socializing employees and developing employee commitment, and creating a learning organization. Meyers and Scott argued that training, which has evolved into a highly institutionalized form, has developed as a result of the influence of associated conditions. They also contend that, as a practice, training is now highly institutionalized, following taken-for-granted practices rather than being linked to the needs and

objectives of specific organizations. As such, training is used and justified in all kinds of organizational settings, not just as intervention for a specific workplace problem.

Four sources that locate the history of employee education within the larger context of adult and general education are studies by Knowles (1977), Stubblefield and Kean (1989), Cremin (1980, 1988), and Kett (1994). Malcolm Knowles' A History of the Adult Education Movement in the United States (1977) provides a chronological description of the development and evolution of adult education in the United States. This study, the first work to provide a history of adult education in the United States, depicts, as a part of the history of adult education, activities, organizations, and institutions involved with workplace training and education. Knowles treats the history as chronological without interpretation and significance to the larger context.

A chapter in the Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education by Harold Stubblefield and Patrick Keane (1989) not only depicted institutional development which has occurred, but also looked at it within a larger context when they examined both the liberating and the oppressing purposes which adult education has served. They describe the broad array of educational activities and resources available prior to the Civil War, but contend that only a limited segment of society -- free white males -- had access. One particular employee group imbued with these opportunities were male skilled workers and their apprentices who could take advantage of not just technical knowledge but gradually more and more cultural enlightenment such as lectures on social and economic issues. Their description of adult education following World War II also depicted the growing use of adult education in the workplace for economic development. These efforts included programs of the federal government, institutions of higher education, community colleges, and corporate programs. This study touches upon, but does not develop to any degree of fullness, the context within which employee education developed.

Adult education, including workplace training and education, are an important part of Lawrence Cremin's three volume history of education. These histories cover three time periods -- the Colonial Period from 1607 to 1783, the National Period from 1783 to 1876 (1980), and, of special interest to this study, the Metropolitan Experience from 1876 to 1980 (1988). Cremin explored the role of adult education in relation to the religious, political, social, intellectual, and cultural history of the United States during these times, with the underlying premise that one must look at the entire educational experience of an individual or group of individuals before attempting to determine the particular effects of workplace training and education. Cremin depicted changing workplace educational patterns which occurred during this country's transitions from an agricultural to an industrial economy and from an industrial to a knowledge economy. As part of these transitions, Cremin explores the education activities

that the employers, the workers themselves, and others, including state and federal governments, initiated in order to respond to the changing demands on the workplace.

Joseph Kett's The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties, examined vocational education within the framework of adult education from 1750 to 1990. His discussion moved from the tradition of voluntary self-improvement, which was embodied in both the solitary efforts of individuals and their involvement with others in institutions such as the mechanics' institutes, lyceums, and societies in the nineteenth century, to twentieth-century adult education. Within both of these perspectives, he looked at how this education integrated living and learning, taking the form of job training. In his chapter, "From Useful Knowledge to Job Improvement, 1870-1930," Kett frames much of his discussion relating to job training around proprietary schools and, in particular, correspondence schools.

The above studies constitute treatments which either dealt with a segment of the history or treated it within a larger context of adult or general education. They also, with the exception of Knowles' study, interpreted it, at least to some degree, within a larger context. Special note is given to Meyers and Scott whose study brought a sociological perspective to how training developed by emphasizing how environmental factors were associated with its development.

Suggested Roots of Modern Education for Workers

Experts agree that modern employee development practices began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Experts disagree, however, as to the specific events which marked the beginning. Different writers, focusing on particular activities or concepts employed by business during the mid to late 1800s and the early 1900s to provide interventions to change employees' skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values, have contended that the focus of their study was in fact the origin of employee training and development.

One position holds that modern employee development practices began as a part of welfare work, often called welfare capitalism. The proponents of welfare work, which researchers (Brandes, 1970; Kryder, 1985; McCreary, 1968) have suggested as an potential origin of employee development, used philanthropy and humanitarianism, with business acumen, to manage the workplace. Stuart Brandes (1970) presented a comprehensive study of such programs of welfare capitalism including housing, education, religious, recreational, health and pension benefits, social work, and employee representation. His conclusion to this comprehensive study is that, contrary to labor contentions that the purpose of the programs was to control the workers, the programs did provide for learning and improvements for the workers. Kryder (1985) also attributed the roots of modern personnel management to early welfare work when she described the social control which the programs were based upon, but presented the early welfare managers as dedicated humanitarian reformers concerned with

providing for the education and improvement of the condition of workers. McCreary (1968) presented a similar view in his article which described the response of an innovative steel firm to the changing workplace in their social welfare programs which he contended denied personal freedom to the workers yet provided them with many benefits which aided their personal and professional development.

A second position attributed the origins to scientific management, which occurred at the same time as the rise of welfare capitalism. Haber's (1964) study described Frederick W. Taylor's alternative to manage the workplace as contributing to the development of modern human resource development programs. Taylor's system of scientific management, in which he promised to bestow hard work and ample profits in order to provide for workers' interests, greatly influenced management's relationship with employees including how they provided for worker and supervisor training and development. Charles Milton's (1970) research on the emergence and development of personnel philosophies from 1900 to 1939 included Taylorism as having an important impact upon personnel work. He contended that scientific management included approaches for the careful and efficient handling of employees--selection, training, and compensation--which were later incorporated into personnel management, attacking personnel problems by scientific methods. Henry Eilbert's (1959) study also described personnel management, a precursor of contemporary human resource development, as resulting from both welfare work and scientific management.

Another compelling position depicts the multiple origins of the industrial relations function as a root of of employee education. Norman Wood's (1960) study focuses upon the roots of industrial relations which he defines as managerial policies and attitudes toward employees--scientific management; welfare work; governmental actions, namely the restriction of immigration; and, the human relations movement stimulated by the Hawthorne studies.

Another dynamic force driving the development of employee education was the great influx of immigrants during the late 1800s and early 1900s which changed the composition of the workforce and required new educational approaches by factory owners and supervisors, which researchers (Leierson, 1924; Korman, 1967) contend are roots of modern employee training and development. Leierson's (1924) study described Americanization as, ". . . how the immigrant is brought into the web of American life through the formal processes of education, naturalization, and political activity, through his press, his home, his neighborhood, etc. . . ." (p. 5). Korman (1967) linked Americanization to education when he contended that Milwaukee's business leaders fused Americanism to what was then labeled as industrial service work as they intervened to assimilate and develop the immigrant workforce for the American workplace.

Summary

The review of existing histories of education for employees revealed that, with few exceptions, existing histories (Nadler, Steinmetz, Eurich, Eric, Black, and Knowles) are primarily chronologies of training, education, and development events and programs. While none of these studies linked the history of employee education to the transformations in the economy, they did suggest tentative schemes for establishing periods within the industrial and post-industrial periods. Several studies (Cremin, Scott and Meyer, Stubblefield and Keene, and Kett), however, do not treat the histories solely as chronological studies but rather, at least to some degree, interpret it and pay attention to its significance within the larger context of its environment.

The literature review substantiated that multiple historical roots do exist which place the beginning of this study in the period following the Civil War when industrialism transformed the workplace. The authors of studies focusing upon business methods, which they hold to be the beginning of modern-day corporate training and development programs, suggest various origins or roots. They do not offer a synthesis which to any extent integrates these concepts as, in fact, all contributing to the development of the contemporary practice. These multiple roots - - welfare capitalism, scientific management, industrial relations, and Americanization programs -- only suggest sources for the varied and many definitions and understandings currently applied to the practice of educating workers.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

For purposes of this study, the corporate training and education of workers is defined broadly as the configurations of educational programs -- activities, events, and cultural forms which have been planned and sponsored primarily by employers. These programs encompass both training and educational activities, which have been defined differently over time.

The Special Training Schools Committee of the National Association of Corporation Schools (1916) did not distinguish between training and education when they attempted to describe the educational work being carried on by member companies. The committee categorized the great variety of educational programs being reported upon into three fairly distinct classes -- training employees for their present specific work; helping employees to fit themselves for future advancement; and, teaching business as a whole (NACS, 1916, p. 81).

Leonard Nadler divides the field of contemporary human resources into three major areas -- development or Human Resource Development (HRD), Utilization or Human Resource Utilization (HRU), and environment or Human Resource Environment (HRE). Nader defines HRD, the area related to this study, as providing learning for employees (1980, pp. 2-3). Nadler further defines the different kinds of HRD learning as three distinct areas -- training,

education and development -- training focusing on the present job of the learner; education on a future job; and, development not focusing on a job (Nadler, 1992, p. 6).

Richard Scott and John Meyer, *The Rise of Training Programs in Firms and Agencies* (1991), define training and education as two broad categories of or tiers of instruction, the major difference being the extent to which the learning involved is expected to be generalizable across settings -- education being less context dependent while training is more imbedded in context. Training and education are further distinguished -- training as more practical, problem and skill oriented learning with present utility; and, education as theoretical, subject and conceptually oriented, for future utility (pp. 305-307).

For purposes of this study, training and education will be defined as being on a continuum ranging from skills training at one end to educational programs for conceptual, theoretical learning at the opposite end of the spectrum. Corporate educational programs -- encompassing training and educational activities -- are carried out, generally in the context of work, as interventions to change the basic education, job skills, general education, and personal and professional development of employees. Basic education refers to the literacy skills of reading, writing, and mathematics and the fundamental behavior skills of personal discipline and work habits for the work place. Job skills training includes technical and other specific job-related skills needed to perform particular job requirements. General education encompasses general knowledge and cultural enlightenment opportunities and activities that enhance career opportunities but do not necessarily prepare an individual for a specific job. Developmental opportunities refer to educational programs and forms which contribute to both individual and organizational potential by directly or indirectly encouraging, supporting, and providing for an employee's personal and professional growth and fulfillment. These general descriptions of the educational programs are altered or change over time depending upon the historical context in which they occurred.

This definition is not intended to include those vocational programs which developed independent of business and external to the workplace. Neither should the term workplace education be confused with labor or worker education, two terms which are used interchangeably and refer to, "a specialized branch of adult education that attempts to meet the educational needs and interests arising out of workers' participation in the union movement (Freeman and Brickner, 1990, p. 4).

METHOD

This study employed the historical research method to examine how and why educational programs for workers evolved. Historical research provides for the study of a particular situation occurring in a bounded period of time in order to pursue backgrounds and roots and to promote patterns of interactions and interrelationships. As such, the historical method was appropriate to provide for a consistent and objective method to describe and to analyze how and why past patterns of education for workers came about and to examine the context in which agents of influence -- employees, businessmen, politicians, social reformers, educational philosophers, and others -- acted singly and in groups in order to influence the implementation and development of education for workers (Barun and Graff, 1985).

RESEARCH DESIGN

This exploratory, integrative study pulled together from various sources a synthesis which created a more complete and accurate picture of the historical development of the employer-sponsored education for workers. This picture defines and describes the kind of programs of this type of employee education which have taken place in four areas -- basic education, job training, general education, and personal and professional development and how and why these programs developed as a result of the changing economy. The picture was completed by examining the corporate configurations of education for each period, identifying categories of these educational programs, classifying them, naming them, and establishing for whom they were intended and stating their purpose. Another part of the picture was identifying the deliverers of these programs for each time period, how they were selected and what their role was in relation to other participants in the development process. The study explored and examined the conditions associated with employers' and workers' interests which influenced the development of these programs of education during each time period. To complete the picture the study identified the major agents of influence and how they interacted and at times struggled to influence the evolution and development of educational programs representing their particular interests and perspectives.

Two major time periods for the study represent the industrial and post-industrial economic periods in the United States. The industrial era is further divided into two periods -- 1865 to 1914 and 1915 to 1939; the period depicting the transition from the industrial to the post-industrial era is represented by one period -- 1940 to 1970.

Data Sources

This study relied heavily on written accounts of past events, both published and unpublished, for the evidence to pull together out of existing research a synthesis of existing

programs. Published materials included books, journal articles, and published government reports and congressional investigations. Journal articles and books encompassed general studies and investigations of conditions related to the workplace, company and personal histories, and contemporary works studying aspects of employee training and development. Government materials included reports and minutes of congressional investigating bodies such as the House of Representative's Industrial Commission, the Immigration Commission, Bureau of Labor statistics, and the Senate's Committee on Interstate Commerce study. Unpublished materials included United States Government records, minutes of meetings of related groups and committees, and personal papers. In addition, theses, both those studying areas attributed to human resource development and those studying employee and employer relations were examined for the study. Both published and unpublished data provided data about conditions, agents of influence, and the resulting kinds, types, scope, and delivery of educational programs in specific areas. Autobiographical books of pioneering practitioners (Harvey, 1950; Hicks, 1941) were a source for information about programs and the deliverers.

Materials and data were available from numerous repositories in the Washington, D.C., including the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Department of Labor, and the Bureau of Mines. There were also collections of governmental papers located at the Federal Records Center at Suitland, Maryland.

Collection and Treatment of Data

All data, prior to being used, was examined for its authenticity and value to the study. Criteria for selection of this data included time proximity to the event, competence of the author, and purpose (Merriam and Simpson, 1989, p. 73).

The data selected was collected by extensive reading and note taking. As the objective of the study was to form descriptions and explanations that accurately depicted the development of education for workers, adequate data was collected and read. The data, including terms and definitions, was systematically verified by consistently cross-checking against each other. In order to provide for evidence which was probable, inconsistencies were explored by examining additional evidence. Discrepancies between them were specifically noted in the study.

In order to examine the collected data in the most thorough, objective, and systematic manner, it was analyzed, for each time period, according to the conditions which influenced and shaped the development of these educational programs. In order to be as rigorous as possible and to give consideration to all of these conditions, they were selected in such a manner that they were mutually exclusive yet collectively exhaustive of the conditions and forces which provided the context in which the individuals and groups interacted, both in

harmony and in conflict with one another, to influence the workplace and particular programs of employer-sponsored education. Not only did this process link educational programs to the conditions and agents which influenced them, but it also allowed for the possibility of plurality of causes which affected the development of a particular practice of workplace education.

The findings from above were then examined from a time perspective in order to identify and examine emerging and developing patterns of education for workers. These patterns of configurations of education include descriptions of events, activities, programs, and cultural forms which emerged and their context, including the conditions and participants associated with and influential in their development. This type of analysis was used to discover patterns of behavior and the interactions and relationships that occurred within each time period and the patterns of behavior and interactions and relationships that occurred across time periods.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study is organized both chronologically and thematically. This, the introductory chapter, provides background information for the study including the statement of the problem, the significance of the study, and a review of relevant literature. Chapter II gives an overview of American educational precedents occurring prior to the Civil War.

The following three chapters (III, IV, and V) discuss changes in workplaces and employer-provided education for discrete periods between 1864 and 1970. Chapters III and IV detail the background of the problem and findings for two discrete time periods within the Industrial Era. Chapter V describes the transition from the Industrial to the Post-Industrial Era. (Refer to Appendix A, Appendix B, and Appendix C.)

The sixth and final chapter summarizes the previous findings and presents conclusions apropos to the research questions. It brings the study to the contemporary era. While not enough time has passed to historically assess this period, it looks at it in comparison to the prior hundred years to evaluate what changes may be occurring. It closes with some predictions regarding the future. It also contains suggestions for potential areas for future research.