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George I. Sanchez, 1904-1972

Dr. George I. Sanchez was a distinguished Hispanic educator whose career had a profound impact on the education of minorities, bilingual education, and school financing across the nation. He championed justice for all Texans. He was a renowned scholar, beloved teacher, and an inspired leader in the struggle for equal opportunity.

In the fall of 1996, the Board of Regents of the University of Texas approved the naming of the College of Education Building in his honor. From this moment forward, the preparation of teachers and administrators at the University of Texas at Austin will forever be associated with the name of George I. Sanchez.

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The Ninth Annual William E. Drake Lecture

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE ORIGIN OF PREJUDICE IN CHILDREN

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On Prejudice

Prejudice. Being down on something you are not up on. A vagrant opinion without visible means of support. And so goes the popular vein. The academic definition is a little different: a negative feeling toward a group based on a faulty generalization.¹ While the popular conception talks about cognitive stuff only, the academic adds the affective domain - the world of attitudes. Three dimensions seem clear: (1) a cognitive component that is faulty and irrational; (2) a negative affective component; and (3) one based on the other. Prejudice is irrational because the information it is based on is inaccurate or insufficient to serve as an objective basis for any valid conclusion. We assume that what may be true about the whole is also true about each of the parts. We fail to make necessary qualifications or differentiations. Driven by the natural need to classify incoming information (otherwise we could not think) in order to render the world meaningful, we blow it. We classify stimuli into sets, overestimate the similarities among the members within a set, and overestimate the differences among the members of different sets. The result is a world view of sets existing apart from each other. No part of A is B, and no part of B is A. They just exclude each other. To the prejudiced person reality is separateness, differences, incompatibility, dissonance. In some areas of life there are no concentric sets with a common area. Men are different from women. And the two shall never meet. Blacks are Blacks. Latinos are Latinos. Neither is white. And that is the way it is. Irrational thinking in prejudice constitutes the rationale for prejudicial attitudes: apprehension of outgroups, distrust, fear, discomfort. Although not necessarily so, these attitudes easily translate into behavior based on prejudice: avoidance, withdrawal, verbal hostility, individual acts of unfairness, physical attacks, and ultimately, genocide. Prejudice is not something we do. That is discrimination. It is something we think and feel.² A word of wisdom here. We are not prejudiced because we are evil but because we are human and it is easy to fall into it. The infrastructure of prejudice is not moral depravity, but our regular thinking mechanism that just went wrong. The prejudiced child uses the same schemata for justifying prejudice and thinking about it as he/she uses for justifying anything else. So it is with adults. And so it is with children.³

On Prejudice as Learned

Prejudice is learned. If there is a role for genetics, this role is not clear. Since it is difficult to isolate these two dimensions for the purpose of research, we may never know. Comprehensive reviews of the literature on the origins of prejudice in children have concluded that very little is DNA related.⁴ While psychologists talk about the prejudiced personality, its development is explained almost exclusively in environmental terms.⁵ However, some cognitive schemata associated with prejudice, such as "dichotomic thinking," may be a little more influenced by heredity. Perhaps. Both Piaget and Kohlberg conceive their developmental stages as being 'natural.' But it is not clear if they mean inborn, or partially inborn and partially environmental.⁶ And the seemingly universal discomfort of very young children toward strangers has also been cited as an example of an inborn predisposition toward the initial stages of prejudice.⁷ All in all, however, prejudice appears to be an environmental issue and is treated as such.

On Ingroups

The same environment that welcomes the child into this world supplies the fertile soil for the development of prejudice. The household becomes a part of the new child and he/she becomes a part of it. Within this setting, the concept of group develops. Prior to the age of three, normal children already know "this is my group," "it is a good group," "I like it," "I like to be with them," "I enjoy doing the things they do." In Allport's words, "children have found people lock-stitched into the very fabric of their existence."⁸ Both child and family become 'we.' Thus the ingroup is born. By age three there is already group identification. These are the people children are loyal to. The child is so much a part of them that the self could not be itself apart from the family.⁹ Children may be unhappy with events or persons at home, but home is all they have. Without the family (the bad included) they cease to exist as individuals because they are the ingroup.¹⁰ Their attachment is basic to human life. Without it the child cannot live. It also goes from family to child. In every society on earth the child is regarded as a member of the parents' group,¹¹ and is normally expected to assume the patterns of

thinking and codes of behavior of the parents, as well as share the manner in which the family is treated by the larger group. The family's social handicaps are the child's handicaps. Although it happens, it is not often that a child by the age of five will repudiate the ingroup and aspire to be a member of another. Later in life other ingroups will arise and the child's allegiance may shift, but during the pre-school years, a lot of the child's identity is tied up with the family. It is ironic that something as basic as this attachment can provide the right soil for the development of prejudice. But it does.

On Modeling

One significant way in which the family affects prejudice is through modeling. Children learn to behave largely through observation and imitation of models. If models behave in an accepting and respectful way toward others, children are more likely to do so themselves. Models seem to exert their more powerful effects on children below the ages of 7 or 8.¹² The perfect cross-cultural model is one who (1) accepts as natural occurrences obvious physical differences among people without dwelling on them or making them the basis for their judgment; (2) treats everyone fairly and equitably; (3) helps and gives, states how important it is to do so, and encourages the child to do the same.¹³ By 7 to 9 years of age children can spontaneously verbalize the rule to follow when interacting with 'others.' So they act accordingly even if the rule is not modeled. In contrast, younger children are still formulating the rule and finding out under which conditions they should apply it. Thus they look to adult models for information about where, when, and what types of behavior are appropriate.¹⁴ Not all models affect children's willingness to imitate their behavior. Being warm and affectionate has more effect than being cool and aloof. Having a warm and affectionate relationship with at least one parent is more likely to produce modeled behavior. Whichever parent the child sees as powerful will serve as an effective model because the child wants to be like him or her. Only this way will he or she be able to be powerful and respected.¹⁵

On Outgroups

Not too far from the ingroup - the 'us' - is the outgroup - the 'them.' In some cases, each is defined in terms of the other. From a very young age, children are aware of strangers. By the age of six months or so, babies usually cry when a stranger picks them up or gets close to them. Even at two or three months a baby usually withdraws and cries if a stranger tries to get close too abruptly. This shyness toward strangers may last well into adolescence. In some cases way beyond

that. Of course, strangers do not remain strangers long. After a little while, children get used to them. They have just become familiar.¹⁶ They are no longer 'out.' But as long as strangers keep on being 'them' and not 'us,' they remain out of the child's comfort zone. Within the ingroup children feel secure. Life is 'good.' With strangers, there is suspicion, fear of the unknown, discomfort. Life is 'bad.' The 'us' is positive and nourishing. The 'them' is uncertain, negative and scary. This almost mathematical formula [ingroup : comfort :: outgroup : fear] binds the cognitive and affective worlds of the child just as tightly as it does with adults. The thinking process that leads to prejudice is already there, although prejudice may be a little way off.

On Social Grouping

As children mature, they become aware of categorical differences among people. Children can discriminate between male and female picture faces as early as five months of age.¹⁷ A few months later they can match voices to the faces.¹⁸ By the time they are three years old, most children are able to sort photos on the basis of gender,¹⁹ and to use gender labels for themselves and others accurately.²⁰ Early in their preschool years (2 years old) children can point accurately to people who are black or white,²¹ and define themselves as black or white. This sorting and labeling becomes more accurate during early childhood and extends also to other ethnic categories,²² and to physical attributes such as weight,²³ or mental qualities such as being smart, or religious identity such as "he doesn't love Jesus." Slowly but surely the child's world becomes one of sets. People don't just exist. They exist as part of groups. There is an 'us' and a 'them.' I have my group. They have their group. My group and their group are not the same. This social categorization is part of growing up in society.²⁴ As such it has little direct bearing upon prejudice, except that in the process of categorizing it is easy to think of the sets as being really different. The common elements of the 'us' and the 'them' are somehow lost. Only the differences are real. And so, slowly, a natural cognitive schema that gives the world around us some meaning, becomes the cognitive diving board into prejudice. But that is not all.

On Valuing Outgroups

Social categorization does not stop at dividing the world into contrasting groups. Now the merits of the ingroup and outgroup are compared, and the child makes the decision to think highly or not, to like or not like. While loyalty to the ingroup does not necessarily bring out hatred toward outgroups, often children view members of the ingroup favorably and members of the

outgroups with disfavor.²⁵ The reasoning may go like this: (1) I and my group are good; (2) These other people in that group are very different; (3) If they are that different, they must be bad. The first reaction at about 2 and a half years of age is curiosity. Also possible is a nebulous sense of inferiority associated with black skin. By the age of four this sense is more prevalent.²⁶ And outgroups may be seen as bad, weak, ugly, stupid; or worse, weaker, uglier and dumber than my group. So children strongly dislike them or think less of them.²⁷ Preschool children show strong bias in favor of their own sex when asked to choose playmates²⁸, favor classmates over unfamiliar children for school tasks²⁹, choose more negative adjectives to describe 'others'³⁰, and show clear bias toward other ethnic groups.³¹ At times the prejudice is self-directed toward the ingroup, with Black children showing preference for whites over African Americans.³² Once a person is given a place within a negatively perceived outgroup, he or she is disliked also just because of group membership. This process of identification with one's group, social categorization, and negative feelings toward others based on the judgment "I'm better, smarter, cleaner...." is already prejudice. Children are not just ready to jump into the prejudice pool. They are in it.³³ Not all children, however, apply the same process the same way. That is why some children are prejudiced and others are not. Those who are not still categorize and choose to like or not like. But their categorization is rational: they see differences as well as similarities, they do not see the categories as being totally apart, they allow for individual differences within groups and unifying elements across groups. And if they dislike, they dislike persons, not groups or persons because of group membership. Selective dislike of an individual based on real or perceived shortcomings is not prejudice ("I hate him. He's mean." "Watch. She'll stab you in the back."). It is natural dislike of someone.

On the Limits of the Home Environment

As powerful as the home environment is in the development of prejudice, there is no inexorable connection between prejudice and the family. While Piaget accepted that the younger child's morality was largely a matter of uncritical acceptance of adult prescriptions, he was also the first to argue that all morality is not imposed by the group upon the individual and by the adult upon the child.³⁴ Instead, as the child understands more how the world works, he is likely to see that rules imposed by parents are flexible and should be changed. At times only one of the parents is prejudiced, and the child 'sees' two ways of looking at others. Siblings, friends, other family members,

neighbors, and day care classmates or teachers may well neutralize the effects of bias at home. And so will positive, enjoyable individual experiences involving outgroups. It is easier to neutralize a future prejudice before it has developed than to change it in later years when the schemata are fossilized and looking at things 'this way' is almost second nature.³⁵

On How the Home Develops Prejudice

There are two ways for the child to become prejudiced: by directly adopting the attitudes and biases of the home, and indirectly by living in an environment that breeds a prejudiced lifestyle.³⁶ These ways are not 'either/or.' Parents who teach children specific biases may also train them to develop the cognitive schemata and feelings that constitute prejudice. The line between being biased against a group and having a biased personality is not clearly defined. Once prejudice starts, it is difficult to know when it will stop. Like a computer virus, it may infiltrate all of the hard disk or just part of it. When children adopt prejudice from their caretakers, they emotionally merge with what parents like or dislike, and simply internalize the parents' world and make it their own. They can easily pick up signals: words, tone, kinesics. All these are cues eagerly sought and decoded. When prejudice develops as a result of the 'right' home atmosphere, parents need not express their specific prejudices. The way they handle their children, the general trust-distrust climate, the caring-uncaring level of interaction, the democratic v. dictatorial type of discipline provide the appropriate environment for group prejudice. A home that is suppressive, harsh or overly critical puts the child on guard. Watch for power. They can hurt me. Someone is not equal here. I cannot trust me to do what is right. I don't trust them. I am afraid. When raw authority dominates human relationships at home, feelings of tolerance, acceptance and well being are alien to the child's world. So apprehension, distrust, fear, dislike, hatred become a way of life, and these feelings are easily transferable to other groups. We are almost knocking at the door of prejudice. All it takes now is the application of negative schemata to social groups, and there's prejudice.

On Prejudice as a Moral Issue

There is a moral aspect to prejudice.³⁷ To do good, to do right, to do what is proper, to do what is expected of us - this is to act morally. To do evil, to do wrong, to do what is improper, to do what we are ordered to refrain from doing - this is to act immorally. How a white child thinks, feels and acts toward a black child or a black child toward a white child is perceived by one as being good or bad by both. In this sense, prejudiced

behavior is more than just a social convention or a cognitive misfire. Excluding another child from a birthday party goes beyond social conformity. It is nice and good to invite others. It is not nice to invite 'him.' Not inviting others like him is the norm. It is what we should do. It is therefore good. Four researchers on moral development, Piaget,³⁸ Kohlberg,³⁹ Damon,⁴⁰ and Eisenberg,⁴¹ place preschool children generally too low on the developmental scale to reach a stage where altruism, differentiation and equality equate moral behavior. Others disagree.⁴² Here is a moral dilemma a la Kohlberg. At the onset of prejudice, the child moves through two levels of moral development: the Preconventional and the Conventional, and through four stages. During these first years solutions are based on unquestioning conformity to social norms. Stage 1. If I don't conform, I'll be punished. Stage 2. I'll still conform; but now it is because I'll get something in return: "I'll invite him if..." Stage 3. "By not inviting him I will be considered a nice, trustworthy, loyal person." Stage 4. "I cannot invite Blacks to Whites' parties because if I do, the whole system of getting along will break down." Thus adherence to the social norm seems to be a guiding principle of what is right.⁴³ If the child is in an environment where bias and prejudice are the norm, this is what is good. It does not matter that much whether the origin of prejudice lies primarily with the family or with the natural stages of moral development. The two are so closely intertwined that it is most difficult to separate them for the purpose of analysis.⁴⁴ What is somewhat disturbing is that to a Stage 4 child who is already prejudiced, who lives in a home where prejudice abounds, bias seems like what yet is Kohlberg's moral person: one whose moral choices reflect reasoned and deliberate judgments that ensure justice be accorded each individual,⁴⁵ or Gilligan's passionate concern for the well-being and care of each person.⁴⁶ The child is just too young and is not ready to reach such a high level of altruism. But he/she can be ready.

On How the Moral Stages of Prejudice Change

The first stage of Piaget's moral development (heteronomous = under the authority of another) is about 5-10 years of age. Before then, children have little understanding of social rules or the reasons for following them. The Piagetian concept of reciprocity, "treating others as we would want to be treated"(p.196), is not present before the age of 5.⁴⁷ Even then children understand reciprocity as "an eye for an eye ..." The New Testament interpretation is not present until later in childhood or early adolescence. Thus reciprocity, that could be used to limit prejudice, is not operable in

children. But the understanding of rules enter their lives. At 5 or 6 they start having great respect for rules. To them rules are fixed, cannot be changed, are created and handed down by authorities. To break them would be cheating. They are sacred and have existed since the beginning of time.⁴⁸ Children feel this way because of (a) the coercive power of the authority figures; (2) their egocentric philosophy which says that since they see the world in a certain way, all others also see or should see it the same way, therefore there can be no exceptions; (3) if they break the law they would be punished as certainly as nature punishes violators of the rules of nature. At this stage there is moral absolutism. There is only one correct viewpoint.⁴⁹ Everyone automatically adheres to it. While at first how the child feels about 'others' is externally imposed and controlled by direct instruction, supervision, and the rewards and punishments of authority figures, eventually children will internalize principles and rules for acceptance or non-acceptance of 'others,' taking over the responsibility for regulating their own principles of interaction. This shift to internalization will allow children to interact with others in an acceptable fashion in the absence of adult monitoring and vigilance. Thus the stage is set for the adoption of relatively permanent general standards that govern the way they think and feel about groups with many people, across many settings, and over a wide variety of situations. At this stage, prejudice needs not be the best 'world view' or the 'in thing' or the accepted way to look at others. By the age of seven or so, children may go beyond a morality based on blind acceptance to authority and the satisfaction of own needs to a higher level based on 'needs of others.'⁵⁰ So prejudice may decline as the child functions in the elementary school.⁵¹ The child is naturally advancing to the next stages of cognitive development. And is moving away from prejudice.

On Factors Other than the Home

It takes more than just a skip and a hop when moving to the next stage of cognitive and moral development. There are environmental forces at work here. Some will help. Others will hinder. According to Piaget, peer interaction is one of them. A major one.⁵¹ Experiences with peers encourage children to take the perspective of others. Since they live in a culturally diverse world, they are confronted with opposing viewpoints. This is good. Exposure to peers' different value systems stimulates racial critical thinking.⁵² There is also peer popularity, participation in social organizations, and service in leadership roles.⁵³ All this helps. Social success in pluralistic settings breaks down cognitive barriers. Peer discussion and role-playing of moral issues in the

classroom and teacher-led discussions of moral dilemmas tend to facilitate children's passage from a lower to a higher moral stage.⁵⁴ Piaget, Kohlberg and others believe that cognitive conflict is the fundamental ingredient of change in moral understanding.⁵⁵ This means cognitive disequilibrium, exposing children to conflicting information just ahead of their present moral level. This challenges them to revise their reasoning in the direction of more advanced thinking. On issues related to prejudice, some may do just that. Others, burdened with fossilized attitudes and ways of thinking, will not. They will be the most prejudiced of all. Perhaps the home environment is still too intruding. If the home is not verbal, rational, affectionate, and promoting of a cooperative lifestyle, it would be more difficult to advance to a higher moral stage. Children may not be encouraged to contribute actively to family discussions. And parents may not be more advanced in moral reasoning themselves. They may also not be educated to the level where global understanding and social change are considered primary values.⁵⁶ These are negative forces that retard moral development. And foster prejudice.

On the Prejudiced Personality

Is there a prejudiced personality? Allport for one says yes. Emphatically.⁵⁷ Others call it an 'authoritarian' personality. Allport does not get into the inborn v. environment issue. He simply describes it based on numerous studies up to 1953. Certain children by age 5 already show such a personality. Such children tend to feel that there is only one right way to do anything. They better watch out because somebody is ready to get them. Only people like themselves should be happy. They are ambivalent toward parents - they love them, and fear them. Obedience, punishment, and real or perceived rejection are big items in their lives. And so they are anxious, and this anxiety is reflected in their judgments of others. They don't tolerate human weakness as they don't tolerate outgroups either. Conventional 'good' traits are important, even overriding: cleanliness, good manners, style. The world is a dichotomy: right or wrong. Unable to accept that there might be some of both in themselves, they cannot see it in others. This is not how they think when they are being prejudiced. This is how they think about anything anytime.⁵⁸ Their tolerance for ambiguity is almost zero. They need clear, simple, firm answers. If there is no order, they will impose it.⁵⁹ If confronted with a new way of looking at things, they stick to the old, tried way as if only the past can provide safe anchorage. Whenever possible they latch on to the familiar because only the familiar is safe and definite. When accused of being biased ("You hate

boys"), they are convinced that it is they who hate her.⁶⁰ They attach themselves inordinately to institutional groups because only in them can they find safety and order.⁶¹ They are loyal members. And they are extremely patriotic. Authority is welcomed since they basically distrust human beings. Everyone is to be distrusted until they prove themselves trustworthy.⁶² This is essentially what the prejudiced personality is like. It seems to be miles away from the upper stages of Piaget's and Kohlberg's levels of moral development or from Maslow's self-actualizing individual. And it is deeply imbedded in what the child is. As Allport said, "Prejudice is more than an incident in many lives; it is often lock stitched into the very fabric of personality. In such cases it cannot be extracted by tweezers. To change it, the whole pattern of life would have to be altered."⁶³ And this means sometimes at the age of 5!⁶⁴

Summary

Children are prejudiced. Prejudice is not instinctive. It is taught and learned. It is learned from family, peers, and the social environment. Its most important source is conformity to home environment. Prejudice is taught directly or the child picks it up through many verbal and non-verbal messages. Parents teach individual prejudices and help develop a prejudiced nature, being prejudiced as a lifestyle. Some home environments particularly affect the development of prejudice: quarreling, violence, little or no affection between parents, rejection of the child by either parent, suppression, cruelty, over critical, domineering. It is within this way of life that the child goes through the stages of moral development. Prejudice is a moral act because it deals with what is fair and what is not. In a social morality the role of 'me' v. the role of 'you' is paramount. In prejudice it is the role of 'us' v. the role of 'them.' The prejudiced child goes through several stages: fear of strangers, racial awareness, identification with 'my' group, identification with what 'my' parents feel, total rejection of outgroups, selective rejection of outgroups, reconceptualization of how I look at the world, and final choice: to be or not to be. Some will be prejudiced. Others will not. This is how prejudice begins.

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ENDNOTES

1. Both Allport (1958) and Pettigrew (1980) agree with this conception of prejudice. There can be, of course, positive prejudice as in the case of the blind ingroup allegiance among gang members. Most social prejudice, however, involves negative feelings toward outgroups.

2. At best there is a mild correlation between moral reasoning and action. In Kohlberg's (1984) Heinz dilemma, two people may reason at the same stage, but one will choose to steal the drug and the other will not. The relationship between moral understanding and moral behavior is influenced by many factors: emotional reactions such as empathy and guilt, social background, early experiences... As children grow and they mature morally, principle and action get closer.

3. The literature does not seem to differentiate between the two components of prejudice as they appear in adults and in children. The process seems to be the same. See Adorno et al. (1950), Harding et al. (1969), Porter (1971), Pettigrew (1971), and Pettigrew (1980).

4. Aboud, F. E. (1988).

5. Allport (1958). For more recent research findings, see Dovidio and Gaertner (1986), Lynch (1987), Katz and Taylor (1988), and Bar-Tal et al. (1989).

6. Kohlberg (1963) sees internal moral standards as "the outcome of a set of transformations of primitive attitudes and conceptions," p.11.

7. Allport (1958).

8. Allport (1958, Chapter 3) discusses at length the formation of such early bond. It is this social identity with the immediate environment that furnishes early attachments with the ingroup and provides a yardstick for evaluating what is right or wrong when dealing with

others.

9. Allport (1958, 30).
10. This is a concept endorsed by Tajfel and his colleagues (1982). The child seeks to enhance his/her self-esteem by identifying with the group.
11. Allport (1958, 31).
12. Lipscomb et al. (1985).
13. Mussen and Eisenberg-Berg (1977).
14. Peterson (1982).
15. Bandura (1986) and Allport (1958). Other researchers, however, such as Aboud (1992), do not consider "power" a significant factor here.
16. Allport (1958, 130).
17. Fagan and Shepherd (1982).
18. Poulin-Dubois et al. (1991).
19. Weinraub et al. (1984).
20. Leinbach and Fagot (1986).
21. See Sigelman and Singleton (1986). Also Morland (1962).
22. Powlishta et al. (1994) have summarized the work of several researchers in this area at the beginning of their study on the generality of prejudice in childhood. Earlier significant works in this area are Goodman (1952) and Traeger and Yarrow (1952).
23. White et al. (1985).
24. For an incisive study of categorization as a perceptual phenomenon, see Billig (1985).
25. Goodman (1952), Clark and Clark (1947), Horowitz (1936).
26. Allport (1958).
27. Hemstone and Jaspars (1982).
28. Hayden-Thomson et al. (1987).
29. Serbin and Sprafkin (1986).
30. Powlishta (1990).
31. Early studies point this out clearly: Horowitz (1936), Clark and Clark (1947), Goodman (1952), Trager and Yarrow (1952), Morland (1962). Aboud (1988) summarizes more recent studies.
32. Clark and Clark (1947), Trager and Yarrow (1952), Morland (1962), Clark et al. (1980), Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990), Aboud and Doyle (1993). The family is not necessarily a factor in this case. The child readily picks up the idea from society that the "other" group is the most accepted, successful or wanted. Therefore he/she prefers to be like "them."
33. Morland and Suthers (1980) have studied in detail the development of racial attitudes in children focusing on the structural-normative interpretation of prejudice. So has Allport (1959). Also Morland (1963), while admitting that race, gender, social class and ethnic prejudice starts in early infancy, cautions that individual experiences outside the home may either "set" or "soften" prejudice.

34. Piaget (1932, 341).

35. Of special importance here is the study by Derman-Sparks et al. (1980), who emphasize both the home influence in the development of prejudice and the significant role of other personal and sociological factors.

36. A particularly incisive analysis of these two aspects related to the origin of prejudice in children is found in Allport (1958), Chapter 17, where he develops in detail the role of conforming. Chapter 18 discusses at length the type of family environment that is more conducive to prejudice. The text summarizing these two basic dimensions - adoption and development - depends heavily on these two chapters. For more recent sources see Morland (1963), Ehrlich (1973), Katz (1982), and in Phinney and Rotheram (1987), Katz (1987), and Ramsey (1987).

37. Kohlberg and Davidson (1974).

38. Piaget (1932).

39. Kohlberg (1984).

40. Damon (1977).

41. Eisenberg (1982).

42. At what point do children know that prejudice is wrong? According to Turiel (1983) and Nucci and Turiel (1978), complex internalized concepts of fairness emerge at a much earlier age than Kohlberg's punishment-oriented Stage 1 would have us believe. By the early elementary school years children are aware that a distinguishing feature of moral transgressions is that they violate another person's right to be treated fairly and humanely.

43. A guiding principle, not the only one. Just because we may know how children think does not mean we know also how they will behave. Both children and adults may break off their principles when it is in their best interest to do so.

44. It does matter, however, to researchers such as Kohlberg and Davidson (1974), and to Aboud (1992) who reflects essentially Kohlberg's position. They clearly contrast the social-learning view of Allport (1958), the authoritarian personality theory, and the cognitive-developmental view based on the cognitive developmental theory of Piaget and the moral developmental view of Kohlberg. In this writer's estimation, it is difficult to dissociate all factors to the point where a valid conclusion is reachable in this issue. While there is enough evidence to say that all three factors are present, it is not possible at this time to establish how each is correlated to prejudice. In any case, such inquiry falls outside the scope of this paper which looks at the different factors involved in the onset of prejudice and not at the relative correlational weight of each factor.

45. Kohlberg (1963), and Kohlberg (1984).
46. Gilligan (1977).
47. Piaget (1932, 196).
48. Piaget (1932, 58, 59, 63).
49. For example, on the issue of distributive justice (how children think rewards should be allocated among group members) Damon found that by the age of 5 children think that competing claims can be resolved only by equal distribution. It is somewhat later - at age 6 or 7 - when there is a shift from a morality of obedience to a morality of cooperation.
50. This is Eisenberg's (1979) position. In Kohlberg (1963), this is possible at the beginning of adolescence.
51. Aboud (1992), Clark et al. (1980), and Williams (1980).
52. Piaget (1932).
53. Edwards (1978).
54. Enright and Sutterfield (1980).
55. Blatt and Kohlberg (1975).
56. See Piaget (1932), Berkowitz (1985), Kohlberg (1984), and Haan et al. (1985).
57. Dortzbach (1975), Rest and Thoma (1985).
58. Allport (1958). Chapter 25 is totally dedicated to the discussion of the prejudiced personality. Section 13 of this paper is heavily dependent on his analysis. To my knowledge, the basic tenets expressed here have not been contradicted by more recent studies. See Pettigrew (1971, 1980). Also Aboud (1992).
59. Allport (1958, 400).
60. Allport (1958, 403).
61. Allport (1958, 404).
62. Allport (1958, 404-405).
63. Allport (1958, 406).
64. Allport (1958, 408).
- and Morland (1976) are some researchers who subscribe to this view. Others such as Katz et al. (1975) believe that prejudice remains high during childhood. Older children may just hide their prejudices because they find quickly enough that it is not socially acceptable to be prejudiced.

ONE WHO CARED- GEORGE I. SANCHEZ 1909-1972

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I'm thrilled to see the recognition Dr. George I. Sanchez has received for his contributions to our society. The George I. Sanchez College of Education and the Sanchez public school will be lasting monuments to his service to humankind. George reached out to those in need. He cared enough to make a difference in the lives of those he influenced.

George networked with other faculty and staff throughout the university. He often stood alone supporting unpopular issues, always advocating a more compassionate and just social order. When there was discrimination against Hispanics, he became actively engaged in political programs to correct such inhumaneness. George had a sense of humor that always helped make the foundations department a fun place in which to work both for students and faculty.

Dr. Sanchez's books on education of Latin Americans remain classics. His 1936 book *Mexican Revolution by Education* remains a seminal work in the field.

George had an open door policy, unusual in our highly competitive educational environment. He was always available to counsel students, to listen to their concerns, and to respond to their needs. He encouraged his students to take courses with Dr. William Drake, referring to him as an outstanding teacher. George always placed things in proper perspective using humor to allay the fears of doctoral candidates who came to him with their most pressing concerns. He was a calming influence on those he worked with, always addressing issues with a certain knowledge and belief that everything would work out well. George had deep and abiding faith in the limitless potential of his students. His belief in students had a self fulfilling prophecy. They lived up to his highest expectations--the expectations he nurtured and engendered.

Louisa, his wife, provided constant support and encouragement for George as he began to use a cane and to have health problems. Together they soared in the spirit of service and outreach to those in need. They made a great team. George and Louisa helped others see that the public schools and the university were part of a seamless curriculum and growth pattern. Their interaction was vital; each depended on the other.

Dr. Sanchez always helped those with broken wings. He provided the motivation for students to gain a firm foundation for professional growth and development-- to flap their wings and then to fly. His faith in the potential and possibility for reconstruction of experience in the

lives of those he influenced was unlimited. His precious wife Louisa, a public school administrator and teacher, kept the problems of America's young in George's mind. He knew from her work in the public schools the needs of students at risk particularly Hispanic children. George was a political activist, supporting and designing programs to help those individuals most in need. He felt that America was a great nation--a nation that had the capacity and will to underwrite economic and social engineering programs if the needs were clearly articulated and he articulated them boldly. While others were either unaware of social problems or ignored them, George took a stand on behalf of people.

George Sanchez was an excellent writer and editor. He always went over students' papers and dissertations with a fine tooth comb. Once I visited him at work on the second story of his Austin home. With a cold beer at hand he worked at his typewriter, creating his manuscripts. Using a red pen, he edited, modified and corrected student papers. He had the unique ability to reformulate complex issues and theories so they would have implications for societal and educational real life practice. His educational theory was deeply intertwined with the practitioners bent.

Once when he was away on a trip, he let me use his power boat. With Billy Cowart and Donna Younker we criss-crossed Lake Austin on a sunny, clear sky, week end. My outing ended in disaster as the boat ran aground and sprung a leak as it hit a rocky shore line. Panic stricken I worried about completing my doctoral program, I rushed all over Austin to find a boat repair person. Damaging my mentor's boat seemed at the time the worst possible catastrophic event. Eventually I found a boat repair shop and had the board fixed, but years later Louisa informed me that George would not have minded anyway.

One time I remember visiting George in a hospital. I mentioned some opportunities for graduate assistantships in South Africa. His response was he wouldn't want me as a student if I had anything to do with South African segregated society. George stood four square for humanism in his life. He fought throughout his life to identify and eliminate social injustice whenever and wherever it existed. He was thoroughly committed to the theory and practice of a multicultural society.

Whenever we had an all college or university conference on international education or Latin American

studies, he would give an inspiring and inspired address. George networked well with other members of the faculty in other colleges. I owe a great deal to Dr. Sanchez. He provided the impetus for a career in higher education. He worked very hard to assure the employability of his students. Providing assistantships, giving them some graduate teaching experience and working with other university and foundations faculty to assure employability was a key to his success in assisting graduate students.

He was a prophet of the many programs later designed to help students at risk. Trio (upward bound,

educational talent search, veterans upward bound), Youth Opportunity Unlimited and many other educational programs designed to give youngsters in special need a chance were to follow in the years after George I. Sanchez diligently worked to assist students at risk. If he were with us today, George would be at the lead of social justice for ever more of America's citizens. His name, his work and Louisa's continued efforts on behalf of people in need deserve recognition. I am honored to have worked with George I. Sanchez-- one who cared enough to make a difference in the lives of the students he mentored.

THE SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGNS: THE PROFESSORS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Clinton B. Allison

Reconstruction legislatures passed legislation providing for public school systems in the southern states following the Civil War, but, at the turn-of-the-century, such "systems" still existed only on paper. Public schools in the South lacked popular and, as a result, financial support. Those that existed were often miserable places. At worst, they were little more than shacks, heated by fireplaces, and taught by semi-literate teachers who often had but months of elementary schooling themselves. In most communities, regardless of how bad schools were for white students, they were worse for African Americans. Conditions were a result of poverty, of cultural attitudes about schooling and public expenditures for social purposes, and of race.

The southern educational campaigns to improve conditions began with a series of meetings, primarily of southern educators and northern ministers, held from 1898 to 1900 at the Capon Springs Hotel in West Virginia. Originally called the Conference for Christian Education in the South, at a meeting in Winston-Salem in 1901, the group broadened its membership and changed its name to the Conference for Education in the South. The General Education Board was formed to spend large sums (mainly Rockefeller money) that was flowing South. The interlocking Southern Education Board was established as the executive board of the Conference and was given the responsibility for organizing its propaganda efforts.

The primary purpose of the southern educational campaign was much the same as that of the common school crusade of a half-century before in the North: to propagandize for free, tax-supported systems of schools for all children. In the extravagant language typical of the campaign, Edwin A. Alderman, President of Tulane, promised the Conference in 1902 that "this educational crusade shall not cease until every child in this nation, high or low, white or black, bond or free, shall be emancipated from the great, black empire of ignorance and of night."¹ These southern educational progressives also campaigned for school consolidation, state financial aid for equalization, establishment of county high schools, improved teacher training, and, of major consequence, industrial and agricultural education. Philander P. Claxton, one of the most effective of the campaigners, gave his assessment of the success of the movement in 1914, the last year of the Conference: Illiteracy among white youths ages ten to twenty

decreased by more than 50 percent, the average school term increased from 105 to 130 days, total school expenditures increased 256 percent, and the total value of school property grew by 337 percent.

The University of Tennessee was at the center of the educational campaigns, in part because of the quality of leadership in the University. President Charles Dabney with a patrician Virginian background got on well with the movement's northern benefactors. An agricultural chemist, he had also been a true believer in technical and agricultural education before northern money was available. He was an effective campaigner, and knew how to appeal to the Christian religious sentiments of southerners. His address at the end of the 1903 Conference for Education in the South in Memphis compared the education crusade with Jesus's concern for little children:

This campaign commenced over 1,900 years ago. It commenced on some hill in Palestine, overlooking the waters of Galilee. Our Master brought a little child and sat him in the midst of the wise men. He said "suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." . . . We must go as Christians if we would succeed in this campaign. . . . Let us enter this campaign with this spirit. Nothing else will bring us the success we seek.²

The Memphis Commercial Appeal reported that the applause was long and many eyes were dimmed with tears when Dabney finished. P. P. Claxton, whose extraordinary talents as a campaigner will be discussed below, and Wickliff Rose, later executive secretary of the General Education Board, were on the education faculty. The Southern Education Board (SEB) soon established its Bureau of Information and Investigation at Knoxville, under the supervision of Dabney, and Claxton was appointed to administer the Bureau and publish its journal, Southern Education.

The General Education Board Supports Professors of Secondary Education

It was obvious that the Bureau of Information and Investigation in Knoxville could not organize educational campaigns throughout the South; a campaign manager was needed in each state. But neither the southern state departments of education nor the state universities had the funds to conduct it. In 1903, Dabney

made a request of Wallace Buttrick, administrator of the General Education Board (GEB), that anticipated the state-by-state organization of the campaign. The GEB was supporting the new Department of Education in the University, and Claxton was teaching pedagogy, administrating the SEB's Bureau of Information, and working in the Tennessee campaign. Dabney proposed that the GEB pay the salary of an associate professor of education in order to free Claxton for full-time work on the Tennessee campaign. Buttrick did not support that request, but, in 1905, the GEB started supporting an education professorship at the University of Virginia to campaign for the establishment of high schools. Dabney, now Dean at Cincinnati, wrote Claxton that the "old mossbacks" at Virginia would find proposals for modern education quite a "pill" to swallow, "but then it is sugar-coated with so many of Mr. Carnegie's and Mr. Rockefeller's dollars I am sure they will swallow it gracefully." He hoped that the GEB was planing to give such a professorship to each southern university.³

The GEB established the professorships in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee as well as Virginia in 1905. Other southern states followed; the last was Kentucky in 1910. The Board terminated the program in June 1925. In its final report, the GEB called its plan "direct, disarmingly simple, and in the end extraordinarily successful."⁴ Although the GEB stressed that the professors were employed by the universities and answerable to them alone, the professors were primarily school evangelists rather than teachers and researchers; they were to "inform, cultivate, and guide professional, public, and legislative opinion" in each southern state.⁵ They were all native sons of the South; the GEB announced proudly that there were "no carpetbaggers were to be found among them." The GEB reported that they were remarkably able and fit: "The men were young, hardy, and enthusiastic--pioneers in physique as they were evangelists in spirit."⁶ In the early years of the campaigns, the professors of secondary education directed much of their efforts at creating faith in and support for public schools generally; later more energy went to campaigning for the establishment and supervision of county high schools.

Philander P. Claxton, Tennessee's First Professor of Secondary Education

The first two professors of secondary education at Tennessee were men of extraordinary ability. In leadership, energy, and force of his personality, Claxton, the first to hold this position, overshadowed most other members of the faculty. His supporters periodically campaigned for him behind the scenes, and occasionally

in the press, for State Superintendent of Schools or, when the job was open, for President of the University of Tennessee. The University has had a long-time tradition of low faculty salaries and the influential and highly sought after Claxton, never a person to underestimate his worth, presented a special problem. President Ayres took credit for the idea of giving Claxton a double salary "so he would be able to remain here," paying him both as a regular University professor and as an agent for "high school propoganda in this state . . . [using] such part of his time as will not seriously interfere with the discharge of his duties as professor of education in the University."⁷ Claxton, whose regular professorial salary was \$2,000, agreed to lead the educational campaign for an additional \$1,500 in salary and \$500 in expenses from the GEB. He organized his schedule to meet classes and other University responsibilities on Tuesdays through Thursdays, leaving the rest of the week and vacations available for the campaign. In an exchange of letters with the GEB, Ayres argued that although the "double work" would be taxing on Claxton, he was "convinced that no one known to us can do the work you wish done as well." The GEB at first refused the arrangement, arguing that the salary of the professor of secondary education should not be more than that of a regular professor. The Board eventually agreed, deciding by the next appropriation that they had made a good bargain as Claxton's work was "beyond praise." Ayres agreed that his work was "phenomenal; my only fear is that his various duties may over tax his strength."⁸

A couple of years later, however, when the University was in worse than its usually straitened circumstances, Ayres caught wind of the fact that Claxton was receiving yet a third salary as campaign manager of the Southern Education Board. In an angry four-page letter ("The fact that you have heretofore drawn a double salary has not been uncriticised, but I have in all cases defended it."), Ayres repeated the rumors about Claxton's large outside salary and made a blunt request: "I would like now to as you whether this is true and to say that if it is true I think that you should be willing to give up as much of your University salary as you receive from the Southern Education Board, even up to the full amount of the salary."⁹ Claxton ended his paid work with the Southern Education Board, but the troublesome relationship with Ayres continued. Claxton resigned as professor of secondary education in 1911 to become United States Commissioner of Education.

Claxton and the Educational Campaigns

Grueling demands were made of the professors. "I

only wish there were two or three of me," Claxton complained in 1906 as he contemplated his several roles in the University and in the field. Walter Hines Page, then editor of The World's Work and a member of the GEB, warned Claxton against overwork in 1908. At the bottom of his letter Page sketched a grave with the comment, "If you don't rest. This is a mound where the daisies grow!"¹⁰

The initial state-wide educational campaign lasted for four years, 1905 to 1909. These first years of the campaign were primarily concerned with a missionary effort to convert the citizens of Tennessee to a faith in public schools. Claxton and other leaders understood the power of camp meeting revival techniques and made good use of them. In 1906, Tennessee State Superintendent S. A. Mynders reported that speakers for better schools had appeared at nearly all occasions when citizens congregated:

Education and public schools have been preached from the pulpit, the bar, the stump; at picnics, barbecues, circuit and county courts, school commencements, county fairs, race tracks and even at a wedding ceremony.¹¹

Educational rallies were conducted in each county in Tennessee; sometimes as many as 5,000 persons attended a single rally. Citizens attending the county rallies voted on resolutions in favor of school reforms. Claxton later claimed (outrageously) that of the more than 100,000 citizens who attended the rallies over a four year period, "only one person voted against the resolutions."¹² Many of the rallies were all-day meetings with local supporters claiming that half of the adults of the county in attendance. In the Maynardville Courthouse, as an example "every seat was taken, and the people stood in the aisles and adjoining rooms, eagerly listening to the doctrine of education."¹³ The Memphis Commercial Appeal reported that Claxton's talk at the Hickman County rally "did much good, and it was worth coming twenty miles through the rain, as many did, to hear it."¹⁴ According to the Knoxville Sentinel, a rally crowd protested Claxton's attempts to limit his speech to half an hour and he gained strength as he was urged on, and when he finally satisfied the audience the applause "was as sincere as it was lusty."¹⁵ As at religious camp meetings, a basket dinner was commonly served on the grounds, often under the shade trees of the county square, followed by more speaking in the afternoon.

In 1908, Claxton reviewed his campaign strategy with the Conference for Education in South:

We began a campaign which lasted for ninety-six

working days and . . . we went to every county in the State and appealed to more than 100,000 people, Frequently half the voters of the county were present. We had all-day meetings. The people in the Southern States were raided on camp meetings, and when they go and carry their dinner with them it is an offense to them to speak a half hour and dismiss them. The man who has come twenty miles to hear a speaking wants to hear a good deal of it.¹⁶

Claxton was an astute politician and an effective organizer. He carefully plotted the details of each county rally, instructing local organizers to make sure that ministers announced forthcoming rallies in their churches, notices were printed in county papers, leading citizens were invited to appear on the rally platform, and all teachers were required to attend. In organizing the campaign, Claxton sent letters of instruction to each county superintendent of schools, urging them to consider carefully the best location for the rally and advising them to hold the rally in a town other than the county seat if the change would attract a larger crowd. He especially urged the superintendents to have county politicians present and visible. Do all you can he urged Superintendent Farmer of Rutledge to have "as many as possible members of the county court, school directors, leading tax-payers . . . I do hope Judge G. McHenderson can be with us and make an address."¹⁷ Claxton also brought his own entourage of "leading men" as headliners to draw crowd often including Governor John Cox, State Superintendent of Schools Seymour Mynders, President Brown Ayres of the University (who was often unenthusiastic), and assorted state cabinet members and other dignitaries more or less famous. Only the northern benefactors were invisible; perceptions of Yankee carpetbaggers were still too fresh in the minds of southerners to allow the philanthropists and their agents to attend the rallies. Wallace Buttrick, administrator of the GEB, confirmed the policy with Claxton: "I wish it were practicable for me to be with you and Mr. Mynders at some of those educational rallies, but I am convinced that I must be a silent partner in all these matters. The propaganda must be the work of Southern men."¹⁸

The enthusiastic support of the press was indispensable to the success of the campaign, and it was unreserved in Tennessee. If there was a discouraging word in the early years of the campaign from the state's newspapers, I did not find it. Rather the press was full of hyperbolic reports on the rallies with bandwagon-effects. Claxton was conscious of their power and used the newspapers effectively, including the organization of press committees "in order to get a better hearing in the public press."¹⁹ Claxton also tried

to increase attendance at rallies and cut down on the expenses of campaign by cajoling railroads to offer special rates, sometimes successfully: "a special rate has been made from all points on the Louisville and Nashville railroad." Occasionally, special trains were organized to make "rally runs."²⁰

The campaign offered something to everyone. In order to get as wide a support base as possible, it was carefully apolitical and, to the degree possible, it tried to appear non-ideological. A variety of women's clubs endorsed the educational resolutions, including the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and Mothers Associations. Claxton reported that throughout the South thousands of women were working for school improvement with "zeal and enthusiasm."²¹ Harry Clark, who would become Claxton's successor, sometimes traveled with him gratis to garner continued support from club women.²²

Claxton sent campaign propaganda to "all" Christian ministers in Tennessee, requesting that they "preach one or more sermons" on public schools during the following year. The educational resolutions were endorsed not only by Chambers of Commerce and commercial clubs, but also by Labor Unions and The Farmers Union.²³

There was, of course, opposition. Claxton recognized a social class differential in support of high schools: the prosperous and "men of affairs" usually support them (after all their children would be able to attend high schools) whereas the poor were more likely to be opposed. Local politicians were often afraid to raise taxes to support high schools. And, behind the scenes, Claxton maneuvered to elect more responsive officeholders. "A good deal can be done quietly toward getting liberal men in office," he wrote Ayres, "which is very important."²⁴

The leaders of the campaign unabashedly used teachers and students in their propaganda efforts. In 1905, the first year of the campaign, Claxton urged the state superintendent to authorize county superintendents to close their schools on rally day in order to increase crowd size. The next year teachers were informed that they were required to attend by state law--"a certificate of attendance will be issued to teach teacher and director, and a valid excuse must be rendered for non-attendance."²⁵ Before rallies, he reminded county superintendents that the state superintendent had authorized the closing of schools on rally days and urged them to make sure that all teachers attend. Teachers were expected to bring as many other persons with them as they could cajole. "Let us not fall behind other counties in attendance and interest," Sullivan County

Superintendent urged, and he reminded teachers to bring their own lunches.²⁶

The dreadfully underpaid teachers were also expected to contribute to the cost of the campaign. In 1907, The Cooperative Education Association of Tennessee was organized, with Claxton as Chairman of the Executive Committee. To raise funds Claxton immediately solicited \$1.00 from all city public school teachers and 50 cents from rural teachers. "Rural teachers receive more direct and greater financial benefit from this campaign than any other class or people in the State," he wrote in his circular letter, "and the committee hopes they will respond to his appeal promptly and liberally."²⁷

On at least one occasion a teacher and her students saved the rally day. Despite exhaustive preparations, an all-day rain was ruining the 1906 Williamson County rally. An especially heavy downpour disheartened the small crowd of the faithful when "Miss Mary Bennett from Rock Hill, marched in with almost her entire school, some of the little tots being barely of school age." A Nashville newspaper reported that the heavy applause that followed restored good feelings for the "admirable" address that followed.²⁸

The message of the campaigners was a clear reflection of southern progressivism, a brand of reform educational historians sometimes refer to as administrative progressivism. The paramount goal of schools was to aid modernization, and education was to pay off where it really counts--in dollars and cents: "The poor window's son may be capable of developing his county if he can only get a chance for an education."²⁹

The establishment of high school was only a part of a campaign that included school consolidation, pupil transportation, school libraries, "professional" school supervision, better attendance, improved school buildings, better educated teachers, and "the adjustment of the courses of study to meet the demands of modern life," i.e., more industrial education.³⁰

A basic platform of the southern educational campaigns was the belief that industrial and agricultural education would enhance the productivity and the prosperity of the region. Historians such as Henry Bullock and James Anderson who accused the campaign of leading to a special-industrial education for blacks give an incomplete picture. If the leaders of the movement, north and south, were racists, they were also class biased as well. They wanted an industrial education for most southerners--all blacks and poor whites. The professors of secondary education in Tennessee supported industrial education enthusiastically. It is the idea of the campaigners "to fit the pupils for work," Claxton insisted, "not for graces."

Modern society demands that men work, he insisted, and a man "who fails to do his part must be made to understand that he is a parasite and entitled to little consideration" The schools must teach that "donning overalls" and doing the work before him raises rather than lowers a person's status.³¹

Claxton's arguments for the necessity of better attendance in his standard campaign speech were a prelude to a propaganda blitz for compulsory attendance law. "Irregular attendance is the greatest evil" whereas compulsory attendance laws were "just, right, and democratic." In the name of democracy Claxton was willing to engage in a considerable amount of compulsion. "Old nests of illiteracy," he argued, can be eliminated "only by laws compelling ignorant and indifferent parents" to send their children to public or to quality private schools. And he added, for good measure, that communities that did not provide adequate school buildings and equipment may "need a little of the same brand of compulsion that the parents need."³²

Professional trained teachers was another important plank in the progressive platform. Although not necessary in the best interest of the fledgling education department of the University, Claxton urged the establishment of state normal schools. He also championed standardization of teachers' certificates and more rigid examination of teachers. According to State School Superintendent Mynders, results of the campaign for better teachers and higher standards became apparent immediately. He wrote to Claxton in November 1905 that "about twelve hundred incompetent teachers" had already been dropped from the teaching force.³³

The initial campaign was a success. Claxton wrote the bill that was passed by the Tennessee legislature with two amendments, one insignificant, the other changing from one-third to one-fourth of the gross revenue of the state to be earmarked for education. It led to the first significant financial support for public schools by the state. Among other things, it provided an equal per-capita distribution of state funds for elementary schools, partial state support of county high schools, school consolidation, aid to school libraries, establishment of three normal schools, the first general state appropriation for the University of Tennessee, and support for one agricultural school in each congressional district.³⁴

Much of the success and the rejoicing came at the local level. In a letter to Robert Ogden, President of the Conference for Education in the South and a member of the GEB, Claxton bragged on the success in Rhea County. And described "a sight that would have pleased you": After every member of the court had voted for a

sizable increase in the school tax, "the crowd of citizens present in the courtroom broke into applause, and the members of the court joined with them, applauding their own action." Claxton, ever the good politician, assured Ogden that all who knew the history of the campaign know its success was "due very largely to the work of the General Education Board."³⁵

Harry Clark Replaces Claxton

After the resignation of P. P. Claxton in 1911, Harry Clark was hired. Clark served as Professor of Secondary Education for nearly a decade. Another native Tennessean, he was a Yale graduate (A.B. 1903, M.A. 1915) with a powerful constituency outside the University especially among the innumerable Tennessee Baptists. He, too, was powerful public speaker ("one of the best in the South") who was often invited to address State Teachers Conventions elsewhere and was pursued by Lyceum boards. He claimed to make over 200 speeches a year. He was literate, perceptive, and the possessor of a lively sense of humor--a trait that Claxton lacked. The student newspaper called him the "Disciple of Sunshine" for his inimitable happy and exuberant smile" which would chase away the clouds "no matter how dark they seemed."³⁶

President Brown Ayres gave Clark a daunting charge:

The working up of interest in the various counties in the establishment of high schools, the speaking before county courts, educational, and other gatherings in the favor of such an establishment, and the advantage of the educational interests of the public school system of the state in general. His duties will also include the visiting and inspection of the public high schools of the State, as well as the other secondary schools and of influencing these schools in the direction of better and more perfectly taught courses of study, primarily on account of the importance of such good high schools to the respective communities, and secondarily of their relationship to the normal schools and the University.³⁷

In the spirit of southern progressivism, Clark preached the gospel of a more practical education throughout rural and small town Tennessee, admonishing those who toyed with the liberal arts in general and with the classics in particular. Selling industrial education to secondary educators across Tennessee was often a difficult assignment. Camden High School was revising its curriculum when he visited, and he protested against a course in the history of English and American literature. Suspicious of the school at Waverly, he examined the students' notebooks,

finding Latin assignments rather than something "useful"; he blamed the problem on the classical-minded principal. Sometimes he was rightfully indignant about educators giving only lip service to industrial education as when he reported to President Ayres that there were no industrial courses in the Huntingdon Industrial Training School. In West Tennessee he tried to convince an uninterested high school principal that agricultural education should be the core of the curriculum only to discover that the principal was a cotton buyer, devoting all of his energies to a scheme to force down cotton prices in the country. "Oh for a Moses to lead the benighted county out of Egypt!" Clark cried, and added that he hoped that "he'll start on the hotel where I theoretically dined."³⁸

He found much of the same miserable condition in East Tennessee. As in the high school at Jacksboro:

I ran over to the county seat, Jacksboro, to visit the high school, which I found very weak. There was a course in domestic science taught out of a book with no equipment and taught, *mirabile dictu*, by a man. I went into the seventh and eighth grades room, taught by a man with a hickory switch longer than a buggy whip and said switch was very much frayed at the end. No one knows how long it was originally. When I entered, he dismissed the class and tried to get me to speak. I declined on the ground that I wanted to hear a recitation. He at once went to studying his next lesson like mad. I sat there 15 minutes and discovered I was wasting time. So I went into the high school rooms, where I found a very small class in Agriculture going through a book recitation. I went back into the seventh and eighth grade room. Immediately the class was dismissed! So I accepted the situation and spoke to the room on corn judging, illustrating by the 12 little books I had brought with me to put in the school library. I went down town after school to ask the county superintendent about that teacher, but I found he was in another county at a political speaking. Poor county! *Requiescat in pace!*³⁹

Females as well as males needed a more practical curriculum that would pay dividends in prosperity. Recent historians of the female high school experience in the early twentieth have been critical of industrial and home making or domestic science education and the differentiation of curriculum between males and females. These historians argue that the administrative progressives' advocacy of separate curriculums based on gender led to a separate, anti-intellectual experience for young women. Clark praised such differentiated curriculums. In 1914, as an example, he found a much improved high school in Milan, Tennessee, where

chemistry classes had been divided into boys' and girls' sections with separate subject matter.⁴⁰

Like industrial and agricultural education for boys, Clark advocated domestic science for girls. His assurances about the consequences of such curricula seem a mite extravagant:

In a time of peace we have 1,500,000 deaths in the United States annually, one third of which is preventable. We have 4,200,000 constantly sick causing anxiety to probably 20,000,000 friends. This constitutes a tax on this nation just as much as if it were collected by the county trustee.⁴¹

Since many of the deaths could be prevented by teaching proper method of sanitation and food preparation, according to Clark, a domestic science curriculum was in reality an investment in health and prosperity. Cleanliness was a cardinal virtue for the southern progressives. Filth and crime had a centripetal relationship. The leaders could agree with Booker T. Washington that the toothbrush was a necessary instrument for the development of western civilization. Clark was a veritable crusader for sanitation--outhouses were a symbol of civilization for him.

In 1914, he visited a school where one of his former students was vice-principal. When he asked for the outhouse, he "*mirabile dictu*," received the staggering reply: "Why we did have one until we admitted girls to the college. Then the girls took the privy and the boys go out there in the woods." Clark reported that he discussed that shameful state of affairs "very warmly" with his former student, reported the situation to the State Health Department, and announced that we would vote against the school's request to be rated a junior college by the University. No wonder, he stormed, under such an example the teachers in small mountain rural schools instruct their pupils at the beginning of the year: "At recess, the boys will go East and the girls go West. . . No wonder these mountain homes have no privies! No wonder that county is full of hookworm!"⁴²

Clark had increasing reservations about the General Education Board's supposition that Tennessee was to remain rural and that agricultural education was the best curriculum to prepare Tennessee students for their futures. In a 1916 letter to GEB member E. C. Sage, he took great pains to show that he was a true believer in agricultural education ("I have made rural sociology and rural economics the predominating feature" of my work). After all, he knew the expectations of the board that paid his salary. Nevertheless, and with "all due respect to the policy of your board," he insisted that the future of East Tennessee was to be urban not rural: "the New England of Tennessee, or the Alsace" of France. Thus the need

was for industrial and commercial education and a "very very different" kind of agricultural education for the small truck farms that would be created to meet the needs of an urban population.⁴³

Administrative progressives sought continually to expand the role and scope of public schooling. Schools should teach children from kindergarten to community college; they should school the mentally and physically disabled as well as youthful criminals and the emotionally disturbed. They should have responsibility for the recreation, health, and testing of the young. By 1916, Clark was urging a similar expansion of education for Tennessee as urbanization was underway and "our people" must be aroused

to the fact that city people cannot live like country people. There must be play grounds and parks and planning for the "City Beautiful." The school nurse and the school luncheon and medical inspection, to a greater degree than we shall ever need in the country, must be provided. There must be detention homes and schools for the defective, the delinquent and the cripple; and my last report will show you the creation of one new institution of that type. A conviction of the necessity of school gymnasium in urban surroundings must be stamped upon our people.⁴⁴

In many ways Clark was a quintessence southern progressive; he shared their horror of radicalism. Following W.W.I, his speeches were filled with the rhetoric of the Big Red Scare, although to what degree he was using the scare as a campaign tactic to gain support for school funds from businessmen is unclear. In 1920, he addressed the Kiwanis, telling them that he stood with them for conservatism and against radicalism but that their tight-fisted attitudes were not helping: "We are sitting on a volcano. If you do not come to the rescue these teachers are going to see red and you are going to see the seeds of incipient bolshevism shown in the minds of your children." The Kiwanis heeded the warning. Demands for raises in the salaries of local school teacher were "greeted with prolonged cheers," and the club passed a resolution supporting a substantial raise.⁴⁵

Clark's Campaigns

In language similar to Claxton's a decade before, Clark wrote: "I wish could split myself into a dozen men because I could set everyone of them to work."⁴⁶ Clark was as indefatigable a worker as Claxton. He spent most of his time on the road, for months at a stretch, conducting rallies and otherwise politicking for increased local taxes and bond issues to support establishment of county high schools. He often had to

beg correspondents to excuse him for not being available to speak at their rallies because he would be in another part of the state for several months. In addition to the trips, he kept a correspondence with officials and political candidates in every county that did not have a high school; much of his correspondence from across the state concerned general University business, a point he often made to the University president in his reports. Clark also published regularly to keep the "scholar's attitude." In his report at the end of the 1918-19 academic year, he listed an impressive number of journal articles in the High School Quarterly, Progressive Teacher, North Carolina High School Journal (4 articles), Florida School Room, and the Southern Agriculturist. He was also associate editor of the High School Quarterly that year. In addition, he taught in the Summer School of the South and six hours in the Spring Semester: "I point with pride to the fact that I have missed very few of my classes on account of my field work, although that has necessitated my going several times from one train to my class and from my class to another train."⁴⁷ In his 1917 Report to the GEB, he directed attention to the fact that he had not had a vacation since they had appointed him in 1912 and that he had worked half of the Sundays in the previous year.⁴⁸

In the hills of Appalachian and in rural Tennessee generally early in the century, physical deprivation and distress were common for the traveling professors. In mid-December 1919, Clark complained of sleeping for four nights in a room without heat and having to break ice in his pitcher every morning to shave. An earlier report, with somewhat of a Dickinson flavor, described Christmas week on the road ("I had to forego my Xmas"). He wrote that he had to spend one night "in an 'accommodation house,' so called because of its lack of accommodations." It was so cold he slept in his clothes, and he reported that it was a mistake not to wear his gloves. This excerpt from one of Clark's field reports in 1916 gives a feeling for their grueling work and deprivation:

We left the Valley country and took horses because the mountain districts to which we were going were too steep for buggies or automobiles. We went right into the back woods for a week's campaign. We had to abandon our razors, let along our collars, and go as unshaven as this necessitated. However, this is the very way to gain votes for the object of our campaign, because the back district people are very suspicious of overdressed people. Their teachers are nearly all men and teach in overalls. Practically every school house that we visited was untenable, and it would have been forbidden in Massachusetts

for such a building to be used as a schoolroom. We found three children seated on one seat in practically every school that we visited. In some places the children sat on the floor We went into one regular hornets nest of opposition At one place rowdies tried to break up our meeting with pistol shots and yelling and they ran a doctor's automobile down the hill and into a rock fence while he was inside helping boost for the bond issue. He certainly had a strenuous week. Into one town which we went there was so much opposition to the bond issue that many citizens refused to reply to our salutations. Women were bare footed as a general proposition and some of the men were the same. I felt as if I had paid a visit to the Eighteenth Century with its intensity of partisan feeling, and its backward home conditions. I had no mishaps during the week other than having to ride for two days on horseback through a drizzling rain and having my horse mire up in the mud of a cattle pond. We did a lot of good on that trip, had a lot of fun and won a lot of votes.⁴⁹

No one could know the difficulties that the professors would encounter in the hinterlands. In 1914, Clark tried to rally the citizens of Hixon County, but many of them were engaged in a bitter factional fight that had begun as a quarrel in the Methodist Church and which had "led to the burning of the courthouse, the abolition of the high school, the voting down of bond issues for roads and schools." Clark abandoned his school speech and urged the citizens to forsake their "hatreds and partisanship." He reported that his talk was a success as each side said that the other needed it. Sometimes the local controversies went in the other direction with their origin in controversies over the school taxes and then moving into the churches. Clark reported that the fight was so bitter in the Methodist Church in Monteagle that all members of one faction in the congregation would stay home if an organist from another side played at Sunday services.⁵⁰

There was so much local opposition to raising taxes or supporting bond issues to establish country high schools that politicians often resisted the appeals of the charming Clark. After a long struggle to get a "flicker" of interest from one county superintendent, who was more interested in reelection than anything else, Clark reported with disgust that the superintendent dreaded supporting the high school campaign as a child hates castor oil. Occasionally, the conflict between Clark and county superintendents became personal and bitter. He reported that one superintendent actively opposed the rally in his country and then attended to make sure that Clark was not abusing him, sat in the front, facing the audience, fell asleep and snored. The superintendent

refused to provide Clark with transportation, and he had to walk on the railroad track for four miles to the next town. He wrote Ayres that after what he said about the superintendent there "we are even."⁵¹

African Americans and the Educational Campaigns

How did the educational campaigns affect African Americans and their separate schools? Late twentieth-century historians agree that the leaders supported a separate and unequal education for black southerners--there is no other way to read the historical evidence. Yet, forty years after the campaign, Dabney asserted somewhat plaintively, and perhaps defensively, that they were not racists. And, if racism is relative, perhaps some of them were not. At the turn of the century, many southern whites still keenly felt the grievances of Reconstruction, and politicians and newspaper editors often aggravated the painful memories (real or imagined) for their own purposes. Shared myths by southern whites included despicable villains: northern carpetbaggers who came south to rub Confederate noses in their defeat and, even worse, scalawags, southern whites who Judas-like, aided the carpetbaggers in their nefarious activities. Carpetbagger Yankee teachers had opened schools for blacks throughout the South, and scalawag state legislatures had created state-wide system of public schooling. At the beginning of the twentieth century, white southerners usually viewed black education and state financed and controlled public schools with suspicion. Leaders of the educational campaigns were keenly aware that the educational campaigns would fail if reactionary politicians and the conservative press could convince white southerners that northern philanthropists were the new carpetbaggers and southern campaigners were the new scalawags.

Southern whites who wanted to keep African Americans in a separate, inferior, dependent place were just beginning to feel comfortable in 1900. Laws and court decisions had effectively disenfranchised southern African Americans; in 1895, the white-appointed leader of southern blacks, Booker T. Washington had asked "his people" to accept social inequality; and, in 1896, the Supreme Court of the United States in Plessy v. Ferguson allowed state-mandated racial segregation. The leaders of the Conference for Education in the South sought to reassure southern whites that they too supported racial segregation. At Capon Springs, the first president of the Conference, the venerable old Confederate, J. L. M. Curry settled the issue: "The white people are to be the leaders, to take the initiative, to have the directive control in all matters pertaining to civilization and the

highest interest or our beloved land. History demonstrates that the Caucasian will rule."⁵² In return for accepting the lowest position in a stratified society, African Americans were to receive an "appropriate" education. The most important question is not if African Americans will be educated but how, Edwin Alderman, President of Tulane University, told the Conference. Industrial education as found at Hampton and Tuskegee was the answer for they had "something to teach to the whole world in the way of training for freedom a backward, child race."⁵³

But many white southerners remained suspicious of the racial attitudes of the campaigners. The Bureau of the Southern Education Board in Knoxville collected and saved newspaper clippings from throughout the South that questioned the racial policies of the movement. The most racist of the editors were opposed to the movement because they didn't want schooling for African Americans at all. The Columbia (South Carolina) The State denounced the campaigns for promoting black education. Black schooling was the "hobby" of the leaders, according to the paper, although the editor hinted of even more sinister but unnamed aims: "something further to which the south is opposed."⁵⁴ The something further was racial mixing or even racial equality, and the campaign leaders were ever anxious that they not appear to promote it. In January 1901, southern newspapers reported that Dabney and Alderman had espoused racial equality at a dinner with northern philanthropists at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. Dabney immediately denied the charge, blaming the inflammatory reports on the New York yellow press. The next year, newspapers from throughout the South, picked up a story by the Baltimore Sun that blacks had dined with members of Southern Education Board at New York's Unitarian Club. Editorials followed, suggesting that "the red flag" of social equality was waved. Again, members of the SEB denied the charge: "The two negroes [sic] came in after, dinner, two of them, to hear the speeches. They were not invited to the dinner, neither did they sit down to dinner on [the basis of] social equality."⁵⁵ Controversy over the dinner caused Buttrick to reemphasize that the northern leaders of the campaign recognized "that the Education of the negro race [sic] is in the hands of the white people of the South, and must ever remain there."⁵⁶

In Tennessee, campaigners sometimes held segregated school rallies on the same day "on different grounds," with the same "able white speakers."⁵⁷ But more or less benign neglect of African Americans was typical of the leaders at Knoxville. Some members of the Southern Education Board criticized Dabney,

Director of the Southern Education Board's Bureau of Information and Investigation, for ignoring African Americans in his propaganda efforts. And, even the shadow of the University of Tennessee, some local school officials held extreme racial views. In an open discussion at the 1903 meeting of the Conference of Education in the South, the school superintendent of Loudon County, Tennessee said that

it was frequently the case that it was necessary to use a club to make the negro [sic] honest and to use a rope to make him moral. . . . The negro will steal. We all know he will steal. I do not mean to say anything against the negro (great laughter), but the leopard cannot change his spots, and we know the negro will steal. We should give him in the way of education only what he can take, and see to it that he takes it.

When possible, Tennessee campaigners found it easier to avoid discussions of black education.

Northerners were often tired of hearing about the educational plight of southern blacks as well. In 1905, Claxton took a fund-raising trip to New York and Chicago, staying at Gertrude House in Chicago at the invitation of his long-time admirer and correspondent, Amalie Hofer. She provided audiences of the literati for Claxton but warned him to "clear away the notion that you speak for blacks or mountain whites,--or what not."⁵⁸ He promised not to talk much about Appalachian whites or blacks. At the beginning of the Tennessee campaign, State Superintendent Mynders paid the traveling expenses of F. G. Smith, the African American principal of Nashville's Pearl High School, to campaign in West Tennessee. "I know that he accomplished good," Mynders wrote. Claxton replied that he thought it "very well to give some attention" to black school improvement. Claxton's personal attitude toward blacks is unclear; it seems to have been a fairly typical southern progressive blend of racist paternalism toward African Americans on one hand and a self-righteous dislike of extreme white bigots on the other. He indicated that educational opportunities for African Americans were assured because southerners "with their blue eyes and soft hearts" were compassionate. To an inquiry from G. Stanley Hall on research concerning southern blacks, Claxton responded with a short list of researchers and publications, including those of Atlanta University, and the following satirical observation:

[P]eople of the South know very little about the negro [sic]. What little we do know we have learned from Northern people who have never seen the South, or write learnedly, at least dogmatically, on the subject after having spend two or three days, or

probably a week, in this section. Tons of matter have been printed as editorials and contributions in our newspapers, but, like the negro's thunder storm at night, there has been much more of noise than light in them.⁵⁹

Clark, too, was doubtful and uncertain about his responsibility for African American education. After four years as professor of secondary education and high school inspector, he reported that he woke "with a start to the fact" that he had responsibility to black schools as well as to white. In 1916, he confessed that before then "it never dawned on my mental horizon that I owed any obligation" to black schools. He assured the General Education Board that, in the future, he would be an "attorney for the negro [sic]," acting as an advocate for him with school boards throughout Tennessee. A year later he reported that "one of the significant things" that had happened to him was an "awakening on the subject of negro [sic] education." He wrote that teaching rural sociology has been very broadening as it had compelled him to study the relationship between black labor and black education. Yet, in the same report, he indicated that his visits to black schools were only to the most significant of them (such as Turner Normal School) or "fill-in" trips, occasions when train schedules gave him some extra time after visits to white schools.

In January 1916, Clark feigned ignorance about the proper type of secondary education for blacks: "I feel a little bit confused in my own mind."⁶⁰ In seeking to find answers to his dilemma, he studied the peasant schools of Europe. Not surprisingly, he decided the most desirable type of education to prepare African Americans for their futures and to allay "anti-negro demagoguery" was industrial, home making, and agricultural education. In an awkward but apt phrase, he called it conservative progressiveness. His denunciation of classical studies was not racial prejudice; an evangelist for industrial education for whites was unlikely to testify for another type of schooling for blacks. After visiting a black college in Rogersville, he complained of the lack of industrial classes, but fumed that forty were enrolled in "beginning Greek!!"⁶¹ And he was as critical of substandard, pretentious, free enterprise black schools as he was of those run by whites. He complained about the principal of the Henderson Colored Business College, who had disguised his ownership of the college and was seeking large grants from northern philanthropists. He "modestly advertises himself The Super-man," Clark reported.

Clark exhibited the racially naive and insensitive attitudes of southern white moderates of his day. It is black peoples' "nature," he explained, to do better work for whites who are sympathetic but keep their distance

and demand respect. He recognized his "prejudices as a Southern white man," when he condemned white teachers in black schools who stayed in black homes while traveling or attending conventions. His report to the Board on an educational rally in a black church further demonstrated these prejudices. It was calculated to show African Americans as amusingly primitive. He reported that when he arrived with the black high school inspector at 9:00 in the evening the church "was just getting in good, shouting trim after an hour's session!" He wrote that they had to wait another hour before the congregation got out of breath from shouting and jumping up and down: "They extended the jungle of Africa with all its night of ignorance."⁶² Clark refused to accept other stereotypes. He was annoyed, as an example, by the presumption of black promiscuity. He was saddened that, at the dedication of a new black normal school, the administrator introduced each teacher with the statement that: "no one had ever questioned her VIRTUE AND THAT NONE OF HER SISTERS HAD EVER GONE ASTRAY!!!"⁶³

Clark was particularly concerned with the attitude of African Americans as the United States entered WWI, worrying that they might be "caught by German propaganda." Informants told him that there was "no question" that blacks had been "tampered with." And he "found a very sullen attitude" by leading black educators toward their responsibility in the War, that caused him to have "a very earnest talk with some of my negro teacher friends."⁶⁴ On the other hand, during the War, he worried about the decline of African American population in East Tennessee and the border states generally because of the great migration to the North, hoping it would be a "temporary decline."⁶⁵

The General Education Board Ends Support of the Professors of Secondary Education

The official mission of the professors of secondary education changed after November 1919, when the southern state superintendents of public instruction and university presidents met with representatives of the General Education Board at the Congress Hotel in Chicago and declared the educational campaigns a success: "High schools exist in considerable abundance." According to their memorandum, the urgent problems of southern high schools were "qualitative rather than quantitative." In clearer words, the major role of the professor of secondary education was to change from a political campaigner to a teacher educator. A month after the Chicago meeting, Abraham Flexner wrote to the newly-installed President of the University of Tennessee about the implications of the meeting. The professor of secondary education should

now be considered:

The nucleus of a department of the fundamental training of prospective secondary school teachers in the methods, subject matter and objects of high school work. While it was understood that in a limited way the professor would remain in contact with the high schools particularly in the vicinity of the university, it was believed that the time had come when his main thought and energy should be given to the training of high school teachers.⁶⁶

The GEB had announced that it would cease supporting professors of secondary education in 1920. After pleas and resolutions by southern university presidents and superintendents of public instruction, it agreed to continue support of the professors for five years, ending June 30, 1925. The Board was very firm that there would not be any extensions beyond that date. Nevertheless, with time running out, the presidents and state superintendents met in Atlanta in December 1924 and adopted resolutions begging the Board for reconsideration and more opportunities to present their case in detail. The GEB was adamant in its refusal to consider an extension.⁶⁷

The administrators of some universities, including Tennessee, tried an end run. They argued unique and critical circumstances and requested individual appropriations. No exception was the response of the Board: "The offices have no discretionary power."⁶⁸ The General Education Board file in Morgan's administration ends with a note from him to the GEB on 15 January 1926, reporting that the University was continuing to support its professor of secondary education.⁶⁹

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- 31 Claxton quoted in the Nashville American, 2 February 1908.
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- 37 Ayres to Clark, 6 November 1911, AR 4, Box 26.
- 38 Clark to Ayres, 14 January 1914, AR 4, Box 26.
- 39 Clark to Ayres, 1 November 1914 AR 4, Box 27.
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THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD AND BLACK WOMEN'S EDUCATION

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Among the numerous philanthropies interested in blacks' education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the General Education Board, funded largely by the Rockefeller family, was the best known, best funded, and most powerful. It had started after John D. Rockefeller, Jr. had taken a trip to the South to study the region's educational problems and persuaded his father to establish a philanthropy to assist with improving Southern education. The result was the General Education Board (GEB), established in 1903 to promote education without distinction of race, sex, or creed. By 1921 John D. Rockefeller Sr. had given over \$129 million to the GEB. Most of those funds went into higher education and southern education at all levels. Additionally, the Rockefeller family personally donated funds to Spelman College, the famous African-American women's college, in Atlanta.

Much of the rationale that the GEB used in making funding decisions was typical of other philanthropies of the times. It was interested in training the right kind of leaders for black communities and improving life for both blacks and whites in Southern communities. So far as gifts to African-American education was concerned, there were so many blacks wanting education, it might have been possible to enroll only males and leave women unschooled. This scenario did not occur because of importance that philanthropists placed on the education of African-American women as teachers and as the moral foundations of the black home. There were two main reasons for this.

Founders and supporters of black education in the South accepted the idea that women were especially suited to be teachers. It was one reason why most of the institutions founded for or by blacks in the late nineteenth century were coeducational; whereas men were valued as potential sources of leadership in the black community, women were viewed as a source of instruction to the coming generations. The black community supported this idea as well, and in nearly every black secondary, normal, or college institution women's enrollment exceeded men's; the only exception was in programs geared solely to the baccalaureate where the genders were more equally represented.

A second reason for the philanthropic support of black women's education was due to the unfortunate stereotype that the majority of African-American women had loose morals. Leading educators believed that education could eradicate this perceived immorality.

William H. Ruffner, Virginia's first state superintendent of education, noted, for example. "Vanity in untutored minds, often tends to worthlessness, and in women to prostitution."¹ A report on African-American women funded by the John F. Slater Fund noted that "it is impossible to look for a moral community, where the women have never been taught by example and precept that Christian virtue which raises the human being above the animal."² A corollary of this belief was that a woman's education could improve the foundation of the home and family. While this idea was not totally absent in arguments for white women's education, it was even more apparent in those for black women's. Florence Read, the white president of Spelman College, noted in 1937, "when Negro women realize that it is 'up to them' to bring about better housing, to insure higher standards of health, to raise the taste of social and cultural life, and generally to improve the ways of living, then there will come about a steady revolution towards those goals."³

Thus for reasons of filling the region's need for teachers and of improving personal morality and community standards, black women's education was in some ways taken more for granted than was white women's, but the nature of the education offered to women of the two races differed. Whereas single sex institutions were the norm for white students of the late nineteenth century, they were the exception in black education. Despite concerns for African-American women's morals, coeducation was far more prevalent in black institutions than in white ones. The reason was simply financial. Operating an institution for both genders was cheaper than managing two.

Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, is an example of a classical liberal arts institution that benefitted from donations from GEB and other philanthropies. It was first opened in 1866 as an elementary school with several hundred pupils with support from the American Missionary Association (AMA) and the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission and began a normal school the following year. Dr. Barnas Sears, the general agent for the Peabody Fund, was sufficiently impressed by it to give \$800 for 16 scholarships. Fisk awarded its first baccalaureate degrees in 1875 and, despite great difficulties in raising sufficient funds, remained a traditional baccalaureate program.

Ironically, the chief twentieth century proponent of industrial education, Booker T. Washington, was

particularly useful in Fisk's 1910 campaign to raise \$300,000. The GEB made a provisional \$60,000 gift, and other gifts followed from Julius Rosenwald, Carnegie, and other philanthropists of the time. Partly as a result of Washington's efforts, the philanthropists had been led to see that, if the nation were to be truly segregated, then "a higher education ought to be furnished to capable Negro men and women."⁴

In 1915 Fisk appointed Fayette Avery McKenzie as president. Ambitious to turn Fisk into a first-class university and aware that the money necessary to do so was in white hands, the new president went to great lengths to mold Fisk in accordance with white expectations of a proper black institution. He indicated support a Jim Crow South by such actions as taking the Fisk girls' glee club in through a kitchen door to sing for an all white, all male shriners' meeting in Nashville. He discontinued the **Fisk Herald** and developed new regulations concerning student life which further decreased women's liberties. The new Fisk Code of Discipline included a strict dress code for women; a ban on fraternizing between the sexes on the campus or in college buildings; and prohibitions against dancing, smoking, student government, and Greek organizations. Proof that his actions made him popular with the white community first came when the 1917 Carnegie Corporation gave Fisk \$50,000 of the \$150,000 to be raised for rehabilitation of the physical plant and the GEB gave \$50,000 three weeks later. In the early 1920s he raised a \$1,000,000 endowment with contributions from the GEB, the Carnegie Corporation, the John F. Slater Fund, and others including white Nashville businessmen who donated an unprecedented \$50,000.

After significant student protests over his racist and sexist policies, McKenzie resigned in 1925. His replacement was a white Quaker, Thomas Elsa Jones, who rapidly became popular with the students, both the black and the white Nashville communities, and the philanthropists. Student rules were relaxed, and by 1935-36 men and women had separate student senates. During Jones's tenure Fisk constructed a library due largely to donations from GEB, the Laura Spelman Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, and the Carnegie Corporation. It received additional funds from the GEB and the Rosenwald in the late 1930s and raised its endowment to nearly \$2,500,000.⁵

Another college that eventually received GEB funds, Bethune-Cookman College, in Daytona, Florida, had a vastly different origin than that of Fisk. It serves as an example of an institution founded by an African-American, although its status as a college resulted from a merger of Cookman Institute and the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Negro girls which Mary

McLeod Bethune had founded in 1904. Her memorable personality apparently pervaded all aspects of the institution and is occasionally discussed in the GEB correspondence. Eventually Bethune became the most famous African-American women educator until this decade.

To keep her school going, Bethune relied heavily on rich Northern visitors who spent their winter months in Florida. One of her chief supporters, who occasionally served as a reference for her work, was James N. Gamble of the Proctor and Gamble Corporation. Early newsletters from the school indicate that its existence was often precarious; in one month the students staged a fair and a rummage sale, gave a Jubilee musical, and had an oyster supper and a rally as money-raising events. Although Bethune's institution eventually received funds from the GEB, her ties with other industrial philanthropies are unclear.

Correspondence in the GEB records with Mrs. Bethune dates back to 1905 when she wrote Robert Ogden of New York and sent him material about the institution.⁶ The GEB received more information about the school in 1907 and 1908 but gave the school no encouragement that funds would be available.

Mrs. Bethune was persistent, and in 1917 the GEB agreed to send its agent Jackson Davis to examine the school. Three years later, after another letter from one of Mrs. Bethune's supporters had urged assistance to the school, Wallace Buttrick wrote that assistance to private, local institutions was not in the scope of the GEB's work; "the fate of Negro education," he noted, "lies with tax-supported schools and not with institutions supported by private contributions, excepting a limited number which train teachers and leaders."⁷ Davis visited the school again in 1921 and declared it to be the best secondary school for Negroes in Florida but still no funds were forthcoming.⁸

In 1923 the school came under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was merged with the Cookman Institute of Jacksonville. Under the agreement Bethune was to direct the combined institution which was named Bethune-Cookman College and which was to receive an annual \$20,000 donation from the church. Two years later the GEB examined the school again, and then in 1926 Mrs. Bethune paid a visit to the GEB. Her visit evoked a more positive reception than her letters had done; H. J. Thorkelson noted, "I stated to Mrs. Bethune that we were very much interested in her school, but did not feel that the Board could make an appropriation until the permanency of the institution had become more clearly established."⁹

Finally in 1930 after consultation with the Methodist Episcopal Church the GEB authorized a \$62,500 pledge

toward a campaign to raise \$125,000 for new buildings. However, with the Depression, the college was unable to complete the campaign, and the agreement was amended so that the GEB contributed \$55,000 and the college \$25,000 to build a science building and a dining hall. The college was one of several black institutions to which the GEB gave additional emergency aid during the Depression.¹⁰

Because of the stated intent of the GEB to assist institutions of regional importance, the GEB's lack of interest in the institution until the 1930s is certainly understandable. It might be surmised, however, that the GEB also found the institution more appealing as Bethune's influence at the school waned. For instance, a 1932 memo indicated,

that the Bethune-Cookman school at Daytona, Florida, is on the up grade. They have a new dean, J. A. Bond, formerly at Kentucky State. He has been given the necessary authority to see that 'school keeps.' He told us that they were not taking students out of classes for bazaars and musical rehearsals as they formerly did.¹¹

Her direct influence on the institution diminished further after 1937 when she was appointed Director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration and an acting president of the college, Dr. Abram L. Simpson, was named. In a GEB interview a year later Simpson noted that "his biggest problem was learning how to work with Mrs. Bethune and carry on constructively and with her approval."¹²

Hampton Institute serves as an example of an institution whose industrial nature, with a significant amount of sex-stereotyping, attracted philanthropic funds. Almost from its founding the Peabody Fund gave it annual appropriations, and it also attracted gifts from the Slater Fund. By 1914 the GEB had donated \$138,000 to the institution. By 1925 Hampton had an endowment of \$8,500,000 which placed it first among black schools and seventeenth among the 176 American schools with endowments over a million dollars.¹³

By the end of the 1930s the philosophical position of Hampton and the industrial philanthropists had almost reversed itself. Diaries in the GEB records indicate that Hampton's president was more interested than was the GEB in preserving the industrial character of the institution. Arthur Howe, Hampton's president, outlined a series of potential new training programs in apartment house management and buildings and ground maintenance, while Jackson Davis of the GEB alluded to inevitability adjusting Hampton to new times. Most critical of all was Florence Curtis, who had headed Hampton's library school. She thought that Hampton was preparing students for vocations which no longer

existed and that "Hampton must forget its traditions and heaven sent mission, break the hold on the past, and face its opportunities in terms of present needs and future outlook."¹⁴ Instead of molding Hampton to meet outdated stereotypes, philanthropy, not institutional leadership, seemed to wish to move the school forward.

Bennett College in Greensboro, NC, was a black women's school founded in 1873 that did not attract interest from the GEB for over a half century. Toward the end of the 1930s Bennett began to turn increasingly outward toward the economic, social, and cultural life of the community. It ran a study about what fields other than teaching that African-American women could enter and determined that tea rooms, cleaning and pressing establishments, and steam laundries were viable vocational avenues.¹⁵ Simultaneously it sought aid in improving black community and cultural life. The GEB was interested in a proposed project to assist black family life through child guidance and parent education and in 1941 assisted Bennett in holding a three-week summer institute on parent education, child development, and consumer education.¹⁶

The better known black women's college is Spelman College in Atlanta. Founded as the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary by New Englanders Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles with funding from the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS), Spelman opened in 1881 with eleven black women students. The next summer, while on a combined fund-raising and vacation trip, Packard and Giles met John D. Rockefeller and his family at the Baptist Church the family attended in Cleveland, and Rockefeller immediately pledged \$250 for the institution's building fund. This meeting and donation were the beginning of a personal friendship between Packard and Giles on one side and the Rockefeller women, John's wife Laura, his sister-in-law Lucy Spelman, and his mother-in-law Mrs. Harvey Buel Spelman on the other; it was also a relationship between Spelman and the Rockefeller family that lasted decades.

John D. Rockefeller, Sr., can be credited with keeping the seminary as a women's school. For economic reasons, the American Home Baptist Missionary Society wanted to combine it with its male seminary nearby, but strong protests from Packard and Giles and their supporters finally led to a decision to let the female institution remain independent if it could pay the mortgage on the property. Although a number of people made pledges on the mortgage, it was Rockefeller's generosity that finally made the payment possible and maintained the institution's all female character.¹⁷

The Rockefeller Family Papers detail a number of

gifts to the school and earnest correspondence about it. In 1886 Giles thanks Rockefeller for funds for the construction and heating of Rockefeller Hall. The next year Packard assures him that "We have been here long enough to learn without a doubt, that it pays to give these girls a christian [sic] education."¹⁸ In 1889 Rockefeller inquires about Spelman's needs, and Giles tells him of a need for a new laundry which the institution received the following year.¹⁹ 1892 Giles is thankful for news that Rockefeller may provide a new building.²⁰ In 1900 another gift from Rockefeller made possible a hospital for nurses' training.²¹

Despite a growing diversity in its curriculum, Spelman's stated purpose was always tied closely with producing moral Christian women and teachers and seldom mentioned its increasingly academic offerings. Lucy Hale Tapley, who served as Spelman president from 1910 to 1927 after twenty years of previous service as a faculty member, firmly believed in efficiency and industrial training. She wrote to the board of trustees in 1915 that "The dominant aim...is the development of Christian womanhood, and all the school activities are planned to give instruction in housewifely arts. Spelman proceeds upon the principle that all work well done is cultural..."²² A flyer prepared in 1921 for the institution's fortieth birthday noted that,

Spelman Seminary trains Negro girls to be teachers, and also to sew cook, raise vegetables, and do all forms of house-keeping. The hospital trains girls to be nurses. Beneath, throughout, about above all lies the systematic development of character by the study of the Bible, and by loving and living its teachings.²³

Spelman alumnae were as interested in their alma mater as those at other African-American schools such as Fisk and Hampton. Unlike the student and alumni protests that marked these other schools in the 1920s, protest at Spelman was genteel. In 1921 members of the Spelman Graduates Club of Atlanta wrote a carefully worded letter to Dr. George Rice Hovey, of the American Baptist Home Mission Society about some of their dissatisfactions with Spelman and a copy of the letter was sent to the GEB. They made five main requests. They wanted more blacks on the Board of Trustees, and especially the appointment of an alumna. They thought that more black teachers should be hired at the upper instructional levels and that more Spelman students should be encouraged to prepare for such assignments. It was time, they thought, to pay colored teachers at the same rate for the same education and experience as white teachers. They requested that colored physicians should be admitted to the Spelman hospital staff and that colored visitors be given the same quality waiting room as whites had. Finally they

suggested revising the repressive discipline of the school, especially in regards to reading students' mail. As a result of the incident, Tapley and her closest associates offered to resign, but their resignation was not accepted. A committee composed as members of the Board of Trustees talked with alumnae, but not all of them agreed with the letter. GEB president Wallace Buttrick concluded, "It was our unanimous opinion that the matter under discussion should be regarded as a closed incident," but privately he appeared to agree with the women's demands and over the next few years their sources of dissatisfaction were addressed.²⁴

In 1924 the Spelman board passed a resolution changing the institution's name to Spelman College; among the signers was Hannah Howell Reddick, the new college's first alumnae trustee.²⁵ Despite the change in name, most Spelman students still followed curricula that resulted in diplomas rather than degrees, and the bulk of upper division college courses were offered by Morehouse on a cooperative basis.

With Spelman's change in status from seminary to college, the college's board and the staff of the General Education Board were doing a lot of thinking about the institution's future. President Tapley, who would be seventy in 1927, was ready to retire and a new president was needed. The General Education Board working in cooperation with the Spelman board chose Florence Read who had previously worked for the Rockefeller Foundation in another position. Before accepting the offer, she insisted that the General Education Board assist the college in establishing an endowment. The Board agreed and offered 1.5 million dollars with an equal amount to be raised elsewhere. Since the Laura Spelman Memorial donated a million dollars, only \$500,000 needed to be secured. Read asked for a \$250,000 contribution from Rosenwald himself in a letter in which she echoed the GEB's position on African-American higher education:

The more I see of the situation in the South and the more I learn about Negro schools, the more convinced I am of the importance of building a few strong institutions of higher learning in the midst of the South. Atlanta is without question a strategic center, and the increasing co-operation between Spelman and Morehouse opens the way to the development of two outstanding undergraduate colleges, one for women and one for men, working together in all matters of common interest.²⁶

Rosenwald gave her \$100,000 and his fund another \$100,000, despite the fact that he was particularly opposed to endowments for African-American colleges.²⁷ The WABHMS donated another \$25,000 and miscellaneous gifts made up the rest. The campaign

gave Spelman its first significant endowment.

Read sought assistance from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial about the possibility of establishing "fellowships for the training of future instructors or leaders among the colored people."²⁸ The first such graduate fellowships were awarded in 1929, made possible through the Memorial and through the Julius Rosenwald Fund.²⁹

In 1929, in keeping with the GEB's desire to have one strong center of African-American higher education in Atlanta, Spelman joined with Morehouse College and Atlanta University in a cooperative venture in which each had a specialty. Spelman limited itself to undergraduate women's education, Morehouse to men's, and Atlanta University to graduate work.

Despite this obvious strengthening of Spelman's academic programs, it still had to follow fund guidelines that implied that the judgement of African-American schools was not to be trusted. When Spelman sought assistance from the Rosenwald Fund for library improvement in hopes of earning an A rating from the Southern Association, it was still required to submit its book lists for approval by Florence Curtis of Hampton Institute.³⁰

The three institution affiliation worked out so well several cooperative efforts took place. In 1930 the GEB gave \$450,000 for a new library which would serve all

three institutions, and it was dedicated two years later. In 1938 in order to reduce duplication of effort, upper level courses at Spelman and Morehouse were operated jointly and the most senior courses could also be taken by graduate students at Atlanta University.³¹

The end of the era of industrial philanthropy arrived in the 1940s as philanthropic dollars became scarcer and a large number of private black colleges were competing for them. The United Negro College Fund (UNCF) was founded in 1943 as a cooperative funding-raising venture and has become a highly successful means of raising funds which had been previously supplied by philanthropy from 1865 through the 1930s.

The decades of philanthropic giving by the GEB and others had a major impact on black higher education, yet its influence on the higher education of African-American women was indirect. Despite sometimes being shackled by their own prejudices, the GEB and other funds generally made thoughtful and reasons decisions in aiding African-American higher education eventually grow to be much like the traditional white higher education, but they did so without ever thinking very much about women. They, like most Southerners and most African-Americans of their times, accepted the stereotypes that relegated women to a secondary role as teachers and moral leaders of their families and acquiesced in supporting academic curricula and student lifestyles that often constricted women's opportunities and freedom. Although by today's standards the stereotypes that the GEB held about blacks and women seem restrictive and petty, it is important to realize that they were cautious but relatively progressive for the time. The GEB cannot take pride in the progressive nature of their decisions affecting African-American women, but neither does it have a record to cause it any shame.

ENDNOTES

- 1 William H. Ruffner, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1871, p. 121.
- 2 Mrs. E. C. Hobson and Mrs. C. E. Hopkins, *A Report Concerning the Colored Women of the South*, Occasional Paper No. 9 (Baltimore: The Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, 1896), p. 13.
- 3 Florence Read, "The Place of the Women's College In the Pattern of Negro Education," *Opportunity*, Vol. 15, September, 1913, p. 268.
- 4 The General Education Board, p. 207.
- 5 Richardson, pp. 112 and 124.
- 6 Letter to Robert C. Ogden from M. McLeod-Bethune, September 11, 1905, GEB, Series 1.1. Box 33, folder 303.

- 7 Letter to Wallace Buttrick from Frank M. Chapman, March 1, 1920; letter to Frank Chapman from Wallace Buttrick, March 5, 1920, General Education Board records. 1.1. Box 33. Folder 303.
- 8 "Memo about the Dayton Normal and Industrial Institute from Jackson Davis, April 9, 1921. General Education Board. Series 1.1. Box 33, Folder 303.
- 9 Interview with Mary M. Bethune from H. J. Thorkelson, October 28, 1926. General Education Board records. 1.1. Box 33, Folder 304.
- 10 Letter to Mary McLeod Bethune from Jackson Davis, September 14, 1932. General Education Board records. 1.1. Box 34. Folder 305.
- 11 Memorandum from Walter B. Hill to Jackson Davis, December 6, 1932. General Education Board records. Series 1.1. Box 34, Folder 305. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- 12 Interview with Dr. Abram L. Simpson, January 2-3, 1938, General Education Board records. 1.1. Box 34, Folder 307.
- 13 Wolters, p. 131.
- 14 Interview with Miss Florence Curtis, diary of A. R. Mann, November 9, 1939, General Education Board records. Series XII, p. 314.
- 15 letter to Edwin R. Embree from David D. Jones, February 23, 1938, Box 173, Folder 12, Julius Rosenwald Fund Archives.
- 16 Interview of David D. Jones by Jackson Davis, February 18, 1938, Diary of Jackson Davis. General Education Board records XII; and Summer Institute on Parent Education, Children Development and Consumer Education flyer. General Education Board records. 1. 3. Box 540. Folder 5785.
- 17 Read, p. 81.
- 18 Letter to J.D. Rockefeller from S. B. Packard, December 28, 1887. Rockefeller Family Archives. RG 1. Box 30. Folder 233. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- 19 Letter to J.D. Rockefeller from H.E. Giles, December 18, 1889. Rockefeller Family Archives. RG 1. Box 16, Folder 126. Rockefeller Archive Center.
- 20 Letter to J.D. Rockefeller from H.E. Giles, February 22, 1892. Rockefeller Family Archives. RG 1. Box 16, Folder 126. Rockefeller Family Archives.
- 21 Read, p. 136.
- 22 As quoted by Read, p. 192.
- 23 "Spelman Seminary at Forty: Has It Paid?" General Education Board records. 1.1. Box 41, Folder 368.
- 24 General Education Board. Series 1.1. Box 40. Folder 364.
- 25 Guy-Sheftall, p. 44.
- 26 Letter to Mr. Rosenwald from Florence Read, December 20, 1928, Rosenwald Papers, Box 351, Folder 2, Fisk University, Nashville, TN.
- 27 Read, p. 213; letter to Trevor Arnett from Edwin R. Embree, December 14, 1928, Julius Rosenwald Fund Archives.

- 28 Interview with Miss Florence Reed [sic] by Leonard Outhwaite, Dorothea Davis, and Lawrence F. Frank, November 3, 1927. Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, Series 3. Box 103, Folder 1036.
- 29 Read, p. 219.
- 30 Letter to Miss Read from SLS, October 16, 1930. Rosenwald Collection. Box 351, Folder 2. Fisk University, Nashville, TN.
- 31 "A.W. Armour and L. H. Foster, "The University System, Exhibit A, of the Project on Atlanta University and Morehouse College" made to Jackson Davis, May 27, 1938, General Education Board records. Series 1.1. Box 41, Folder 374.

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF
SERVICE LEARNING IN A SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS
of Education Course**

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In a large undergraduate social foundations of education course, students often do not get direct experience with the phenomena and populations they study. Student's ability to understand theory, research, and application may be hindered by this lack of personal involvement with the material. Furthermore, when students confront material that is difficult to comprehend, they may become apathetic, denying or minimizing the issues. For example, I have frequently observed victim blaming and personal distancing when topics such as child abuse, corporal punishment, inclusion, adolescent pregnancy, poverty, and violence in schools are mentioned in class. Instructors of small classes can incorporate experiences such as in-class role playing exercises, field trips, or service-learning experiences that provide direct access to children. The success of service-learning in teaching social foundations of education courses has been previously reported. Benefits often include increased performance in final exams, positive attitude changes, integration of theory and practice, and high student satisfaction. Studies of the efficacy of service-learning, however, are based on a small number of participating students, from 3 to 44. In some studies, students were carefully screened before being allowed to participate. To incorporate hands-on experience into large sections of students with varying backgrounds, majors, and abilities can be daunting for the instructor. This paper describes how this can be accomplished in an efficient, feasible manner.

Overview of the Course

For the past ten years (1985-1995), I have taught EDUC 202: The School and the Community, a 3 credit sophomore level undergraduate course that fulfills the students' academic requirements in history and philosophy of education to approximately 130-160 students per semester.

Before describing the service learning part of the course, I will provide an overview of it. The School in the Community was open to all undergraduates whether they were seeking teacher certification or not. The course objectives were to:

A. History

1. Trace the historical achievements of the

American education system as well as the various periods in the development of the system.

2. Trace the Western European influence upon the educational patterns of the United States.
3. Trace current and historical practices which may influence the future of education.

B. Philosophy

4. Develop his/her philosophy of education.
5. Evaluate the various philosophies of education in order to define the educational functions of the school.

C. Curriculum

6. Describe the major curriculum organizational patterns with the public school.
7. Describe the pertinent trends and issues that affect the curriculum. Describe the major approaches to curriculum, and individual student evaluation and problems related to each approach.
8. Describe the major approaches to curriculum, and individual student evaluation and problems related to each approach.

D. Organization and Administration

9. Trace the roles of the federal government, the state legislature, state and local boards of education, and the state department of education.
10. Identify the means through which public schools are financed and the sources of this revenue at the local, state and federal levels.
11. Describe legal issues (as they relate to teaching in the public schools). Issues such as desegregation, teacher preparation and certification, basic skills, minimum required curricula, the handicapped and teacher liability will be discussed.

E. Special Topics

12. Describe the various aspects of American public education through the discussion of critical issues.
13. Describe the many problems and challenges facing American education.
14. Describe the critical issues listed below facing American Education and the problems and challenges related to each:
 - a. Inclusion

- b. Multicultural Education
- c. Ethics
- d. Citizenship Participation
- e. Professional Organizations and Unions
- f. Computer Assisted Instruction
- g. Alternative Education
- h. Careers, Technology and the Future

To allow students direct contact with children, forty nine (49) service-learning opportunities (see Appendix A) in school and community settings that serve children and families were developed. Many students have not had sufficient experience outside the classroom to help them clarify their career objectives or to determine their specific teaching areas or level (pre-K, elementary, middle, or high school) of interest. This course requirement allowed students to explore a school or social service setting in-depth. Moreover, fieldwork exposes students to the concept of public community service. Most colleges and universities emphasize the development of social and civic responsibility, yet traditional curricula often hinder this. Finally, I wanted students to confront a wider variety of issues concerning children in contemporary society than is typically experienced through readings and lectures, early in their educational course work.

Course Requirements

Slightly over 300 students were enrolled in four sections of a EDUC 202: The School in the Community. The course is required for all those undergraduate students seeking teacher certification and approximately 90 percent of the students were seeking certification. The remaining students were primarily majoring in the liberal arts and the sciences. A traditional lecture format made up 75 percent of the format used. The remaining 25 percent of the class was used by a variety of guest speakers who discussed such topics as: inclusion, multicultural education, classroom management, teaching opportunities abroad, teaching in urban areas, portfolio development, technology, etc. All students were required to write five papers in reaction to the following:

1. "A Lesson on Inclusion," by J. David Smith
2. "Why Do We Need This Class," by Valerie Pang
3. "Ethical Decision Making for Teachers," by Latty Eberlin
4. "Teaching: A Great Adventure"
5. "How To Obtain A Teaching Position"

Students also were required to take two multiple choice tests, as well as attend two field trips (i.e., the zoo, a school board meeting, PTO meeting, a cultural event, or the State Museum) that were offered. The writing assignments were designed to help students develop

analytic skills and the ability to read and write critically. Each reaction paper was worth a maximum of 10 points, totaling a maximum of 50 points.

The service learning component required all students to perform 15 hours of service in settings relevant to the course, which gives students adequate time to learn their responsibilities, provides maximum benefit to the children served, and offers a breadth of practical experiences. The service learning project required students to read all the assigned material relevant to the site, to keep a daily journal, and to submit a written summary of their work.

The term, service-learning, grew out of a federally funded model developed by the Southern Regional Education Board in the late 1960's. Service learning, as defined by Conrad and Hedin (1991), is the integration of the accomplishments of a public task with conscious educational growth. Thompson (1995) outlines three principles for all service learning as: (1) those being served control the service(s) provided; (2) those being served become better able to serve and be served by their own actions; and (3) those who serve also are learners and have significant control over what is expected to be learned.

Service-learning means that the curriculum objectives must be formed in the double context serving the needs of the students and those of the community. It provides a reality testing that affects the lives of people outside the life experience of the learner. Thus it can be argued that it carries serious moral considerations. A bit of reflection would reveal that the management of such a learning model would be difficult. It might be easily concluded that service-learning is much more work for the educational institution, instructors, and staff. The extra effort required is justifiable if there are significant educational values to be gained.

Students in EDUC 202: The School and the Community were given a list (see Appendix A) of approved school and agencies willing to accept volunteers. Seven supervisors or principals from the sites that could accommodate 15 or more students attended a class session early in the semester to describe their school or agency and answer any questions that students might have. Descriptions and contacts for participating agencies and schools were also provided, and students with the help of a graduate assistant made their own arrangements with these school and agencies. Each student and agency supervisor signed a contract that specified the student's expected duties. The instructors, the agency, and the student all kept copies of the contract. When students completed their work the supervisor evaluated their performance on sixteen criteria, (See Appendix B), such as: enthusiasm, social

and emotional competence, responsibility, demonstrates rapport with others, exhibits self confidence, accepts constructive criticism, willingness to work, organization, responds positively to supervision, demonstrates concern for clients, demonstrates initiative, expresses opinions and concerns with staff, communicates effectively, complies with rules and regulations, and dresses in a professional manner. This evaluation was worth a maximum of 10 points.

Class discussions encouraged critical thinking. In writing their journals, students were encouraged to strive for objectivity with their impressions and subjective comments. Journal excerpts were read in class, and experiences discussed. Alternative explanations of an event were often suggested by the instructor or other students. By exchanging information, students could look for similarities and differences across schools and agencies.

Students wrote in their journals their daily observations of classroom management, examples of inclusion, and multicultural education, as well as examples of teaching methods such as small group

examinations was worth 70 points.

Evaluation

There were slightly over 2,000 students who completed the service learning project between 1985 and 1995. Of those 314 students completed the experience during this evaluation period.

The primary sites were three local public schools, a homeless shelter, a home for abused children, an adult education center and the Department of Juvenile Justice (see Appendix A).

Students evaluated the course anonymously on a 16 item questionnaire. Timing of the administration of the questionnaire differed for the sections. In Sections 1 and 2, students were sent the questionnaire four months after completing the course. In Sections 3 and 4, students completed the evaluation during the last day of class. In Sections 1 and 2, 88 percent of the students returned the form. In Sections 3 and 4, 99 percent completed the form.

Five questions assessed the effectiveness of the course using a 5-point scale. A 2x2 multivariate analysis of variance was computed for these five questions. Only

discussions, and cooperative learning, etc. They were also encouraged to write their personal opinions of what they observed as related to the philosophies (perennialism, idealism, realism, pragmatism, reconstructionism, existentialism, and post-modernism) they had been studying in the course.

In the final written summary, students answered six questions: (1) Describe the school or agency setting (8 points); (2) Relate five things you observed to the material from the textbook and lecture (12 points); (3) Relate five things you observed to the outside readings (12 points); (4) Describe what you gained from the experience (6 points); (5) Describe what the school or agency gained from having you (6 points); (6) Describe what you did or did not learn from the Service Learning Project (6 points). Specifying points in advance made grading relatively easy. The three parts of the community service project were worth a total of 50 points. All three parts were submitted to the instructor at the completion of the community service work. Each of the two

the main effect of section was significant (Pillai's value=.047), $F(5,338)=3.36$, $p=.006$. Subsequent univariate tests were all significant. The means, standard deviations, and F ratios are displayed in Table 1. The section differences are most likely due to the timing of the evaluation. Section 3 and 4 students were in the midst of preparing for final exams for this and other courses and may have been anxious and feeling oppressed, whereas Section 1 and 2 students were assessed 4 months after completing the course and may have had the perspective of temporal distance.

Four questions assessing the service learning project suggested fairly strong satisfaction with the experience. Percentages in the four sections were comparable and were combined. A majority of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that: (A) the volunteer work had increased their learning of the text, (60 percent); (B) the volunteer work had increased their learning the lecture material (60 percent); (C) service learning was a valuable experience (94 percent); and (D) because of this experience, they planned to do more community service in the future (79 percent).

Table 1. Student Evaluation of the Course
Sections 1-2 Sections 3-4

Question	Sections 1-2		Sections 3-4		F(1,342)
	M	SD	M	SD	
I learned a lot.	1.62	.85	1.90	.72	10.04
My interest in psychology increased.	2.00	.82	2.38	.92	14.36
I am interested in taking another course in psychology.	2.09	.92	2.42	.96	10.59
I would recommend this instructor to other students.	1.43	.87	1.75	.93	9.54
I would take another course from this instructor if it was appropriate to my interests.	1.49	.95	1.82	1.02	9.02

Note. Responses ranged from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5).

aN=110. bN=237. *p< .001.

Section 1 and 2 students were asked if they were currently doing volunteer work. Twenty three of the 62 respondents reported they were, and two were employed by the site at which they had volunteered. Students in all four sections indicated that the experience was valuable for future professional and personal goals: (A) job applications (94 percent); (B) graduate or professional school applications (84 percent); (C) being a parent (75 percent); and (D) other types of volunteer work (73 percent). The majority (75 percent) reported that they would have liked to but did not have the time to do more than the minimum number of hours required in the community service project. All students were asked if the volunteer option should be offered in this course in the future and 330 of 347 respondents said yes.

Discussion

The personal impact of this experience on the students appears to have been considerable. Students' written work and comments on the follow-up evaluation provide evidence that the direct exposure to children was very beneficial in understanding the course content. For example, one student wrote: "Instead of just reading about a child being violent in class, I was actually able to see it take place." For several students, this experience helped to clarify their educational and career goals: "I have been considering a career as a middle school teacher, and this experience has made me realize that I could really enjoy it." This community service project seemed especially valuable in raising the students' awareness of many difficulties that they will be faced with when they enter the South Carolina public school system. One student wrote, "I'd never really been

exposed to people living in poverty or fighting to be free of drugs before. I just couldn't believe it at first." Others were also affected at a personal level. One student related her acute discomfort upon leaving a temporary homeless shelter after her volunteer work was completed for the day. She saw two of the residents on the street, who asked her where she was going. In her journal she wrote, "For the first time in my life, I felt truly ashamed saying 'I am going home.'"

Another important benefit of this service work can be the positive effect on the community, reducing the occasional tensions between a college or university and the surrounding community. Students in the four sections of EDUC 202: The School in the Community performed over 4,500 hours of community service, and the responses from all the volunteer sites were overwhelmingly positive. All of the sites have requested volunteers in the future and many expressed their disappointment that more courses did not require community service work. Students also reported feeling more integrated into the local schools and community rather than being merely campus residents.

The notion that learning is facilitated by active participation was advanced by John Dewey (1938). The field observations allowed the students to work face-to-face in their own surroundings within high schools, neighborhoods, and agencies for youth.

Another advantage of direct interaction is that a student learns things that may not be written down anywhere. Sometimes this is because the information is merely of local interest, and sometimes it is because the issue has not been researched. Workers in applied fields must know what to do regarding a given problem even if

it has not been thoroughly researched, and they must know what will work for local populations, institutions and conditions. Using this method in very large classes requires a fair amount of preparation (about 20 hours before the semester starts) and the enthusiastic assistance of one half-time (20 hour a week) graduate assistant. Establishing good working relationships with local schools and community agencies is essential. Although I have worked with over 40 sites, I worked most closely with the 7 largest or most popular sites every semester. Some students who commuted and lived a distance from Columbia, South Carolina, were permitted to make their own arrangements with prior approval of the instructor. Instructors need to assess carefully the liability issues involved in placing students in agencies and schools with children. Sugar and Livosky (1988) discussed this issue in clear detail. Of the over 300 volunteers in this study, I have received

only three minor complaints concerning the students. Two complaints involved the students not showing up at the school setting at the appointed time, and the other involved the site coordinator recommending that a student dress more professionally at the site. After conversations with all the students involved, the issues were resolved. Despite the time consuming placement, supervision, and evaluation procedures, the benefits of exposing students to social problems that affect children and families in our society can be obtained even in large classes.

I hope that this course encouraged students to analyze students, teachers, schools, and agencies systematically, to consider new methodologies and philosophies, to listen to the students/clients themselves, and to work cooperatively with them and their school and community.

Appendix A

EDUC 202: The School in the Community Community Action Project

Tutoring and Mentoring Opportunities Available

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Alcorn Middle School 2. Atlas Road Learning Center 3. C. A. Johnson High School 4. Virginia Pack Elementary 5. Northside Middle School 6. Pontiac Elementary School 7. Dreher High School 8. North Springs Elementary School 9. Palmetto Place 10. Children's Garden 11. Montessori Child Development Ctr. 12. American Red Cross 13. Hammond School 14. Booker T. Washington Child Development Center 15. Chapin Middle School 16. C C Pickney Elementary School 17. Hood Street Elementary School 18. Pierce Terrace Elementary School 19. Airport High School 20. Department of Juvenile Justice (Willow Lane, John G. Richards, and R and E) 21. Wil Lou Gray Opportunity School 22. Brookland-Cayce High School 23. Gilbert High School 24. Five Points High School | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25. Olympia School 26. Crayton Middle School 27. Distinctive Education Center 28. Lexington County Adult Ed. Ctr. 29. Dutch Fork High School 30. Nursery Road Elementary School 31. Lonnie B. Nelson Elem. School 32. Blythewood Academy 33. Aiken High School 34. St. Joseph Elementary School 35. Historic Columbia Foundations 36. Irmo High School 37. Irmo Middle School-Campus R 38. V.V. Reid Elementary School 39. Campus Coalition for Literacy 40. Boys Club of Greater Columbia 41. Columbia Housing Authority 42. Columbia Urban League 43. Lexington-Richland Alcohol and Drug Abuse Council 44. Richland Memorial Hospital 45. St. Lukes Neighborhood Center 46. Bethlehem Community Center 47. Brothers and Sisters, Inc. 48. Daybreak Christian Crisis Pregnancy Center |
|--|--|

APPENDIX B

EDUC: 202 The School And the Community
College of Education
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina 29208

COMMUNITY ACTION EVALUATION

Please furnish the information requested and add any comments which you consider pertinent. Your candid evaluation of the student's performance will be appreciated and treated confidentially. This completed evaluation will not constitute the final grade, but will be an important factor in grade determination.

Name of Student _____ Supervisor _____
Agency/Organization _____ Responsibilities _____
_____ Semester/Year _____ Total Hours _____
Completed _____

Please complete the report by encircling one number for each trait. An encircled 1 is Outstanding; 2 is Thoroughly Satisfactory; 3 is Average; 4 is Below Average; 5 is Unsatisfactory; and NA is Not Applicable.

Personal Qualities

- 1. Enthusiasm (Stimulating, Imaginative) 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 2. Social and emotional competence, (Warmth, consideration, cooperation) 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 3. Responsibility, (punctuality, reliability) 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 4. Demonstrated rapport with others 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 5. Exhibits self-confidence 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 6. Accepts constructive criticism 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 7. Willingness to work 1 2 3 4 5 NA

Professional Qualities

- 8. Organization 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 9. Responds positively to supervision 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 10. Genuine concern for clients 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 11. Safeguards confidential information 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 12. Demonstrates initiative 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 13. Expresses opinions and concerns with staff 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 14. Communicates effectively 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 15. Complies with rules and regulations 1 2 3 4 5 NA
- 16. Dresses in a professional manner 1 2 3 4 5 NA

Comments: _____

Signature of Site Supervisor _____ Date _____

Please return to: Tim Bergen, College of Education, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina 29208.

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**AGAINST THE STATUS QUO:
EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE THREE "Ps"
(POSITIVISM, POLITICS, AND POWER)**

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is an analysis of educational policy studies, both broadly and specifically defined, for the purpose of clarifying what educational policy studies means. This paper is meant to further the larger discussion surrounding policy studies by asking questions and by interrogating perceived assumptions. By raising critical questions about the ontological and axiological ramifications of doing policy research, "public" and "private" (or "partisan") considerations surrounding policy analysis are explored.

Normative in nature, this paper does not feign objectivity. Instead, the examination uses sources provided by politically-grounded and culturally-oriented organizations ("think-tanks," university brochures, policy center annual reports, etc.). Additional literature (primary texts, journal articles, position papers, etc.) supplements the original information. Section I includes definitions, illustrations, and examples while Section II raises normative considerations about the entire endeavor and asks questions about the ontological and axiological foundations of policy research.

SECTION I

DEFINITIONS

Educational policy gains much of its definition from primary and secondary iterations of meaning. Specifically, "policy" leads to "public policy," which leads to, among other ideas, "educational policy." "Policy," to begin, is a principle, plan, or course of action which is typically pursued by an individual, organization, or government. "Public policy" qualifies the primary definition by, theoretically, restricting the domain of the definition to groups (organizational and governmental) rather than highlighting individuals. This should not suggest individuals have no role in policy, but that public policies concentrate on the welfare of the larger public (to such a degree as a "public good" exists and is positively regarded). In linear fashion, then, "educational policy" is borne of "public policy" and typically denotes attempts to either reinforce or alter prevailing norms in schools.

Because "policy" is the seed which ultimately bears "educational policy," "policy" requires clarification if any sense is to be made of "educational policy." Kerr suggests that "policy," in its broadest iteration, uses an

"action language."¹ By this she differentiates between "behavior language" and "policy [action] language" by illustrating the actions of bees and the event of peeling onions.

If, for example, researchers observed the behaviors of bees, they might notice that bees sometimes perform a seemingly complicated dance when returning to their hive. Upon closer scrutiny, researchers might also observe that such behavior exists after bees collect food and that the "dance" indicates to other bees where food exists. It is appropriate, therefore, to note that the "dance" is a regular and patterned behavior. It would not be appropriate, however, to suggest that the bees have a "policy" for food collection.

When humans peel an onion, most cry. Not a choice, such an occurrence is a reaction or a natural behavior. It is not a policy to cry, but a "built-in" response. It is not, then, that the bee is non-human that it is odd to say the bee has a policy. "Instead, in both cases, policy language is inappropriate because neither the bee nor the human could do otherwise."²

It is important to note, though, that while some regular "motions" that human beings go through, such as crying in response to the onion's spray, cannot appropriately be described in policy (action) language, a good many human doings can appropriately...be described in action as well as behavior language.³

Even given this qualification, it remains the case that policy language exists to define (and redefine) what is real. "It is our policy that..." and "The policy clearly states..." place ontological boundaries on what actions, behaviors, or ideas, will be accepted. Crafted, policies represent axiological claims and, by their very nature, are subjective. Is such a truth problematic? Why? Why not? Section II will briefly deal with such concerns.

Temporal conclusions may not satisfy the question, "What is policy?" because the term "policy" can be replaced with "rules," "guidelines," "mandates," and the like, and still be consistent. For purposes of academic clarity, the difference is that "policy" is the larger umbrella under which the more specific terms fall. Furthermore, specific terms such as "rules," "guidelines," and "mandates" become the means for policy actualization. That a "policy" is "no exchanges or

refunds" sanctions the specific rules which store clerks use to guard against exchanges and refunds. "No exchanges or refunds" is considered a policy rather than a rule because it is based on market analysis and takes into consideration the larger point of economic stability and store longevity.⁴

Public policy and educational policy have similar defining features. While both "look out" for the welfare of their charges, educational policy, specifically, exists in an effort to guide schooling practice. What follows is a sampling of definitions of educational policy studies. Interestingly similar, the amassed policy reports present a clear picture of what it means to "do" educational policy studies: appeal to positivism, politics, and power.

Brief Review of Literature: Clarifying the Definition

Of the papers, reports, and various publications gathered, eleven states and a specific region are represented. Ten of the eleven states and the regional submission have representative publications which are very similar. Only Maryland has a publication different in approach from all other sources. Of the vast majority which are similar, the resemblances of purpose are seen in basically two ways, both of which are connected: 1) Appeals to impartial/objective data (positivism), and 2) Economic competition (politics/power). Policy research and, specifically, university-based educational policy centers, then, "are designed to provide nonpartisan, credible data on policy options and the impact of policy decisions."⁵ As this relates directly to schooling, the Indiana Consortium on Educational Policy Studies offers the following:

On international tests of math and science knowledge, American students consistently score poorly. On national tests, students score considerably lower than they did 20 years ago. More than a quarter of students drop out before they finish high school, and many of those who do finish cannot read, write, or calculate beyond basic levels. If the educational attainment of its future work force does not improve, America will find it increasingly difficult to compete in the high-tech, information-based global economy of the 21st century.⁶

Similarly, a California policy group begins its report by noting that

Recent California Assessment Program (CAP) scores, for the eighth grade, show an achievement decline. The most recent round of National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) scores place California near the bottom of all states in reading achievement...Enrollment growth, while slowing in 1992-93, still threatens to swamp a system which no longer has the capacity to construct

new schools in a timely manner.

Linking the purpose of its policy center with an ideal, the University of North Florida suggests that "[t]he purpose...is to stimulate points of discussion among the many stakeholders of American education. This represents the collaborative thinking of a group of educators interested in reforming the current system in ways to make it both competitive and productive in the global economy."⁷ The inclusive goal of another policy center, this one in South Carolina, is to serve as a vehicle for focusing research on educational policy issues pertaining to teaching, learning, school organization, and student performance in schools, colleges, and universities in South Carolina and the Southeast. The SCEPC is additionally involved in the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information useful to educational decision makers at the local, state, and regional levels including district officials, school administrators, classroom teachers, State Department of Education officials, governor's office staff, special task forces, legislators, members of the State Board of Education, laboratories, and foundations.⁸ In general, then, policy centers and policy research primarily involve accounting; quantitative data analysis; national, regional, or state economic considerations; global competition concerns; and performance assessments.

Overriding these various purposes is the need to supply information to policymakers. Given the political climate of the United States during the 1980s, McCarthy notes the shift in emphasis from policy making on the federal level to policy making on the state level. The result is an assertion of power by policy centers which are interested in replacing lobbyists and partisan organizations with "non-partisan" information. One difficulty, as McCarthy points out, is that policymakers are more prone to get their information from "their own staffs, trusted lobbyists, and in some cases state education department staff."⁹

What this means is that in order to have policymakers use them, policy centers must not only appeal to the "non-partisan" research they purport to do, but must convey the findings in such a way that legislators will 1) understand the information and 2) utilize the information. In Colorado, "[t]he need for a Colorado Educational Policy Consortium is quite basic. In these times of rapid state educational policy change, policy makers need ready information and support as they try to influence spending and learning."¹⁰ Importantly, then, the focus of policy analysts is predetermined by political officials. The studies, in other words, are traditionally set by legislatures. Tax studies, student population

growth rates, teacher to pupil ratios, etc., become studies (i.e. funded) when issues involving such information are raised in legislative session or are underwritten by foundations. Yet, acting as neutral sites for policy investigation, "[c]enters summarize the advantages and disadvantages of various policy options and assess the impact of initiatives after they have been implemented."¹¹

Do policy centers raise questions about the questions they are asked to investigate? In other words, given the traditional role of policy centers, are they tools used by politicians to further partisan agendas?¹² That policy centers do "non-partisan" research renders the question moot as it relates to policy-center responsibility. Or does it? Before exploring considerations of the former questions (in Section II), examples of what educational policy centers offer as reports and findings will help clarify what it means to "do" policy research. To be clear, the immediate question to answer is "What does educational policy research yield?"

ILLUSTRATING POLICY CENTER "PRODUCTIVITY": FURTHER REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Pennsylvania Educational Policy Studies (PEPS) developed a school district database in order "to enable easy accessibility of data for viewing and comparing school district information. Comments from users of our previous version were overwhelming [*sic*] positive."¹³ The report lists responses as examples of database usage:

--In response to a board member's statement that this district had the highest number of administrators per pupil, I was able to check using this system and show there was no truth to that statement. -- comparing the percent of special education students in districts with different student populations. -- examining student performance for districts with similar percent AFDC. --It is an excellent, quick way to compare districts-statewide. This is most useful at negotiation time.¹⁴

The Consortium on Educational Policy Studies, similar to PEPS, publishes circulars dealing with policy

Somewhat different from the previous samples, the Policy Analysis Center for Kentucky Education (PACKE) still frames policy analysis in terms of economic competition, but there is a slightly distinct tack. The similarity and difference are seen in the following abstract:

This paper clarifies core concepts in Judge Ray Corns' decision that the General Assembly has failed

issues. Such a forum allows various policy analysts the opportunity to share their research. In the edition dealing with alcohol and drug prevention, the author offers the following conclusion: "Public schools have a responsibility, as well as an opportunity, to educate youth about the consequences of drug abuse, and states have a responsibility to assist schools in their efforts. Careful planning of drug education messages can help ensure success in program design, and careful training of drug educators can help ensure success in program delivery. If these two "technical" concerns are met, then funding becomes the biggest obstacle to effective drug abuse prevention programs."¹⁵

In another of the bulletins, the issue of alternative teacher certification is investigated. The analysis includes considerations of "pros" and "cons" and briefly reviews an example from New Jersey which might be considered as a model. The author concludes with the following policy suggestions:

- 1) Candidates should receive some training *before* they enter the classroom for the first time, and they should not be burdened with excessive training during the first harried months of their teaching experience.
- 2) Teacher training programs that involve collaboration between the state, the individual districts, and schools of education seem to work best.
- 3) At least some of the training should be conducted by veteran public school teachers, who can offer practical advice based on their own experiences in the classroom.
- 4) Adequate supervision is crucial, especially the guidance of a mentor teacher. States need to make sure that schools participating in alternative certification programs have the resources to make this commitment.
- 5) Programs should be closely evaluated to determine the effectiveness of training, the extent of supervision, and the quality of teachers certified through alternative routes.¹⁶

to provide an efficient system of common schools in Kentucky. The author argues that the realization of a constitutionally sound, efficient system of public elementary and secondary schools in Kentucky and the nation requires that policy decision-makers extend their attention beyond changes in the school system. Policy decision-makers in Kentucky, and the members of Kentucky's General Assembly, should

concern themselves with out-of-school social policies that will strengthen the socialization function of the family. And, even more importantly, policy decision-makers must focus on the need for fundamental social change. Such will require new, integrated relationships among businesses and industries, federal and state levels of government, and local communities. These relationships should aim at the development of a full employment economy devoted to the production and availability of quality manufactured goods and services for meeting basic human needs.¹⁷

Ultimately linked to business and industry, La Brecque's example of policy research is similar to previous iterations of policy research. A difference, aside from the context and specificity of the analysis, is the more normative approach to the problem. Less positivistic, in other words, the project comes at policy from a slightly different vantage point. Herein lie the ultimate questions which this paper raises in Section II.

SECTION II TO CORRESPOND OR NOT?

Section I outlined what educational policy represents in current practice. Reports and white papers reviewed were overwhelmingly similar in their objectives and format. This section of the paper questions whether doing traditional educational policy studies represents status quo reproduction. This section also questions whether a reformulated interpretation of policy studies could guard against status quo reproduction and offer different means of validating disparate forms of questioning without marginalization and without regressing to relativism.

POSITIVIST AND NORMATIVE ANALYSIS: CONSIDERING AN ALTERNATIVE

Educational policy centers and educational policy research, because of their outgrowth from "policy" and "public policy" (or "social policy"), developed "under the influence of the positivistic methodology of the behavioral sciences and constitute a collection of approaches that rely on the scientific method and its techniques: cost-benefit analysis, survey research, mathematical simulation models, experimental design, input-output studies, multiple regression, and systems analysis."¹⁸ Given such development, the field is increasingly regarded as a rigorous, applied social science. As part of such development, and regardless of perceived credibility, the methods and means and purposes of the research should be seriously questioned. In part, the concern arises out of the "growing

dissatisfaction in the social and political sciences over the use of scientific methods in the study of normative political and social phenomena."¹⁹ As though evaluating creative writing assignments primarily in accord with grammarian rules and procedures, the effort is misplaced. The thrust of the project-at-hand does not correspond to the evaluative procedures. Similarly in educational policy research, ideas for policy analysis become entangled in market logic and accountability schemes when the thrust or essence of the larger project (pedagogy) is neither market logic nor accountability, regardless of appeals to "real world" phenomena.

The point turns on the meaning of analysis and the role of analysis, in this case regarding educational policy. Analysis is literally a loosening up, an untying, or a breaking down of the relationships of the parts of the whole. Unless there is an integrating counter-action (synthesis), analysis has only a one-directional mode.

Couple this view of a double-edge critical analysis with the further assertion, not always agreed to, that policy, by its very nature, is fundamentally normative and intentional, not merely a description of standardized operating procedures for non-reflective behaviors. In other words, policies themselves are shot through and through with value assumptions, either to the effect that these behaviors ought to be prescribed, or that certain prescribed results should be attained through these policy actions. It would then follow that basically the parts of any policy to be analyzed are normative, practical judgements of moral import, and that a policy cannot be critically reconstituted apart from yet deeper ethical inquiry into the intended and unforeseen consequences of that policy.²⁰

If analysis primarily means the breaking down or untying of the relationships of the parts of the whole, educational policy research is already steeped in such a tradition. The major flaw of current educational policy analysis, however, is the use of the veil of objectivity to mask the primacy of axiological underpinnings. Before and beyond documentation and notation, then, critical scrutiny of meaning, purpose, and valuation should be the focus of legitimate policy considerations. Data banks and FTE ratios are important, but not primary. Funded tax studies and standardized test listings are traditional, but they perpetuate the very problems which plague American schools: appeals to positivism and technorationality.

This value-neutral view provides the groundwork for a policy science that emphasizes empirically oriented technical criticisms of means designed to achieve presupposed goals or ends. When this instrumental conception of policy science is carried to a logical extreme, technical efficiency is posited as the essence of

rational social action.²¹

A critical approach directed at reformulating the definition and role of educational policy analysis should be attempted. The difference is based on the epistemological shift between the likes of (early) Wittgenstein and Russell and those of the Vienna Circle (Schlick, etc.) to the likes of (late) Wittgenstein, Marcuse, Dewey, and more recently postmodernists like Kinchloe, Giroux, and McLaren.

Early Wittgensteinian epistemology relates to policy studies in the way in which Wittgenstein (not unlike Russell) posits what it is that can be known. Pointedly, early Wittgenstein's ontological supposition is that there is a universal form of language (and numeracy). Any proposition whatsoever carries with it the whole of "logical space." This point is linked to the notion that there is an *essence* of propositions. For early Wittgenstein the essence of propositions is "the essence of all description, and thus the essence of the world."²² The essence of propositions is the same as "the universal form of proposition" (*Die allgemeine Satzform*). That there is a universal form of proposition is proved by the fact that all possibilities--i.e., all forms of proposition--"must be foreseeable."²³

The later Wittgenstein, however (particularly in the *Investigations*), rejects the idea that each proposition carries with it the whole of language. A sentence presupposes a language game, but a language game will be only a small part of the whole of language. Wittgenstein exemplifies the language game in Section 2 of the *Investigations* when he writes about a builder and his helper. In addition to the builder and the helper, there are materials for building. The builder and the helper have a language that includes "block, slab, beam, mortar, etc. When the builder calls out one of the terms, the helper brings the material he has learned to bring in response to the call. Wittgenstein called the words and the actions which join them together a language game (*Sprachspiel*). He says "it is complete in itself and could even be conceived to be the entire language of a tribe."²⁴

In place of mortar, brick, slab, etc., the language game of educational policy studies utilizes student performance, FTE ratios, and effectiveness models. The behaviors which result (and round out the language game) include particular kinds of testing, funding, and teaching styles. The inherent appeals to positivism and the foundationalism of science represented in such language games is only partially valid--only part of the point--because the implications of such language games, if not interrogated (as the later Wittgenstein argued), avoid the types of complexities in educational policy studies which advance, in Grossberg's words, "the

broad terrain of popular cultural forms."²⁵ If educational policy continues in the simplistic language game which currently characterizes it, (later) Wittgenstein's interest in "criss-crossing and overlapping" will be avoided. What makes this a problem is that the arena of schooling, of all arenas, is the *very* place for "criss-crossing" interests and "overlapping" ideas. If the domination of positivism persists, criss-crossing and overlapping are inhibited in all ways other than positivistically. Marcuse offers the injunction this way:

The trouble is that the statistics, measurements, and field studies of empirical sociology and political science [and policy studies] are not rational enough. They become mystifying to the extent to which they are isolated from the truly concrete context which makes the facts and determines their function.²⁶

For Marcuse, the "truly concrete context" of schooling should not be objectified by the measurements and numeracy of traditional educational policy studies.

Riley summarizes the importance of the shift in epistemology in three parts. First is the "belief that perception, rather than being conceptually neutral, is structured by both linguistic categories and the mental attitudes and interests of the observers."²⁷ Kinchloe puts it this way:

Even though it may blind us to various aspects of the social world, the one-truth epistemology of modernism has held and still holds great appeal. Seduced by its claim to neutrality, scientists and educators employ Cartesian-Newtonian epistemology in their quest for the higher ground of unbiased truth. The ideal modernist educator becomes the detached practitioner, and independent grator who rises above the values of special interests.²⁸

Policy studies, in the traditional way it is practiced, runs the risk of extracting from education the very context that authentic (i.e. practical and workable) policy requires. Linked to this is Riley's second epistemological concern about the degree to which "the categories in terms of which experience is organized and, in turn, known, as well as canons of truth and validity, reflect the values and interests of different groups at different times in history." Such a contention is really arguing for the type of criss-crossing and overlapping of context alluded to earlier by Wittgenstein. Arguing in a similar vein, Giroux calls for the "necessity of redefining the importance of difference while at the same time seeking articulations among subordinate groups and historically privileged groups committed to social transformations that deepen the possibility for radical democracy and human survival."²⁹

For schools, policy which extracts itself from such considerations could still be charted and pie-graphed. They would not, however, transform current inequities in public schools. The third shift for Riley suggests that the policy analyst "does not encounter reality as uninterpreted but rather as something mediated or constructed by conceptual schema," whether policies, paradigms, or doctrines. Admitting such a truism and articulating the centrality of the underlying point (anti-positivism) means that educational policy studies could be expanded and redefined to include the multitude of perspectives which are a part of schooling, but are marginalized under positivistic mechanisms of development and assessment.

In sharp opposition to positivism, which emphasizes scientific description and discovery of the world as it exists, this [normative/postmodernist] epistemological tradition has fostered the emergence of an emphasis on political and social involvement. From this position, the proper goal of the social sciences is not just to explain the social world but also to change and improve it.³⁰

Policy studies then, as in Section I, becomes problematic when it is demarcated as though void of bias or valuation. When McCarthy and Hall state that policy centers "are designed to provide non-partisan, credible data on policy options and the impact of policy decisions," they attempt to mask subjectivity by claiming objectivity. They are buoyed by the studies which begin with standardized test mowlings and, while not a conspiracy, per se, are part of the larger narrative which defines what is "real" not only regarding policy studies, but regarding larger ontological factors surrounding policy studies.

Challenging such narratives and offering normative analysis as one alternative to the prevailing norm is the point. The consequences of not considering alternatives (normative analysis or something else) will be the perpetuation of status quo expectations regarding what it means to "do" policy analysis. Given that this project entailed the review of numerous documents (whose sheer existence at least minimally defines what policy studies means), and given the sameness of the products of labor by the various factions, it would not, in the final analysis, be a difficult task to replicate what has been defined as educational policy studies. The challenge is, rather, in making educational policy studies meaningfully different (i.e. public) from the documents currently offered as "policy."

ENDNOTES

1 Donna H. Kerr, *Educational Policy: Analysis, Structure, and Justification* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976), 1-13. See, also, Ann Majchrzak, *Methods for Policy Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 1984), 12. Majchrzak defines policy research as "the process of conducting research on, or analysis of, a fundamental social problem in order to provide policymakers with pragmatic, action-oriented recommendations for alleviating the problem."

2 Kerr, 2.

3 Ibid., 3.

4 The extent to which a policy is contingent upon its being written out is a parallel question which needs further exploration.

5 Martha M. McCarthy and Gayle C. Hall, "The Emergence of University-Based Education Policy Centers," *Trends & Issues* (Eugene, OR: ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management, 1989): 1.

6 Consortium on Educational Policy Studies, *Status of Education in Indiana: An Overview* (Bloomington, IL: Indiana University, 1990), 1.

- 7 Donna Evans and Cheryl Fountain, *Education Makes America: A National Vision for Excellence in Education* (Jacksonville, FL: Center for Studies in Education, 1992), 1.
- 8 Leonard Pellicer, et al., *1993 Annual Report* (Columbia, SC: South Carolina Educational Policy Center, 1993), 8.
- 9 Ibid., 25.
- 10 Michael Murphy, et al., "Proposal for a Colorado Educational Policy Consortium," Paper presented to the College of Education, University of Colorado (1993): 1.
- 11 Ibid., 26.
- 12 Note that only four university-based education policy centers existed before 1986. Eighteen centers existed in 1990 and the exponential growth since is noted in McCarthy, "University-Based Policy Centers: New Actors in the Educational Policy Arena," p. 25.
- 13 Pennsylvania Educational Policy Studies, "PEPS PC: School District Database," (September, 1992): 1.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 William J. Bailey, "Preventing Alcohol and Other Drug Problems Through Drug Education," *Policy Bulletin* (May 1988): 4.
- 16 Mark Buechler, "Alternative Certification for Teachers," *Policy Bulletin* (March 1990): 2.
- 17 Richard La Brecque, "What Types of Policies are Required for a Constitutionally Sound, Efficient Educational System of Common Schools?" A policy paper prepared for the Policy Analysis Center for Kentucky Education (PACKE), Lexington, Kentucky (1991): 2.
- 18 Frank Fischer, *Politics, Values, and Public Policy: The Problem of Methodology* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), 1.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Jack Conrad Willers, "Ethics in Educational Policy Analysis," in *Philosophical Studies in Education: Proceedings of the O.V.P.E.S. Annual (1986) Meeting* (Terre Haute, IN: Indiana State University, 1987), 7-8.
- 21 Fischer, 22-23.
- 22 Ibid., 4.5.
- 23 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Notebooks 1914-1916* trans.G.E.M. Anscombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 89.
- 24 See Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, G.E.M. Anscombe, Rush Rhees, and G.H. von Wright, eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1953). Also see Norman Malcom, "Ludwig Josef Johann Wittgenstein," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 8., 335.
- 25 Lawrence Grossberg, "Pedagogy in the Present: Politics, Postmodernity, and the Popular," in *Popular Culture, Schooling, and Everyday Life* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1989), 91. Deitz makes a similar, though distinct, case in the field of behaviorism, also using Wittgenstein as a lens through which to view the problem of assumptiveness. See Samuel M. Deitz, "On Terms: Two Correct Definitions of 'Applied,'" *The Behavior Analyst* 6, (Spring, 1983): 105-106.
33. Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 190.

27 Gresham Riley, "Introduction," in Values, Objectivity, and the Social Sciences, ed. Grisham Riley (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1974), 3-6.

28 Joe L. Kinchloe, Toward a Critical Politics of Teacher Thinking: Mapping the Postmodern (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1993), 4.

29 Henry Giroux and Roger Simon, Popular Culture, Schooling, and Everyday Life (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1989), vii-viii.

30 Fischer, 25.

CAN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION SURVIVE MULTICULTURALISM?

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One result of the civil rights movement was a questioning of the assimilationist ideology that had prevailed in the United States from the beginning of its national history. Why should a person from a non-Anglo American culture be required to reject his or her own culture and become assimilated to the mainstream culture in order to be a first-class citizen and enjoy all the rights and privileges of U.S. citizenship? Why not accept our cultural diversity as a source of strength and opportunity? It was time to build a truly pluralistic society and replace the old melting pot metaphor with a tossed salad! Everyone could be a part of the social salad without losing his or her individual identity. Celebrate diversity!

Achieving cultural pluralism in the United States would require a significant change in personal attitudes on the part of many Americans. Prejudice and bigotry would have to be eliminated or at least curtailed. Because this is an educational process, the schools would have to play a major role.

In 1978 the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) made multicultural education one of its standards. State boards of education began to mandate a component of multicultural education in degree programs and certification requirements. Henceforth, all certified teachers and school administrators would possess the awareness and sensitivity necessary to work with children from a variety of cultural backgrounds.

It was easier to mandate a program in multicultural teacher education than it was to determine its proper content. Certainly, school personnel would have to examine carefully their own attitude towards the culturally different. Bigoted teachers and administrators cannot possibly create an effective learning environment for children of diverse cultures.

In order to understand a person's cultural background, it is necessary to know the most significant points about his or her culture. Teachers and administrators need to develop skills in culture analysis. A good course in multicultural education must include work in this area.

An effective way of studying a culture is to compare and contrast it with one's own culture in terms of those aspects which exist in both. Cultural anthropologists have identified a list of culture universals, things which exist in all known cultures of the world. They include language, family and social organization, material traits (food, clothing, shelter, tools and utensils), religion,

government, trade, mythology and scientific knowledge, art, and war. Using these universals as a check-list, we can obtain a rather comprehensive view of a culture whether by visiting with individuals personally or by using library resources. We have found personal interviews with people from diverse cultures to be particularly rewarding. Most individuals are pleased when someone shows interest in their cultural background and are happy to share their experiences and insights.

Despite numerous references in contemporary professional literature to multicultural curricula, multicultural teaching strategies, and multicultural modes of learning, there is little substance to them beyond what is included in a good standard teacher education program. An examination of generally accepted principles of multicultural education will attest to this fact.

In the early 1980s, Christine I. Bennett identified ten basic principles of multicultural education in the first edition of her book, *Comprehensive Multicultural Education*. Most suggestions and recommendations found in the literature since then are encompassed in her principles.

Multicultural teaching should start "where people are." This is nothing more than John Dewey's child-centered curriculum where teachers consider the skill level and maturation of the learner when preparing a lesson. The only thing added is an awareness of the children's cultural background when it is different from that of the teacher. This is where it is necessary for the teacher to possess skills in cultural analysis.

One purpose of multicultural education is to help children understand their own ethnocentrism and that of other persons who are culturally different from them. Since nobody can avoid the logic of his or her own culture, everybody is ethnocentric. There is no problem when everyone is willing to accept everyone else's ethnocentrism and appreciate every culture's contribution to American society. A good multicultural school will teach children those contributions.

To expect quick, overnight changes in children's attitudes towards those who are different is unrealistic. Teachers must not get discouraged. The quest for true cultural pluralism is a never ending one, but it is worth the effort.

Multicultural topics should be integrated into the standard curriculum rather than presented as a special class or course. They should deal with matters of

concern to all cultural groups in the community and strive for higher-level, conceptual learning. This is generally true for all effective teaching and learning.

Good multicultural teachers will make their lesson content inclusive of the diverse cultural groups in American society. Textbooks, supplementary readers, bulletin boards, and assignments will reflect our cultural diversity.

A variety of teaching strategies will be used, not because there is necessarily a particular best strategy for each cultural group, but because each group will contain some individuals who are primarily visual learners, some who are primarily auditory learners, some who learn best with manipulatives, some who enjoy discovery learning, and some who have not yet developed their critical thinking skills. The most effective teachers will use a variety of methods whether in a culturally diverse classroom or a homogeneous classroom.

Children learn best in a secure, comfortable environment. The social structure of the classroom should contribute to this end. Those youngsters who come from cultures where boys and girls are kept apart from the opposite sex until they have become accustomed to being in the same room with them. Those who come from male-dominant societies should not be placed under the direction of girls until they have become accustomed to seeing girls in leadership positions. Those from noncompetitive societies should be introduced only gradually to competition. Every effort should be made to give the cultural minority students a comfortable sense of belonging.

Multicultural education must deal with the affective as well as the cognitive. Knowledge is of limited value unless its possessor is committed to do something with it or about it. Although this is true of all knowledge, it is particularly important when considering the types of attitudinal change necessary to attain cultural pluralism. It is not enough to know that bigotry exists. We must be determined to eliminate it from our behavior.

Making curricular content relevant to student interests has been a principle of progressive education from its beginning. Kurt Lewin, a noted Gestalt psychologist, developed his life-space construct to help us visualize the importance of relating learning tasks to positive valence regions already in the learner's psychological environment. So this is another principle that multicultural teaching shares with all effective teaching. It requires student-centered teachers willing to produce learner-centered curricula.

A primary responsibility of the schools is to teach academic content. In Texas, the state has specified certain essential elements in language, mathematics,

science, and social studies for each grade level.

Teachers are required to teach the essential elements and pupils are expected to learn them. To some extent individual teacher salaries, at least pay increases, are determined by pupil achievement.

The essential elements are the same for all pupils of the same grade level. There is not a special list for Hispanics and another for African Americans. Multicultural teaching y all students. It is a means to an end, not the end in itself.

Multicultural education should utilize community resources and involve parents in their children's education. This is another principle that applies generally to good teaching. Unfortunately, it is a principle overlooked by too many teachers. Community resources can be used by the teacher in two ways: take the students into the community (field trips) or bring the community into the classroom (resource persons, artifacts, electronic media, etc.). Progressive education placed much emphasis on field trips during the 1930s and 40s. Increased gasoline prices in the early 1970s and greater awareness of school liability for accidents have limited the number of field trips most teachers may plan each year. However, there are many enthusiastic persons with hobbies or avocations related to various aspects of the curriculum who would be delighted to visit a classroom to share information and insights.

Parents of minority children make excellent resource persons when studying about a given culture. Inviting them into the school for a presentation will give both them and their children a greater sense of belonging. Parents who have been made to feel that they are an important part of the school are much more likely to attend parent-teacher conferences and PTA meetings than those who have not. Multicultural education must teach about the social and historical realities of American society and help students understand the causes of oppression and inequality. Dealing with this broad topic will certainly raise many controversies. Teachers must be willing and able to treat issues objectively and fairly. All sides of an issue must be presented with an accurate rationale for each. If any rationale runs contrary to American constitutional principles, the position supported by such a rationale must be rejected. Students should be permitted to make up their own minds and, based upon its rationale, choose to support any valid position. T should help students discover ways in which some social problems might be resolved.

Multicultural educators must realize that the care, understanding, and sensitivity they show towards their students is likely to be the most important influence on student motivation and performance. All teachers who

are remembered by their students as great teachers, those who made a real difference, are those individuals who cared about them as persons. If one doesn't like children, he or she should stay out of the classroom!

A careful perusal of the above principles of multicultural education reveals that an effective multicultural teacher is simply an effective teacher with an enhanced understanding of and sensitivity to cultural differences. It is a good teacher who is willing to do whatever is necessary to help the culturally different child achieve in the classroom.

Multicultural Controversy in the 1990s

Although many teachers are enthusiastically endeavoring to implement the principles of multicultural education in their classrooms, their efforts may well be jeopardized by the controversy raging in the society at large. The controversy centers around the meaning of our national motto, *E pluribus unum*, literally translated "Out of many, one." Some believe the *pluribus* refers to the many ethnically different people who make up our nation. Others believe it refers to the thirteen independent states which joined to form the United States of America. All agree that *unum* refers to our one, indivisible nation. Both terms pose significant imperatives that have been a part of the national culture from its beginning. The *pluribus* values of freedom, diversity, and individualism are in constant tension with the *unum* values of authority, commonality, and conformity. Which set of values should be predominant? In a thoughtful essay on the subject, Carlos E. Cortes has written

Americans vary in their relative emphasis on *pluribus* and *unum*. Some emphasize *pluribus*, giving primacy to the defense of individual freedom and societal diversity. Others emphasize *unum*, arguing that the maintenance of societal unity reigns as the more essential value, often superseding the protection of *pluribus* rights, privileges, predispositions, and desires....

Yet both *pluribus* and *unum* must have limits. *Pluribus* extremism can result in societal disintegration, particularly in light of our growing racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity. However, *unum* extremism can lead to the societal oppression of individual rights and group options. (Cortes, 1994, p. 6).

In attacking assimilationist ideology, *pluribus* zealots either ignore or deny the legitimacy of America's mainstream culture. It is depicted as a product of dead, white males of European ancestry who were determined to oppress all females and people of color. The founding

fathers are criticized for having been products of their own cultural heritage. By initially accepting the institution of human slavery, they established a society where racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination would prevail even though slavery itself would be abolished. The mainstream culture must be replaced with something else! Such critics are often referred to in the media as "multiculturalists."

To *unum* advocates, moderates as well as zealots, an attack upon mainstream culture makes no sense. The Constitution with its Bill of Rights and provision for amendments has provided the world's most successful democratic republic. Slavery was abolished, universal suffrage established, and a high standard of living attained. Efforts to extend equality of opportunity to women and minorities continue. The benefits of living in the United States have attracted immigrants from all over the world and are continuing to do so. Few of them have any desire to return permanently to their native countries or to maintain the same lifestyle they knew there. They want to participate in the mainstream culture of the United States!

Mainstream culture in the United States is primarily Anglo-American. The thirteen original states had been British colonies. The founding fathers were mostly of English ancestry. Their political views were in line with the thinking of the great English philosopher, John Locke. The basis of our legal system is found in the English common law. Our dominant language is English. We value punctuality and critical thinking. That we have received important contributions from many other cultures does not obviate the fact that the culture is basically Anglo-American.

In recent years some have argued that multicultural education should deal with more than cultural and ethnic diversity. Issues of gender, disability, and sexual preference should be included. Many educators believe that the needs of the disabled students are best met by those trained in special education. They are fearful that to include controversial gender and sexual preference issues would, at best, divert the attention of school personnel away from the special needs of the culturally different child and, in the worst-case scenario, cause multicultural education to be dropped from the curriculum.

During the early 1990s considerable controversy erupted on many college and university campuses over something called political correctness. Certain terms were no longer politically correct. The use of those terms would bring criticism and sanctions. Some professors even lost their jobs for using terms which they didn't know were not PC!

No thinking individual would argue that negative

racial and ethnic epithets should be approved for use in contemporary society. It is not logical, however, to rewrite history in an effort to remove them from a consideration of times when they were in use. Efforts have been made to remove Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, one of America's greatest novels, from library shelves and school reading lists simply because it contains such a word!

Some currently politically correct terms are African-American, Asian-American, Native American, Hispanic, and people of color. It is not PC to use Negro, black, Oriental, or Indian even though these terms have never been used generally as derogatory terms. Some of the non-PC terms are actually more accurately descriptive of the peoples to whom they refer, Iranian, or Pakistani ancestry might accurately be called Asian-American. But the term is used primarily to refer to people of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese, Thai, and Filipino ancestry--people of the Orient! It is not uncommon to find Hispanics who prefer to be identified with their more specific cultural heritage as Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, or Cubans.

Perhaps the real significance of PC is understood when one considers that most African-Americans are supportive of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as it works to promote Black History Month and lends support to various programs to benefit the United Negro College Fund.

Another simmering controversy on many college and university campuses during the 1990s is whether or not to change the required core of general education courses to reflect more diversity. Pluribus advocates want to include more material on non-Western history and literature. Unum partisans resist their efforts and argue that we must continue to emphasize the values, customs, and mores of Western civilization of which the United States is a part and a product. Former Secretary of Education William J. Bennett says that we should study and defend Western civilization for three reasons: because it is ours, because it is good, and because it is under attack. He writes

If it can be said that today there is one objective to which all Americans should adhere, I believe that it is the defense of the West and the extension of its principles. To those who are most concerned with justice, with equality, with human dignity, there can be no greater cause. The places today where the rights of women are most threatened are the places

where the rights of all people are systematically denied, the nations, in short, where the ideas developed over 2,500 years in the West have failed to prevail. For all of us, for women as for men, these ideas, these Western ideas, remain the last, best hope on earth. (Bennett, 1988, p. 200-201).

Nevertheless, many general education core curricula have been modified to include more multicultural perspectives. Even Stanford University's famous course in the History of Western Civilization has been replaced with a course in World Cultures. Many classical authors have been dropped from required reading lists to make room for African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, Native-American, and female authors.

The Role of Multicultural Educators

With the amount of multicultural controversy, much of it emotional rather than logical, occurring in our society, it is important that teachers and school administrators not be confused by it nor sucked into it. Schools must work to maintain a proper balance between the pluribus and unum values. They must help to increase the capacities of all students to function effectively in our nation's mainstream culture. Minority students must acculturate to the cultural mainstream sufficiently to compete successfully in education, business, etc. so that they can participate fully in all the benefits of our society. Schools have no right, however, to require or even expect that minority students totally assimilate into the mainstream culture, thereby rejecting all distinctive traits of their ethnic cultures. School personnel must help minority students and their parents learn when, where, and how they must adapt to mainstream cultural norms and when it is appropriate for them to rely on their ethnic norms. All children must be helped to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for living successfully within our culturally diverse society.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE, UNKNOWN RENOWNED TEACHER AND PHILOSOPHER

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To facilitate perspective for our topic, we seek to provide information as to place, time, and population. Throughout we refer to the India prior to the 1947 partition with Pakistan.

A review of the globe would reveal that the United States extends from approximately 50 north of the equator (latitude) toward the equator to about 25, near the Tropic of Cancer. By contrast, the Tropic of Cancer runs about through the middle of India and its southern border is about 10 north of the equator. Although India has the highest mountain peaks in the world, it also has some very hot and humid areas.

Regarding origins, most people can readily fix the advent of non Indians in the new world as circa 1492 AD. As to the "Native Americans" who met those Europeans (and the Africans who were forced to accompany them), much is yet to be resolved. Some Paleo-Indians may have arrived from Asia as early as 20,000 or even 30,000 years ago. Some believe most of them came about 12,000 years ago as the climate warmed, glaciers melted, etc. We must leave it for others to pursue such chronology as well as that of the Hohokam and Anasazi peoples who appeared thousands of years later in what is now the Southwestern United States. Although considerable trouble and turmoil accompanied the European (and African) experiences in the New World, that experience was quite different from that of the inhabitants of India.

Although the origins of Egypt, Sumeria, and other nations apparently predate the origins of India, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are regarded as some of the earliest cities in the world. The civilization in India centered around these two sites from ca 2500 BC to 1500 BC. Alexander the Great was in the Panjab area ca 327-325 BC. "By 317 BC the last traces of Greek authority in the Panjab had disappeared" (Spear, 1972, p. 53).

As implied previously, India has great regional differences and a variety of religious beliefs. Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism are major religions, but by no means all of the religions of India. Asoka (ca 269-232 BC), a Buddhist, was a major unifying force in India. In 1526, the Mogul Empire, centered in Delhi, was founded by Moslem invaders. A series of strong leaders followed. As the Mogul's power waned, the Portuguese, followed by the English, French, and Dutch contended with the Moslems for power in India. Bombay, the Portuguese port on the west coast, was taken by the

English and became the seat of English rule in 1687. Madras on the East coast (on the Bay of Bengal) and Calcutta to the North of Madras formed the three major governmental centers of England in India. Calcutta (near Bangladesh in the northeast) became the "capital of an empire." In 1820, Calcutta's population was "close to a quarter of a million" (Wolpert, 1977, p. 210). Kipling called Calcutta "the many-sided, the smoky, the magnificent City of Dreadful Night" (Wolpert, p. 210).

As to comparative population and density, according to mid 1994 estimates, the United States ranks third in the world in both population and area. India ranks second in population and fifth in area. Second only to China, India has a population of ca 911,600,000; the United States has 260,800,000 people, about a third of India's population. (It should be noted that if the populations of two other nations, Palistan with 126,400,000 and Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan, with 116,600,000 were to be combined with India's, the sum would be greater than that of the People's Republic of China--1,192,000,000) (*Information Please Almanac*, 1995, pp. 128-129. quoting 1994 *World Population Data Sheet*, Population Reference Bureau, Inc., Washington, D.C.).

Cervantes wrote: "Tell me what company you keep, and I'll tell you what you are" (Evans, 1968, p. 118, #8). Tagore's "meetings with other great thinkers and artists were not recorded, but evidences of such meetings are available in letters, telegrams, and messages . . ." (Chakravarty, 1961, p. 381). Among those notable were G. Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein, Albert Schweitzer, H. G. Wells, and Robert Frost (Chakravarty, 1961, pp. 106-109, 382). In Tagore's *The Religion of Man*, he appends his "conversation" with Albert Einstein, "Note on the Nature of Reality" (Tagore, 1931). Albert Schweitzer wrote in 1936 that he had called Tagore "the Goethe of India" (Chakravarty, 1961, p. 382). Two western scholars were of special assistance to Rabindranath Tagore. William Rothenstein corresponded with Tagore from 1911 to 1941. They visited each other numerous times. Rothenstein was a supporter and contact person for Tagore. Mary M. Lago compiled and edited their correspondence which was Published in 1972 as *Imperfect Encounter*. Another major influence on Tagore was W. B. Yeats. Lago briefly sketches the Tagore-Yeats relationship in Rabindranath Tagore (1976, p. 66 ff). Yeats gathered groups and read

Tagore's poetry to them.

The preeminent figure in the history of modern literature in Bengali (the language of the state of West Bengal in eastern India, and of the neighboring nation of Bangladesh), poet and novelist Rabindranath Tagore has deeply influenced writers in the other Indian languages as well. Winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1913, Tagore is also perhaps the Indian writer whose name is likely to be familiar to most readers in the West. No less a poet than W. B. Yeats was responsible for Tagore's fame in European and American literary circles, but Tagore did not wear well in translation. He was mistakenly perceived as a mystical poet, Western tastes in poetry changed rather rapidly, and, in spite of the many translation of his poetry and fiction that appeared in English and other European languages after 1913, few outside of Bengal have been aware of Tagore's achievement as a writer or of his substantial contributions to the history of ideas in the modern age. (The Norton Anthology--World Masterpieces, (Vol. 2), 1995, p. 1448) In 1916, William Butler Yeats wrote the preface for *Gitanjali* (*The Norton Anthology--World Masterpieces*, 1995, p. 1459). When *Gitanjali*, *Song Offerings* was published in 1912, "containing Tagore's English prose translations of religious poems from several of his Bengali verse collections, it was hailed by W. B. Yeats and Andre Gide and won Tagore the Nobel Prize in 1913" (*Micropaedia*, 1995, p. 496). One may wonder whether Tagore had any exchanges with three other notable persons associated with the University of Chicago. Chicago is said to have a sizeable file on Tagore. His son, Rathindranath, studied agriculture at the University of Illinois in Urbana ca. 1908. In 1913, Tagore visited and lectured in Chicago. No trace of correspondence between any of the three and Tagore has been discovered at this point. William Rainey Harper, the first President of the University of Chicago, died in 1906. Tagore may have been preoccupied with problems in India from 1902 to 1906. John Dewey (1859-1952) was at the University of Chicago from 1894 to 1904. No mention has been noted re a Dewey and Tagore exchange during Dewey's Chicago days or subsequently. No trace was found of any communication between Robert M. Hutchins (1899-1977), who was President and then Chancellor of the University of Chicago from 1929 to 1945. It is highly likely that Tagore's most significant friendship was with Gandhi. Tagore was born in 1861, the youngest of 14 children (Lago, 1976, p. 21). Gandhi was born in 1869, the youngest in a large family (Bondurant, 1995, p. 282). Rabindranath, whose name means "Lord of the Sun," was born into a wealthy Brahmin family in Calcutta; Gandhi was born in Porbandor in Kathiawar into a Hindu Vaisyz merchant

caste. Tagore's family, "though Brahmin, was not considered ritually 'pure,' but it was wealthy and brilliant" (Dimock, 1995, p. 225).

In fundamental ways the Tagores did not fit traditional patterns. They were Pirili Brahmins, members of a subcaste disgraced in a past generation, according to the received version, when a pair of ancestors were tricked into partaking of meat. Social disapproval eventually forced them to leave their home in what is now Bangladesh. . . . (Lago, 1976, p. 28) Gandhi's dietary defilement was more personal. He ate meat. Gandhi's religion forbade him to eat meat. He had never touched it.

Though British rule operated indirectly and almost invisibly in Kathiawar, Gandhi's schoolmates had already learned to respect and oppose the British. They recited a poem which went:

Behold the mighty Englishman,
He rules the Indian small,
Because being a meat-eater
He is five cubits tall.

Either because he wanted to expel the British or reinforce his own physique and courage, Gandhi finally succumbed to Sheik Mehtab's temptations and went with him to a secluded spot on the river where Mohandas chewed and chewed the cooked goat's flesh which Sheik had brought and ultimately swallowed it. He became sick immediately. That night he had a recurrent dream of a live goat bleating in his stomach. Nevertheless he considered that "meat-eating was a duty" and performed it for a year at secret rendezvous with Sheik. (Fischer, 1954, pp. 11-12) Gandhi and his wife, Kasturba, were 13 at the time of their marriage (Bondurant, 1995, p. 282). Tagore married in 1883 at the age of 22 (Lago, 1976, p. 33). Beyond the similarities and contrasts, there was a mutual respect and admiration between these two giants. Wallbank observes:

To some a "supreme humbug," a "madman," a "half-naked fakir," a "self-deluded visionary," to others Gandhi has been the Holy One, and to Rabindranath Tagore, who by no means agreed with all of his teachings, he was not only the greatest man in India, but the greatest on earth. (Wallbank, 1951, p. 107) On a day when Gandhi began a fast, he "wrote a letter to Rabindranath Tagore." "This is early morning 3 o'clock Tuesday," he began. "I enter the fiery gates at noon. If you can bless the effort, I want it." He also invited Tagore's criticism "if your heart condemns my action. I am not too proud to make an open confession of my blunder, whatever the cost of the confession, if I find myself in error." But if he approved, Gandhi craved his blessing. "It will sustain me," the Mahatma said humbly. (Fischer, 1954, p. 117)

That evening Tagore addressed his school at Shantiniketan: "A shadow is darkening today over India like a shadow cast by an eclipsed sun. . . . Mahatmaji who through his life of dedication has made India his own in truth, has commenced his vow of supreme self-sacrifice." (Fischer, 1954, p. 117.)

Tagore and Gandhi were the outstanding Indians of the first half of the twentieth century. They revered one another. Tagore wept at seeing India "the eternal ragpicker at other people's dustbins," an emotion Gandhi shared, and he prayed, as did the Mahatma, for "the magnificent harmony of all human races." They were nationalists yet internationalists, sentimentally inseparable, and soulmates to the end. But they were also deeply different and waged frequent verbal battles. Gandhi was frugal, Tagore prodigal; Gandhi the emaciated ascetic with shaven head and face, Tagore the large, white-maned, white-bearded, rich aristocrat-intellectual with visage of classic beauty; Gandhi the rice field, Tagore the rose garden; Gandhi the general, Tagore the herald; Gandhi the working arm, Tagore the singing voice. Gandhi sat, so to speak, in a market place crisscrossed by tens of millions of persons with their carts, cares, wares, and thoughts, but he sat still and within him there was peace. He would have suffocated in an ivory tower or on an Olympian height, whereas Tagore said, "If I hear a song, my sitar can catch the melody, and I can join the chorus, for I am a singer. But in the mad clamor of the crowd, my voice is-lost, and I become dizzy." "The suffering millions," Gandhi told Tagore, "ask one poem, invigorating food." Tagore gave them music. At Shantiniketan, Tagore's pupils sang and danced, wove garlands, and made life beautiful. (Fischer, 1954, pp. 50-51) In 1915, Gandhi's audiences shouted "Mahatmaji." Tagore is credited with bestowing the suffix "ji" which connotes affection and respect. In fact, Tagore is credited with referring to Gandhi as "Mahatma" (Great Soul). Tagore wrote of him as the "Great Soul in peasant's garb" (Fischer, 1954, p. 50). However, it should not be concluded that Gandhi and Tagore were in complete agreement on everything. When Gandhi arrived on a visit he persuaded the teachers and students to run the kitchen, collect the garbage, clean the toilets, and sweep the grounds. Tagore tolerantly acquiesced, saying "The experiment contains the key to Swaraj," or home rule, but when Gandhi left, the experiment collapsed. (Fischer, 1954, P. 51) Regarding Gandhi's tactics of non-cooperation and boycott, Tagore averred:

The idea of non-co-operation is political asceticism. Our students (kept out of colleges) are bringing their offerings of sacrifices to what? Not to a fuller education, but to a non-education. It has at its back a fierce joy of

annihilation which at its best is asceticism, and at its worst is that orgy of frightfulness in which the human nature . . . finds a disinterested delight in an unmeaning devastation. The anarchy of mere emptiness never tempts me. (Wallbank, 1951, p. 119)

Tagore died August 7, 1941 at Jorasanko, Calcutta (the same place he was born), after intermittent illnesses beginning as early as 1924. Gandhi died in New Delhi, January 30, 1948. A young Braham extremist . . . fired three shots point-blank, and Gandhi fell, dying as he had wished, in the service of brotherhood and unity for India, with the name of God on his lips. (Bondurant, 1995, p. 282) Rabindranath Tagore's works are remarkable for their range, their volume, and their durability. *Imperfect Encounter* displays "Works by Rabindranath Tagore" over more than four pages; it lists more than 100 titles.

Sir Rabindranath wrote approximately 50 dramas, 100 books of verse (many of which he set to music), 40 volumes of novels and shorter fiction and books of essays and philosophy. (Tagore, 1931, n.p. opposite title page).

Some lines selected from *Stray Birds* run:

It is the tears of the earth that keep her smiles in bloom. (p. 229, IV)

Once we dreamt that we were strangers. We wake up to find that we were dear to each other. (p. 230, IX)

I cannot choose the best. The best chooses me. (p. 231, XX)

The light that plays, like a naked child, among the green leaves happily knows not that man can lie. (p. 232, XXVII)

The dry river-bed finds no thanks for its past. (p. 232, XXXIV)

The bird wishes it were a cloud. The cloud wishes it were a bird. (p. 232, XXV)

I thank thee that I am none of the wheels of power but I am one with the living creatures that are crushed by it. (p. 234, XLIX)

Life is given to us, we earn it by giving it. (p. 235, XVI)

The sparrow is sorry for the peacock at the burden of its tail. (p. 235, LVIII)

God grows weary of great kingdoms, but never of little flowers. (p. 236, LXVII)

Wrong cannot afford defeat but Right can. (p. 236, LXVIII)

We read the world wrong and say that it deceives us. (p. 236, LXXV)

The dust receives insult and in return offers her flowers. (p. 239, CI)

I cast my own shadow upon my path, because I have a lamp that has not been lighted. (p. 240, CIX)

In the moon thou sendest thy love letters to me, said the night to the sun. "I leave my answers in tears upon the grass." (p. 241, CXXIV) (Tagore, *Stray Birds*, 1937)

Tagore's works include not only mystical verse. *Hungry Stones and Other Stories* (1916) provides a selection of Tagore's prose. *The Religion of Man* is another example of his prose (1930). From a wide range of possibilities, the 1995 edition of *The Norton Anthology--World Masterpieces* selected Tagore's "Punishment."

Tagore was also prolific in the visual arts, even at the age of 70. In 1930, he began "painting as a hobby and pursued it with increasing seriousness" (Lago, 1965, *Chronology*, n. p.). Chakravarty (1961) provides more details: Tagore's Western tour in 1930, during which he gave the Hibbert Lectures at Oxford acquainted the West with another aspect of his- artistic expression. Exhibitions of his painting and drawings appeared in Paris, Birmingham, London, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Copenhagen, Moscow, New York, and Boston.

Rabindra Sadana, at the Tagore Memorial Museum at Santiniketan, has a collection of nearly eighteen hundred of Tagore's paintings and drawings. A number also are in various public and private collections in India and abroad. The total number amounts to well over two thousand paintings and drawings, and are generally datable between 1925-1939. (p. 389) Tagore was a frequent traveler. In 1879, he was "admitted to University College in London." In addition to continued travel in the region of India, he traveled to London numerous times. His travels also included Japan, China, Latin America, etc. A *Chronology* (1861-1941) of more than four pages is provided in Lago's *Rabindranath Tagore*.

About 1970, Tagore caught my attention because of his efforts to provide assistance to the poor through better living conditions and more appropriate education.

In 1876, Tagore made his first "visit to Shilaidaha (Shelaidaha), a family estate in East Bengal. In 1890 he took charge of the Tagore estates in East Bengal (Lago, 1976, *Chronology*). (Tagore used the term "Shilida" in his correspondence (Lago, 1972, p. 189). A small experimental school, originally for boys, was set up on a tract owned by the Tagores, near Bolpur, north of Calcutta. (Bolpur is in West Bengal ca 100/150 miles northwest of Calcutta.) Tagore spelled the school's name Santi Niketan (Santi = peace; Niketan = abode). "In 1901, he set up a school at Shantiniketan which tried to blend the best in Hindu and Western culture" (*World Book Encyclopedia*, 1995, p. 13). In 1914, C. F. Andrews joined the Santi Niketan staff. In 1915, Gandhi arrived from South Africa and went to Santi Niketan. On December 22, 1918, a foundation-stone was laid for Visva-Bharati University at Santi Niketan. (*The Norton Anthology* (p. 1449) spells the University "Viswabharata.") In 1919, the nucleus of the university faculty was formed and the Department for Advanced Studies in Indology was opened. In 1921, the University was inaugurated.

Among Tagore's lasting contributions are Shantiniketan and Viswabharati, the school and the international university he founded near Calcutta as alternatives to colonial education and as arenas and training grounds for international cooperation. He used the international attention he gained as a result of the Nobel Prize to travel widely in Europe, Asia, and America, speaking out against the evils of colonialism, wars based on narrow nationalism, and abuses of human rights all over the world. (*The Norton Anthology*, 1995, p. 1449) In 1922, Sriniketan, a rural construction center, was initiated. Leonard Elmhirst was designated as the Director, Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Visva-Bharati (Lago, 1972, pp. 271-272, including footnotes 12, 13, 14)

Despite his nationalistic pride, Rabindranath stood aloof from the radical nationalistic movements that swept India throughout his life. He chose to express his love of freedom in personal ways. In 1901 he founded at Shantiniketan a school that embodied his ideals of education: freedom from traditional restrictions, classes held in the open air, students of all countries participating in common experience. It grew into Visva-Bharati, the "World University." He also founded an experimental village, Shriniketan, which has been a model of the Indian village as a viable social and economic unit. (Dimock, 1995, p. 226) Colleagues tell me that the village and university are still operating. For the finale, we turn to George Seldes and *The Great Thoughts* on which he "worked full time from 1960 to 1983" in researching and compiling the information

which he published at the age of 94. Numerous books of quotations include from one to over fifty quotations from Tagore. The following are the quotations from Rabindranath Tagore which Seldes selected:

"Prayer Gitanjali" (1913)

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free; . . .
Where tireless striving stretches the arms toward perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost into the dreary desert sand of dead habits; My father, let my country awake.

Men are cruel, but Man is kind.
Every child comes with the message that
God is not yet discouraged of man.

its way
It is cruel crime thoughtlessly to bring more children into existence than can be properly taken care of.
(Quoted on poster, Delhi Exposition, 1965) (Seldes, 1985, pp. 406-407)

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AFRICAN-AMERICAN GIFTEDNESS: THE PROBLEM OF UNDERIDENTIFICATION

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What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore-
And then run?

Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over-
like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load
Or does it explode?
(Hughes, 1951)

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, African-Americans have faced widespread under- representation in our nation's gifted and talented programs. Black students, particularly males, are three times as likely to be in a class for the educable mentally retarded as are white students, but only one-half as likely to be in a class for the gifted or talented (College Board, 1985 & Carnegie Quarterly, 1984/85). Data of this nature should send an alarming message to educators, administrators, parents, and students. Why do we continue to fail at recognizing gifted and talented African-American students?

Attempts at addressing the issue of African-American giftedness have, in the past, led to a "blame game." Parents attribute the problem of underidentification to the schools; the schools attribute the problem to the gifted coordinators; and the gifted coordinators attribute the problem to the various testing agencies. The end result is typically a deluge of dialogue without any requisite action. This problem can only be addressed when classroom teachers and gifted coordinators draw their attention away from black children as a group and focus on the individual child (Rhodes, 1992).

Ford (1994) in a review of the literature on gifted African-Americans found that only 2% of the articles and scholarly publications focused attention of gifted minority learners in general, and even fewer focused specifically on African-American students (the largest U.S. minority population). In order to understand the gifted African American, more resources should be

channeled into initiatives which focus attention on understanding the unique academic, social, and cultural needs of these students.

This article addresses the issues which have perpetuated the underrepresentation of African-Americans in gifted and talented programs. These issues include inadequate definitions; standardized testing; nomination procedures; learning style preferences; and family/peer influences. The article concludes with a brief discussion on alternative theories of giftedness.

PROBLEMS WITH DEFINING GIFTEDNESS

The definition of giftedness most states follow are in many instances the primary cause for the underidentification of African-American students. One requirement for which all writers of definitions should be accountable is the necessity of showing a logical relationship between definition on the one hand and recommended identification and programming practices on the other (Renzulli, 1986). Official definitions of giftedness have surfaced in 1972, 1978, and 1993. The Marland (1972) definition, adopted in federal legislation in P.L. 93-380 (Special Projects Act), set forth by the United States Office of Education states:

Gifted and talented children are those identified by professionally qualified persons who by virtue of outstanding abilities are capable of high performance. These are children who require differentiated educational programs and/or services

beyond those normally provided by the regular school program in order to realize their contribution to self and society. Children capable of high performance include those with demonstrated achievement and/or potential ability in any of the following areas, singly or in combination: (1) general intellectual ability, (2) specific academic aptitude, (3) creative or productive thinking, (4) leadership ability, (5) visual and performing arts, (6) psychomotor ability. (p. 64)

Although the Office of Education recognized the broad range of abilities gifted individuals displayed, a number of problems continued to exist. Renzulli (1986) noted three distinct problems with the 1972 definition: First, the definition failed to include nonintellective (motivational) factors; second, the definition failed to address the nonparallel nature of the six categories--creativity and leadership do not exist apart from a performance area to which they can be applied; and third, the definition treated each category as if it were a mutually exclusive entity.

The 1978 definition according to Ford (1994) offered encouragement primarily in its inclusion of the "potentially" gifted. It appeared to recognize a need to serve those students who have, for various reasons, yet to manifest their gifts--that is, students who might otherwise go unrecognized.

The most recent federal definition of gifted (USDE, 1993) offers greater promise, including increased attention to equity in terms of identifying gifted African-American and other minority children:

Children and youth with outstanding talent perform or show the potential for performing at remarkably high levels of accomplishment when compared with others of their age, experience, or environment.

These children and youth exhibit high performance capacity in intellectual, creative, and/or artistic areas, and unusual leadership capacity, or excel in specific academic fields. They require services or activities not ordinarily provided by the schools. Outstanding talents are present in children and youth from all cultural groups, across all economic strata, and in all areas of human endeavor (p. 2).

This definition expands the boundaries to include students who would ordinarily go unidentified. An important issue this definition addresses is the measurement of performance and potential with those who share comparable experiential and environmental backgrounds. According to Renzulli (1986) the way in which one views giftedness will be a primary factor in constructing a plan for identification and in providing services that are relevant to the characteristics that brought certain youngsters to our attention in the first

place.

STANDARDIZED TESTING

Standardized testing has been the primary *modus operandi* in the identification of gifted students. Hilliard (1976) noted that there seems to be two fundamental questions which are asked/ by assessors (or tests) and which symbolize two fundamentally different approaches to the assessment of human behavior:

- (1) Do you know what I know?
- (2) What is it that you know?

The first approach is what most standardized tests measure. The language, culture, and experiences of the individuals who construct these tests become the prevailing benchmarks of success. The tests then become a measure of which students have a better grasp of White, middle-class culture--not what knowledge and information they have acquired. According to Hilliard (1976), by definition, standardized assessment is "convergent" and therefore is unable to deal with "divergent" or novel thinking, expression or problem solving. Sternberg (1986) has suggested that exceptional intelligence is best measured by tasks that are "nonentrenched" in the sense of requiring information processing of kinds outside people's ordinary experience. These are two very distinct but parallel statements recapitulating the same theme: "the sole reliance on traditional assessment measures such as the standardized test place African-American students at a great disadvantage." Concurrently, lowering of standards or adding of points to standardized tests is not appropriate, nor are programs designed to raise minority I.Q. scores to the cut-off point since both methods overlook the inadequacies of standardized tests (Frasier, 1989).

It is important to note that standardized tests have some usefulness as assessment instruments, but they should never be used as the sole indicator of multifaceted concepts such as giftedness. Hilliard (1976) noted that assessment must be more than testing. It does not mean that standardized tests must be eliminated. But it does mean that standardized tests must be developed so that real differences are not obliterated and real similarities are not overlooked.

TEACHER NOMINATIONS OF GIFTED AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS

The task of identifying potentially gifted and talented students often begins with the nomination of classroom teachers. Although gifted and talented coordinators are trained in recognizing signs of giftedness, the traditional classroom teacher does not usually receive such training (Rhodes, 1992). Without proper training, teachers make

judgments based on their own preconceived ideas of what characteristics a gifted student should exhibit. Unfortunately, this mode of identification has proven to be very ineffective and has exacerbated the problem of underidentification of African-American students.

Teacher nominations of gifted students are often based on the subjective parameters of White, middle-class society. Students who are out of "cultural sync" with their teachers will go unidentified, regardless of their intellectual abilities. For African-American students, the initiation into the ranks of gifted and talented typically begins with the realignment of cultural behavior to fit the mold of what teachers deem as acceptable conduct. Often the realignment process means total relinquishment of all cultural nuances which would identify the student as a member of a racial group. This "guilt by association" implies that Black students must demonstrate to teachers that the negative stereotypes generally associated with Black students' behavior do not pertain to them. This imposed denial and refutation of one's cultural heritage and racial identity are directly related to Black self-hatred, lowered self-esteem, and heightened anxiety and possibly to lower academic achievement (Irvine, 1990).

Research by Brophy and Everston (1981) revealed that when Black students behave in ways different from or contrary to Black cultural norms, teachers treat them as individuals. Behaviors that represent a deviation from what the teacher views as the norm are summarily branded as inappropriate. Gouldner (1978) found that teachers in the all-Black school in her study thought "a good class had children who learned to sit quietly at their desks, raise their hands before talking, wait patiently for the bell to ring before leaving their seats, stand in line with their partners in an orderly way, and when in school repress any expression of anger, frustration, or exuberance" (p. 29). Feshbach (1969) conducted a study of pupil behaviors student teachers preferred, the preferred behaviors were rigidity, conformity, and orderliness and dependence, passivity and acquiescence rather than pupils whose behaviors were indicative of flexibility, non-conformity and untidiness or independence, activity and assertiveness. Yet, these very characteristics are said to describe "gifted children." (Hilliard, 1976).

Teachers must be properly trained if they are to serve as conduits to gifted and talented programs. Proper training should include not only specific gifted and talented identification measures, but information on multiculturalism and diverse learning styles as well. Torrance (1981) contends that if educators are really interested in identifying gifted and talented students in minority groups, they will direct their searches to those

characteristics that are valued by the particular minority groups.

Without proper training, teachers will continue to have misperceptions of minority students and underidentification will continue to exist. This lack of training decreases two-fold the probability that gifted African-American students will be identified and placed (Ford, 1994).

LEARNING STYLE PREFERENCES

In order to determine the most effective instructional methods and instructional tools to be used in the classroom, it is important to have some understanding of student learning styles. Understanding how gifted minority students learn is an important variable of effective teaching; however, student learning styles have gained meager attention from educators (Dunn, 1992).

There exists a confusing array of definitions of learning style, a term often used interchangeably with cognitive style or learning ability (Claxton and Murrell, 1987; Tharp, 1989; cited in Haensly, Reynolds, and Nash, 1986). McCarthy (1994) defined learning styles as approaches to cognitive, affective, and psychological factors that function as relatively stable indicators of how one concentrates on, perceives, interacts with, and responds to the learning environment. Torrance and Reynolds (1986) have indicated that individuals exhibit different styles of learning and processing information, not only through their preferences, but also through the efficiency with which they use one or the other style and in knowing when to employ primarily one style or the other.

The learning environment for the gifted African-American student often presents challenges stemming from the incongruity of school culture and individualized learning styles. African-American students rely on their perception of the teacher and the affective aspects of the environment to determine their involvement with learning (Shade, 1990). Hilliard (1976) posited that schools approach curriculum and instruction from an analytical rather than a relational cognitive style. Black students are assumed to be relational, that is predisposed to learning characterized by freedom of movement, variation, creativity, divergent thinking approaches, inductive reasoning, and a focus on people. Schools, on the other hand, emphasize an analytical style, that is, learning characterized by rules and restriction of movement, standardization, conformity, convergent thinking approaches, deductive reasoning, and a focus on things.

Peters (1990) noted that when the Black lower-class child goes to school at age four or five, he or she discovers that the behavioral rules have now changed.

While there are attractive "things" to explore, there is also a new emphasis on sitting still. Play and interaction with others are encouraged only during specific times of day. Music is heard only at "music time." Physical activity, body movement, and expression, not being associated with cognitive learning, are relegated to "activity" or play periods or "physical education." The child is often lost, punished, or put down in the process (p. 84).

Similar to Hilliard's findings is the research of Shade (1990) which contended that differences in social cognition included the findings that Blacks' recognition patterns focus on affective rather than physical characteristics and that Black children prefer a variety of stimuli in the learning environment and a variety of teaching methods and materials. As for perceptual style, Shade made observations similar to the research of Witkin and Moore (1992). Both found that blacks tended to have a field-dependent rather than a field independent cognitive style. Table 1 highlights these two cognitive styles. Field-dependent individuals have a more global and interrelated approach to visual information and are thus unable to distinguish the necessary parts for problem solving. The opposite approach, field independence, is characteristic of persons who are able to isolate the necessary parts from distracting elements in order to solve problems.

TABLE 1

Field-Dependent Orientation

1. To give support, show interest, be emotional
2. To provide guidance, modeling, and constructive feedback
3. To provide verbal and nonverbal cues to support words
4. To minimize professional distance
5. To seek opinions when making decisions and incorporate affective considerations criteria
6. To identify with values and needs of students

Field-Independent Orientation

1. To focus on task and objectives
2. To encourage independence and flexibility
3. To provide commands and messages directly and articulately
4. To maximize professional distance
5. To make decisions based on analysis of problems and objectives
6. To identify with goals and objectives of task

For many African-American gifted students, this "line item" incongruousness of teaching and learning styles coupled with a foreign classroom environment presents a formidable problem. Assessment of the

learning style preferences of the African-American gifted learners and the use of a multifaceted approach to instruction could greatly enhance the classroom environment. The treatment of cultural differences does not imply a superiority or inferiority relationship between Eurocentric (analytical) and Afrocentric (relational) styles. Unfortunately, most teachers use one method of instruction, analytical and ignore relational methods, hence they fail to capitalize on the strengths of Black and other children's learning modalities, which makes a direct contribution to these students' school failure (Irvine, 1990). Research on learning styles of gifted minority students is therefore important because it can lead educators to recognize that the minority gifted, a unique source of talent, have preferences to learn in uniquely different ways (Ewing & Yong, 1991).

FAMILY AND PEER INFLUENCES ON THE GIFTED AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENT

The gifted African-American child faces many dilemmas in and out of the classroom environment. Perhaps the most formidable dilemmas are encountered within family and peer interactions. In order to gain acceptance by family and peers, the gifted student will often mask his/her abilities to "fit in" with the group. Unlike White students, most Black students must simultaneously manipulate two cultures—one at home and the other at school—that may be quite diverse (Ford, 1992).

In the school setting, the student is expected to achieve and perform at levels commensurate of his/her gifted and talented designation. At home, the student is expected to act in a manner that conforms to his/her environment and social climate. One widely held supposition is that many Black children hide their academic abilities by becoming class clowns, dropping out, and suppressing effort (Comer, 1992) to avoid being perceived as "acting white," being "raceless," or otherwise reflecting Black culture (Fordham, 1992). The possibility that Black students may sabotage any chance they have of succeeding in school is a disturbing prospect in urban and gifted education (Ford, 1992).

Although the possibility that African-American students would sabotage their chances at success in gifted and talented education programs is unconscionable and hard for many educators to understand; it nevertheless occurs at an alarming rate. Literature highlighting the postsecondary psychosocial problems many African-American students experience provides a term which has applicability in gifted and talented education as well. The term is 'survival conflict,' a reaction to surpassing the accomplishments of family and/or peers (Whitten, 1992). It can manifest itself in

one or more emotional responses, including guilt, ambivalence, anxiety, and depression. These feelings are frequently subconscious and can be debilitating if not recognized and worked through, resulting in various forms of self-sabotage, procrastination, decreased productivity, and devaluation of one's self-concept, accomplishments, and ambitions (p. 64).

Many families are clearly supportive of their members' accomplishments; some families are more ambivalent due to jealousy, competitiveness, or a fear of being abandoned or belittled by the achiever. These families induce survival conflict, directly or indirectly, in students who otherwise may or may not be subject to these reactions (Whitten, 1992). Survival conflict is similar to fear of success (Homer, 1992) in that in both an individual anticipates negative consequences from competitive strivings. The most disquieting issue concerning this phenomena is that family and peers view individuals with strong intellectual abilities as "sell outs" or "pawns of White society." It is unfortunate that success and intellectual ability are not traits individuals view as indigenous to African-Americans.

ALTERNATIVE THEORIES IN THE IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

The work of Lewis Terman, which included the introduction of the Stanford Binet Intelligence Test, has caused many to view intelligence from a unitary point of view. The ideal gifted student, in theory, is identified by the attainment of high IQ scores. What many fail to realize is that there is no "one size fits all" intelligence or achievement test (Ford, 1994). Giftedness is defined, shaped, and adjudged in a societal milieu and is not something merely inside a person's head. Tests used to identify the gifted tend to be oversimplifications because of their seeking to find inside a person something that is without as well as within (Sternberg and Davidson, 1986).

Theories and definitions used to identify gifted learners are no longer acceptable if they choose to disregard the intimate liaisons that exist between culture and individual behavior. A number of theorists are recognizing the importance in the unique characteristics displayed by diverse gifted learners. Renzulli's (1986) Three-Ring Conception of Giftedness attempts to describe the term from a broad range view. Giftedness is identified as three interlocking clusters (rings). These rings consist of above average, though not necessarily superior, ability, task commitment, and creativity. It is important to point out that no single cluster "makes giftedness." Rather, it is the interaction among the three clusters that research has shown to be the necessary ingredient for creative-productive accomplishment

(1986).

Gardner's (1994) Theory of Multiple Intelligences has offered educators a comprehensive framework within which fundamentally different solutions can be devised and implemented. The seven intelligences Gardner has identified are: linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, musical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. Gardner and Hatch (1991) are convinced that these seven intelligences are highly independent and that nearly all children and adults show distinctive profiles of strength and weakness in the different kinds of intelligence. Gardner believes that development of high-level competence requires innate capacity, motivation, and opportunity. Environment, cultural context, and language may influence all of these important factors (p. 5).

Sternberg's (1986) Triarchic Theory of Intelligence comprises three subtheories that serve as the governing bases for understanding extraordinary intelligence: The first subtheory relates intelligence to the internal world of the individual, specifying the mental mechanisms that lead to more and less intelligent behavior. The second subtheory specifies those points along the continuum of one's experience with tasks or situations that most critically involve the use of intelligence. The third subtheory relates intelligence to the external world of the individual, specifying three classes of acts-environmental adaptation, selection, and shaping-that characterize intelligent behavior in the everyday world (p. 223).

What each theorists advances is a more globalized view of giftedness, one in which a unitary standard such as intelligence tests are not the sole means of assessment. Another important advancement, and perhaps the most important, is their recognition of social and cultural influences in the expression of gifted behavior. Renzulli (1986) contends that at the very least, attributes of intelligent behavior must be considered within the context of cultural and situational factors. Gardner (cited in Maker, Nielson, and Rogers, 1994) has implied that culture, language, and environment do not determine whether or not an individual will be gifted: instead, they influence the specific ways in which giftedness is expressed. Sternberg (1986) states that exceptional intelligence cannot be fully understood outside a sociocultural context, and it may in fact differ for a given individual from one culture to the next. What do these statements and theoretical reconceptualizations offer the gifted and talented African-American student? Hope.

CONCLUSION

Renzulli (1986) speaks of our nations fascination

with the gifted as far back as recorded history. Although our fascination has not waned, our willingness to dub an individual worthy of this lofty title is often determined by a unitary display of unbridled wisdom-scoring high on an intelligence test. For African-Americans, this rite of passage has consistently disregarded issues which are important contributors to these student's matriculation in gifted and talented programs. Some individuals assert that if the definition for gifted is expanded, the quality of students in these programs will decline. Still others

agree that deemphasizing the intelligence test will trivialize the identification process. What are we to do? If we address this issue in retrospect, are we willing to test a Martin Luther King? Would an IQ of 120 be enough to label a Josephine Baker? Do we need to give a no. 2 lead pencil to a Jesse Owens? Are three hours enough to test a Booker T. Washington? The dreams of the gifted African-American student can no longer be deferred simply because of cultural differences or the semi-filled oval in an examination booklet.

EDUCATION FOSTERING ABSTINENCE: IS THERE AN EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVE?

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This paper uses education literature to address the issue of sexuality education in public schools. Although they teach abstinence in sexuality education and AIDS education classes, the focus of these classes is generally on methods to reduce the risk of contracting the AIDS virus, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), or unplanned pregnancies rather than on methods and benefits to remain abstinent. Some educators argue that abstinence is ineffective because it does not change human behavior. Therefore, is education really fostering abstinence? Is there an effective alternative for sexuality and AIDS education?

Many programs have focuses on the use of condoms. Although some research has shown the use of condoms may decrease the risk of contraction of the AIDS virus and venereal diseases, such programs may be promoting more sexual activity. Since condoms are not effective in preventing STDs and are not highly effective in preventing pregnancies, continued support of condom use may explain the increase in both STDs and teen pregnancies.

To date, thirty-four states have passed legislation requiring sex education in the schools. There is a real need to address the issue of sexuality education in public schools focusing on two curriculum approaches: an abstinence-based curriculum and safer sex curriculum (Haffner, 1992). Research findings suggest that educators are divided on this issue, and the political climate suggests that educators should support abstinence (Newcomer, 1986).

WHY CONDOMS WILL NOT STOP THIS EPIDEMIC

Condoms are ineffective for two reasons. First, laboratory studies show that condoms themselves are not effective barriers to HIV and other STDs. Second, getting people to use condoms consistently is very difficult and correctly, as required by the Center for Disease Control (CDC).

The *Journal of Testing and Evaluation* published a study in which twenty-four condoms were intentionally defected by piercing them with a very thin metal wire. The holes created were larger than the size of the HIV virus. Of those defective condoms, 75 percent passed the water-leakage test (a common test designed to detect leakage in latex condoms). The study determined that condoms passing the water-leak test "when in use could

be capable of passing the HIV virus . . ." (Davis & Schroeder). This finding is also proved in another study where at least twenty-nine of the eighty-nine condoms leaked fluid containing HIV sized particles (Carey, Herman, See, Retta, Rinaldi, Herman & Athey, 1992). These results revealed no pores large enough to have been rejected by the widely used 300 ml water test.

The *Journal of Testing and Evaluation* reported an analysis of data from eleven separate studies on condom efficacy in actual use. Condoms were found to have an average failure rate of 31 percent in protecting against HIV. The research concluded that "new data suggest some condoms, even latex ones, may leak HIV" (Weller, 1993).

Data from the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) have been used to calculate contraceptive failure rates, which show the probability of having an unintended pregnancy within the first year of use of a given contraceptive method (Ventura, Taffel, & Mosher, 1995). In this study, a contraceptive "failure" rate occurred from the failure of the method despite correct and consistent use, or more often, from incorrect or inconsistent use. NSFG reported that whether condoms are being used for contraception or for disease prevention, the failure rate for all contraceptive methods combined for teenagers in twelve months of use was 26 percent. According to Jones and Forrest (1989), condoms have an annual contraceptive failure rate of 18.4 percent for young women under age eighteen. In a study of three New York City clinics, 21 percent of female patients with STDs reported that they had been using condoms regularly (Carmichael, 1994).

In 1991 the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention determined that more than half the women age's fifteen to nineteen reported having premarital sex. That is nearly double the 28.6 percent who said they had premarital sex by the same age in 1970. In 1970, 4.6 percent of 15-year-old women reported they had sex. By 1988, that number was up to more than 25 percent (Weiner, 1995). Each year, close to half a million teenagers get pregnant, giving the United States the highest adolescent birth rate in the developed world. In addition, for the first time in almost two decades, the birth rate among teenagers in the United States is rising. In 1988, 488,961 teenagers gave birth, accounting for 12.5 percent of all births (Armstrong & Waszak, 1990). Almost one-quarter of these births were to adolescents

who already had one or more children. The increase in birth rates was sharpest among young teens, ages fifteen to seventeen, with an increase of ten percent within two years. For policy-makers and the public, these numbers are dismaying. For the thousands of teenage women becoming mothers too soon, they are devastating.

THE RESULTS OF SAFE SEX MESSAGES, CONDOMS, AND SCHOOL-BASED CLINICS

For the past decade, the United States has embarked on a massive public and private program of contraceptive indoctrination and dissemination. The federal phase of this program alone has been funded to the staggering extent of more than 1.3 billion dollars (Zelnik & Shah, 1983). With the addition of foundation grants and individual donations, it is likely that the total will exceed three billion dollars in pursuit of the correction of vincible contraceptive services (Diamond, 1990).

The number of school-based clinics, which dispense contraceptives to students, has grown from twelve in 1980 to at least 325 in 1993 (Kasun, 1994). STDs are spreading at an alarming rate, and it only getting worse since we have instituted the "safe sex" message, condoms, and school-based clinics. Whatever anyone's personal feeling about the effectiveness of such programs may be, they cannot reasonably say that inadequate funding has compromised their effectiveness.

The Center for Disease Control (1993) reports that twelve million new infections from STDs occur each year and fifty-six million Americans have an incurable sexually transmitted disease. Three million of those infected are teenagers and 63 percent of all reported STD cases affect people less than twenty-five years of age. The infection rate for syphilis in the United States is reaching its highest levels in forty years; furthermore, since 1989, the number of 13-24 year-olds with AIDS has increased by 77 percent (Genuis, 1993).

Recent research data suggests that the diagnoses of AIDS have increased dramatically in the past decade. Although the AIDS virus can be contracted through other methods, venereal diseases are only transmitted by sexual contact. The extent to which teenagers are sexually active is also the extent to which they are vulnerable to STDs. Therefore, educators need to reevaluate the effectiveness of condom use.

It is an unavoidable reality that during the decade when funds were being appropriated, all of the goals that the public perceived to be the purposes of the programs failed of achievement. A study published recently in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* stated "Consistent data from (many studies) suggest that sexual activity among American adolescents has increased dramatically over

the past twenty years" (Seidman & Rieder, 1994). Furthermore, between the years 1988 and 1991 - the period in which the "safe sex" gospel was widely preached - the percentage of fifteen to twenty-two year old males who engaged in sexual intercourse increased from sixty to 84 percent. Those in this age group who used condoms decreased from fifty-six to 44 percent during this period (Ku, Sonenstein, & Pleck, 1993). The 1990 *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* stated less than half sexually active teens' use condoms. A review of seven published studies of outcomes of sex education programs that provided easy access to contraceptives found no valid evidence showing a reduction in sexual activity. Instead, six of the seven programs gave evidence of increases in sexual activity (Kasun, 1994). Abortions increased, and the percentage of abortions performed on unwed teenagers increased. Sexual promiscuity and venereal diseases of all kinds increased exponentially. Since sexuality education has focused on the use of condoms, teenage pregnancies have continued to increase over the past fifteen years. The one incontrovertibly effective method of reducing unwed pregnancy is to reduce the numbers of unwed adolescents who are engaging in extramarital sexual intercourse.

ABSTINENCE EDUCATION MAKES SENSE BECAUSE IT WORKS

One way of combating the problem is through sex education in the schools, and most states are considering the expansion of their curricula (Diamond, 1990). A view has recently emerged advocating delay of sexual intercourse until adulthood as the most effective long-term solution. One way to help teenagers abstain is for adults to teach them the reasons for saying no and to give them the necessary moral support and encouragement to continue saying it. In an inner-city sex education program, teenage women were asked what they wanted most in a sex education program. Eighty-four percent of the teenage women suggested they wanted information on "how to say no without hurting the other person's feelings" (Howard & Blamey-McBabe, 1990).

In a study by Olsen, Weed, Nielsen & Jensen (1992), Secretary of Education William J. Bennett stated "there is no evidence that making contraceptive methods more available is the surest strategy for preventing pregnancy, to say nothing of preventing sexual activity and the spread of AIDS." He went on to say "We currently know very little about how to effectively discourage unmarried teenagers from initiating intercourse . . . We do know how to develop character and reinforce good values . . . The contraceptive approach is acting with an

extravagantly single-minded blindness when it simply, in the name of science, ignores such experience, and offers instead a highly mechanical and bureaucratic solution--more widely available contraceptives in the schools" (p. 104).

Participants involved in the abstinence-based *Sex Respect* program in twenty-six public schools had a five percent pregnancy rate after two years of being enrolled in the program as opposed to a nine percent rate in the student control group not enrolled in the program (Carmichael, 1994). In addition, when they offered *Sex Respect* in a middle school, pregnancies fell from forty a year to ten. Another peer-based abstinence program, *Best Friends*, reported that only one woman in 400 became pregnant in their program while twenty to seventy pregnancies are common for the same group size in other studies. Lastly, a 1991 study conducted by the Institute for Research and Evaluation stated "Sex education programs that promote abstinence can be effective in producing a positive attitude change toward abstinence" (Olson, 1991).

A public health message in 1988 from former U. S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop stated that the only absolutely certain way to prevent AIDS is to be sexually abstinent (Koop, 1988). Recognizing the importance of abstinence, Koop suggested that information developed by the federal government to educate young people about AIDS should encourage responsible sexual behavior based on fidelity, commitment, and maturity. He proposed placing sexuality within the context of marriage and that any health information provided by the federal government should teach children not to engage in sex before they are ready to marry. He stated, "Those of us who are parents, educators, and community leaders, indeed all adults, cannot disregard this responsibility to educate our young. The need is critical and the price of neglect is high. The lives of our young people depend upon our fulfilling our responsibility."(p.

13)

THE COMPONENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE ABSTINENCE PROGRAM

The Institute for Research and Evaluation identified five "leverage points" that affect the sexual involvement of teenagers (Weed, 1992). They list them in order of greatest influence: value system, social system, related risk behaviors and activities, personality system, and information. Value system is their sense of what is important and unimportant, good and bad, right and wrong. The social system includes their family, peer groups, and dating partners. Related risk behaviors and activities include drug and alcohol use; early, frequent and steady dating; and skipping school. The personality system involves their personal efficacy, risk-taking propensities, rebelliousness, future orientation, needs for acceptance, and personal vulnerability. Information includes their knowledge of sexuality, reproduction, and contraception.

A research study in Utah estimates an average of 4.6 percent of junior and senior high school students lose their virginity each year. In students whose value system is low, the rate is 12.4 percent per year. A strong value system makes a threefold difference. When students' value systems are low, when they have a sexually active peer group, and when they date steadily, 48 percent will lose their virginity in one year. This is a thousand fold increase over the state average. When the safe sex message is added, it makes no difference (Weed, 1992).

If saving lives was the only moral concern, distributing condoms in schools is not the best way to proceed. School condom distribution promotes casual, promiscuous sex, ignores this contraceptive's failure rate, and runs counter to sound educational policy. Abstinence has greater lifesaving power than any piece of latex. Deferred gratification is the key to longer lives for our children and society.

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TEMPORARY WORKERS: AN EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE OF A COMPETITIVE DEMOCRACY

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Introduction

One in four Americans is a contingent worker, and the odds are increasing each year that this trend will continue. Since 1983, temporary and part-time employment opportunities have grown ten times faster than the overall employment rate (Lopez, 1994). Temporary workers filled over 20 percent of the new positions created between 1991 and 1993 (Feldman et al, 1994). If this employment trend continues at its current rate, analysts predict that by the year 2000, half the American work force could be contingent employees (Fierman, 1994).

While these estimates maybe high, companies are implementing aggressive alternative staffing strategies to achieve and maintain competitive positions in the global economy. American businesses are utilizing the contingent work force now more than ever in history to cope with the changing markets of the 21st century. King (1995) states, "In the 80's we saw the flattening of organizations. In the 90's we're seeing the wholesale depopulation of the interior of companies. Everything and everyone must go except the `core' business (p.R:12)." Workers have not seen the end to company `downsizing', `rightsizing', and `reengineering' according to a recent *Fortune* CEO poll (Fierman, 1994). Forty-four percent of the chief executives representing 203 Fortune 500 companies indicated their companies would rely more on contingent workers than they did five years ago, and only 13% of the responding companies planned to decrease the use of temporary employees (Fierman, 1994).

Reasons for the `temp' craze include: global competition, technology, and increased government regulations (Odiorne, 1990; Geber, 1993; Walters, 1994). The business climate has changed drastically from the 1950's and 1960's, where market predictions could be made (Geber, 1993). Companies are now being forced to meet just-in time schedules, which often requires flexible employees. The impact of technology has eliminated many job tasks. Walters (1994) notes fewer workers are needed to produce more. The main reason cited for the increased use of temporary or part-time workers is government regulations outlining employee benefits. Osbourne (1992) notes that costs for full-time workers beyond their salaries now entail: "Social Security, workers' comp, and unemployment and disability insurance (12.4%); recruiting, hiring, training,

bookkeeping, and payroll costs (10.1%); vacation and sick time, plus lunch and breaks (12.4%); and assorted fringe benefits (15.5%) - totaling more than 50 percent over regular cost." (p. 10)

Hiring temporary workers is the fastest way to cut overhead costs (Geber, 1993). Temporary agencies pick up the required benefits, and many companies have policies regulating benefits paid to part-timers. Furthermore, many temps and part-timers have experience, learn quickly, are easily found, and even easier to eliminate (Odiorne, 1990, Osborne, 1992).

While relying on contingent workers reduces overhead costs for many companies, researchers warn the reliance upon temporary workers is in conflict with other work place initiatives being implemented such as total quality management and quality control (Polivka, A. E., & Nardone, T., 1989; Gordon, J., 1993; Kuttner, R., 1993). Moreover, these high performance practices demand highly-skilled employees committed to organizational goals (Pfeffer, 1994). Tilly (1991) and Feldman & Doerpinghaus, (1992) observed that increasingly part-time/temporary workers are involuntary workers, desiring full time positions, lacking organizational loyalty and commitment. Even though today's temporary employees possess higher skills than ten years ago, the question remains, who will train these workers for those challenging jobs if companies are reluctant to invest in a "here today gone tomorrow worker?"

This paper will explore the rise of the temporary help industry in the past decade, and identify some practices temporary agencies are implementing to remain competitive. Specifically, this paper will examine employee training trends and provide examples of how the temporary help industry is meeting the challenge of training the contingent work force.

Rise of the Temporary Help Industry

Audrey Freeman, a New York consultant, first coined the term contingent work force in 1982. She applied the term to the then emerging group of workers, whose jobs were being converted from full-time to part-time positions (Gerber, 1993). Now the contingent work force is also called the flexible work force, and is the combination of temporary, part-time, contract, leased, and self-employed workers. According to the literature, the contingent work force is usually thought of as a

homogenous group because of the difficulty defining and accounting for the various components (Smith, 1994).

The Bureau of Labor Statistics defines part-time laborers as employees who work fewer than 35 hours a week (Negrey, 1990), while temporary workers are those individuals hired to complete assignments or fill-in for permanent workers. While reports indicate numbers of contingent workers, actual measurement can be difficult. Because of the multi-faceted characteristics of this work force, the focus of this review will be the fastest growing segment, individuals employed by temporary service firms.

According to Rose (1994, October 25), temporary help firms employ an average of 1.9 million persons per day, nearly double the number in 1989. Manpower, a Milwaukee based temporary agency, is the largest employer in the United States with over 600,000 temporary employees (Rose, 1995, June 24). Temporary workers are commonly accounted for through payroll, revenues, and average daily employment (Walters, 1994). When comparing these measures during the third quarter of 1994 to the same period of 1993, a substantial increase can be detected: temporary help payroll generated \$6.5 five billion, an increase of 27.4% over 1993, temporary help revenues reached a high of \$9 billion, increasing 23.4%, and the average daily employment was over 2 million, up 24.4% (Edwards, 1995).

Why the drastic increase in the number of temporary workers? The U.S. Department of Labor estimates that more than 85 percent of jobs lost from the latest economic downturn were due to "structural changes in the economy" (C. Kumpe, personal communication, March 1995). As American business struggles to cope with the ever changing market place, the 21st century is demanding staffing alternatives to propel and maintain a competitive position in a global economy. The utilization of temporary workers is one of the fastest growing options companies are choosing. Steve Schulte, President of Arkansas Association of Temporary Services (AATS) notes, "Companies are under extreme pressure to find the right employee to cope with the wildly fluctuating workloads, who possess unique skills to meet new product and service opportunities, and still create solutions to the potentially frightening myriad of government red-tape that employers face." (News Release, p.2)

As this work force continues to grow, it creates a lucrative business for temporary service agencies. In 1994, personnel services was one of the fastest growing industries in the United States. The number of people employed by temporary agencies has increased by 240%

in the last ten years (Fierman, 1994), from 470,000 in 1984 to over 1.9 million today. The Department of Labor estimates the temporary labor force will swell another 57% to reach 2.6 million. This rapid increase makes the contingent work force the second-fastest growing segment of the economy, right behind health care (Hart, 1995).

Maintaining Success

To maintain and increase the success temporary help agencies are experiencing, temporary management will have to recognize the impact technology is continuing to have on this unique industry. Most importantly, the temporary industry must continue to locate and attract employees who will fulfill high-tech, high-skilled positions in organizations. This undoubtedly means offering more opportunities for temporary employees to receive training ("Bridging the Gap", 1994). While organizations are spending more on training, temporary agencies are trying to provide specific skills that make their temps invaluable in the work place (Smith, J., 1994). As the temporary industry expands their strategic goals, they envision becoming a strategic partner who "acts as a staffing adviser that enables human resources to concentrate on core activities" (Zinno, 1994, p.4). Will they have the chance to demonstrate their knowledge of strategic staffing practices?

Opportunities Abound

As organizations evaluate core positions, will the human resource department survive? Hequet (1994) noted the continued strategy of downsizing may mean more outsourcing of departments, including training. According to leading resource executives, more and more human resource functions will be outsourced (Caudron, 1994). Traditional functions currently being outsourced include: insurance-claims administration, outplacement services, employee assistance programs, 401(k) plan administration, educational assistance, and dependent-care assistance (p. 59). These functions could be considered less value adding, in terms of increasing individual, career, or organizational development. But what about training? Critics of outsourcing suggest internal training is vital to the establishment of organizational culture. "Outside suppliers don't know the corporate culture or language, don't understand the nuances, don't know the hot buttons" (p. 30, Hequet, 1994). Opponents feel these inside secrets are what help improve the outcomes of training by decreasing resistance.

For now the outsourcing trend seems to be growing for a number of reasons. According to Hequet (1994), training departments are a constant overhead burden, and companies are looking for ways to cut overhead

expenses, and that means outsourcing training. In theory, a company only pays for an outsourced position when it is utilized, and companies have been contracting outside training for years (Hequet, 1994, p.27). According to a 1994 Society for Human Resource Management survey, 92% of companies have used outside training sources within last the five years (as cited in Hequet, 1994). Expenses appear to be constant with the latest trends in the training industry.

Internal Training

As companies continue to reengineer their work forces, investments in employee training exceeded the \$50 billion dollar mark for the first time. According to the 1994 *Industry Report*, American companies budgeted \$50.6 billion for formal training, a 5% increase from 1993 (*Industry Report*, 1994). An additional \$9.9 billion was budgeted for external seminars, conferences, hardware, outside services, custom materials, and off-the-shelf materials (*Industry Report*, 1994).

A projected 47 million American employees were scheduled to receive some formal training during 1994. The *Industry Report* 1994 indicated organizations were mostly likely to offer their employees management/development skills (89%), basic computer skills (88%), communication skills (84%), supervisory skills (82%), and technical/knowledge skills (82%).

Eighty percent of the total internal training budget was spent on overhead expenses of the organizations' training departments, 8% providing facilities, classrooms, and utilities, and 72% dedicated to staff salaries (*Industry Report*, 1994). For these reasons training is becoming a victim of outsourcing.

Outsourcing training can increase an organization's training volume, without increasing the training staff size. Independent contractors or agencies provide the staff necessary for program planning and facilitation. Temporary help agencies are recognizing this trend as a way not only to increase the demand for their workers, but also offer recruitment, training, and staffing services.

Answering the Dilemma

Teamwork, empowerment, and quality control in the workplace are policies contingent upon employee cooperation, commitment, and continued life-long learning (Pfeffer, 1994). While organizations are asking more of employees, they are continuing to decrease employee commitment and loyalty through layoffs, outsourcing, and utilization of temporary employees. Caudron (1994) suggests companies further complicate the dynamics of the employee relationship by demanding contingents possess greater skills, but remain

reluctant to invest training dollars in them due to their temporary status. The temporary help industry is rising to the educational challenge by providing the skills workers and organizations are seeking.

Even though the number of temporary workers continues to increase each year, competition is also increasing among the temporary service providers (Caudron, 1994; Zinno, 1994). As Bill Lewis, founder of Career Blazers, a network of nationally accredited training schools, suggested the decision of temporary agencies to provide training was "completely driven by the marketplace. Temporary help industries are attempting to serve three customers - temporary employees, client companies, and the bottom-line (*Bridging the Gap*, 1994).

Meeting Temporary Worker Needs

Researchers have discovered among the top reasons individuals seek temporary employment is the desire to gain new skills and work experience (Sunoo, 1994; Rose, 1995, February 27). Approximately 50% of temporary workers are involuntary temps, and are seeking permanent positions (Tilley, 1991). According to a recent survey of temporary employees, 66% of employees indicated they gained new skills during their tenure as temps (Gonzales, 1994), and 29% reported participating in more than 20 hours of training supplied by their temporary agencies (Gonzales, 1994). Since 1992, Olsten Staffing Services has noted two-thirds of their client organizations are selecting permanent workers from the temp ranks, an increase of 18% (Rose, 1995, February 27).

Temporary agencies are trying to offer their temps the skills that are in demand in the work place: interpersonal, communication, and problem solving skills. Manpower, the largest temporary service firm, is now implementing quality training (Epatko, 1994). *Putting Quality to Work*, a video training series, was developed in cooperation with Manpower clients and temps in an attempt to provide workers with qualities necessary for success on the job. The program is bridging the gap between the expectations of the clients and the temporary workers, while at the same time increasing the temps marketability (Epatko, 1994). Temporary agencies are going as far as establishing training schools to educate their temps. The Olsten Corporation in Westbury, New York, established the Olsten University in 1993 to "systemize and streamline its training and development efforts" (Epatko, 1994). Brewer Personnel Services in Fayetteville, Arkansas is also expanding its training efforts through the Brewer Career Center. The center currently provides the latest computer training in self-paced evening classes (C.

Kumpe, personal communication, August 29, 1995). As temporary services continue to meet the educational challenge of the work place, customers can expect additional services.

Fulfilling Clients Demands

Due to the increased outsourcing of human resource functions and experience in staffing, temporary agencies are fulfilling new roles (Caudron, 1994). Because companies are not just looking for replacement personnel, but creative solutions to their fluctuating staffing needs, temporary agencies are serving as staffing consultants (Caudron, 1994). Additional responsibilities for the temporary industry include the recruiting, assessment of skills, testing, and training of potential workers for companies (Rose, 1995, June 24).

The increased emphasis on training has gained attention of companies seeking external training for their permanent workers (*Bridging the Gap*, 1994; Caudron, 1994). According to the *Industry Report* for 1994, \$9.9 billion was budgeted for outside training in 1994, or 20% of the total training budget. Increasingly companies are responding by contracting or sending their core employees to temporary firms' training sessions, ranging from basic word processing to custom-developed classes on corporate diversity and sexual harassment (*Bridging the Gap*, 1994).

Bottom-Line Concerns

Educational training is the most important strategy temporary service firms are implementing to meet the needs of both employees and clients. Currently the temporary industry is experiencing a shortage of labor (Rose, 1994, October 25), making the retention of qualified temps a challenge to the bottom-line. Many temporary firms are offering training as a recruiting tool. Apple One Employment Services Ltd. of Glendale, California, for example provides a day of training for every 500 hours a temp works (Rose, 1994, October 25). Temporary firms are realizing how closely education is tied to the bottom-line success of their industry. Bruce Steinburg, spokesman for the National Association of Temporaries, explained, "Five of 10 years ago, the debate in our industry was whether it was our responsibility to train workers. Now, temp firms realize they can't assign their people anywhere if they aren't well trained." (cited in Smith, 1994)

Summary

This paper has provided an example of an increasing population of Americans seeking prosperity and security through the work place. The temporary work force has emerged as an alternative solution to the turbulence in the global economy today. These workers are often

victims of the conflicting policies found in the competitive democratic society in which they live. It is clear our society faces a challenge as its focus on market place competition may threaten the social fabric of our society.

The growing trend to utilize contingent workers is changing the make-up of the work place. Employer-employee relationships once valued and expected are no longer valid. Temporary workers are continuing to meet business needs, therefore, the staffing strategies are considered bottom line valid. Companies are cutting costs, but without realizing the ultimate effects this alternative may produce. The concerns temporary employees face, such as the lack of health insurance and pension plans, will continue to fester and will eventually result in debilitating socio-economic conditions. Workers, who were once contributing to the growth of the economy because of their financial security, are no longer able to spend more. The likelihood of them obtaining higher-skilled, higher paying jobs is slim, resulting ultimately in economic instability.

Labor laws and regulations need to be more closely evaluated and updated to protect the rights of this growing population of workers. These updates should include accurate measurements of the numbers of contingent workers and socio-economic conditions effecting them. More attention should be devoted to assessing economic implications companies and individuals will be facing due to the utilization of these workers.

Our nation's strength depends on the manpower that pushes its productive machine. The management of this *people* power must have a philosophy of emphasizing the humane employment of workers in order to operate effectively. The temporary help industry, through the accentuation of training temporary workers, is enabling these individuals to gain permanent employment and become productive citizens. This is an interesting period in the history in which a philosophy of compassion, caring, and common values will hopefully evolve to bring about an Aristotelian sense of balance or Golden Mean. Companies need to reexamine current work place initiatives and select human resource policies and practices that are not in conflict with one another. If high-performance organizations are going to survive in our nation, companies must realize being competitive in the market place will depend on the commitment and loyalty of full time employees. Workers, who feel as outsiders, betrayed by organizations or government, will become increasingly difficult to manage, eventually effecting the bottom line. Surely it is worth our best efforts to explore ways and means of providing our citizens with humanistic working environments, rather

than mechanistic organizations.

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CIXOUS, IRIGARAY, AND KRISTEVA
FRENCH FEMINIST PHILOSOPHERS OF THE POSTMODERN:
IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS

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In the United States, at least, the literature of postmodern inquiry has been dominated by male French philosophers such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard, Jacques Lacan, Jean Baudrillard, and Gilles Deleuze. This is understandable because postmodern inquiry was spawned in large part as a critique of modernity,¹ which, postmoderns argue, is male. Only in the past few years has translated works of popular female French postmodern philosophers been widely available, especially the works of Helene Cixous, Lucy Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva. Although their work is as fundamentally postmodern as their more widely known male contemporaries, they have enriched postmodern inquiry by approaching it from, in the words of Cixous, "feminine writing." Unlike the many current American feminist writer/philosophers, who argue essentially for the female to be homogenized within an already defined modern male world, the French feminist postmodern philosophers are not encumbered with the Cartesian myopia of modernity. In this regard they are essentially anti theoretical; thus, they do not argue to replace the dominant male text-discourse with a female text-discourse. This paper is a brief introduction to Cixous, Irigaray, and Kristeva and their feminine postmodern approaches to understanding the human condition. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the possibilities their approaches to postmodern inquiry offers for education policy analysis.

What is Postmodern Inquiry?

In the past few years much has been written about postmodern inquiry and education. Unfortunately, it often has suffered from a serious lack of understanding of just what constitutes postmodern inquiry. The most glaring error is the use of the term "postmodernism," a term that connotes an ideology, which postmodern inquiry clearly is not. In writing about Derrida's deconstruction, a central aspect of postmodern inquiry, Mitchell Stephens notes that deconstruction, "guards against the belief--a belief that has led to much violence--that the world is simple and can be known with certainty. . . . [deconstruction] confronts us with the limits of what is *possible* for human thought to accomplish [emphasis in the original]."² Put simply, postmodern inquiry challenges the fundamental notion of modernity--that objective theories or methods

(*metanarratives* in the language of postmoderns) ultimately can be "discovered" to explain all things, including the human condition.

Postmoderns arrived at this position by challenging the modern notion that *meaning* is the transcendental *signified* within the system of the sign. Postmoderns reject this notion because *signifiers*, those elements of the sign system used in the service of signifying agent to point to signifieds, are always contaminated with traces of other signifiers employed to point to other signifieds. For example, there is no single word (signifier) in a dictionary that needs no other word or words to identify (define) its signified meaning. On the other hand, postmodern inquiry never begins with the belief that there are no transcendental signifieds to be found; thus, always leaving open the possibility of a signified reality transcending the signifying subject. In this sense postmodern inquiry is not antimodern.

Likewise, contrary to many of its critics, postmodern inquiry is optimistic with regards to the autonomous *subject*; whereas, it could be argued, modernity is pessimistic. This is so because modernity requires objectification of all elements in order to account for modernity's fundamental *a priori* assumption of ultimate accountability in a clockwork, totalized, dualistic "reality." This is accomplished by dispersing the subject within a wide-range of polymorphous discourses. Foucault illustrates this in his historic analyses of the institutional discourses of asylums, hospitals, and prisons. On the other hand, recognizing the role of language in the construction of discourses, postmoderns argue that "reality" is at base a metaphorical discourse constructed and limited by subjective interpretations of the *present* conditioned by history, culture, and the limits of language to establish meaning.

Postmoderns, in particular the French feminist postmoderns, argue that because most of the discourse of modernity has been constructed by males, the character of modernity is essentially male. This will become evident in the views of the three French feminist philosophers discussed in this paper. Their works, like the genre of French feminism generally and unlike much of American feminist writing, firmly take the position that, for whatever reason(s), there are essential differences between male and female perspectives on the

world that must be taken into account if the Human is to be truly liberated.

Hélène Cixous

For Derrida, Cixous is "the greatest writer in what I will call my language, the French language . . . a great writer must be a poet-thinker; very much a poet and a very thinking poet."³ It is evident from reading her works that Cixous is in fact a poet and a thinker, a complex one at that. Perhaps this, in part at least, is a due to her background. Cixous was born in 1937 in Oran, Algeria, to a immigrant German Jewish mother who had to leave Germany after Hitler came to power in 1933. Her physician father was of Sephardic Jewish extraction, politically and culturally close to France, and had overseas French citizenship. While growing up, Cixous became fluent in German, French, Arabic, Hebrew, Spanish, and English, which she learned in school. In her unique poetic style, she describes her childhood as leaving her:

No fatherland, no legitimate history . . . no certainties, no property . . . no serious declared language . . . In German I weep; in English, I play; in French, I fly, I am a thief . . . no permanent resident . . . no law . . . no grammar . . . no knowledge . . . writing diplomas; none . . . affiliations: none . . . models: zero . . . the infinite.⁴

Presently, Cixous is a professor and director of the Center for Research in Feminine Studies at the University of Paris VIII. Besides her many philosophical works, Cixous is also a novelist, playwright, literary and music critic, and, more recently, a screenwriter.

What is Cixous's project? Susan Suleiman, in the introduction to Cixous's *Coming To Writing*, which is a "tiny" portion of Cixous's work since the early 1970s, describes it as:

not a single subject but a whole web of intertwined concerns and reflections: on the relations between writing, exile, forgiveness, loss, and death; on the relations between writing, giving, nourishment, love, and life; on the relations between all of the above, and being a woman--or a man.⁵

The theme through all of her philosophical writings, at least, is a critical examination, and ultimate rejection, of the hierarchical, oppositional, and dualistic thinking characteristic of Western metaphysics. She carries out her critical inquiry through what she calls "feminine writing." She does this not by trying to develop a feminine theory of writing, but to deconstruct the masculine, phallogocentric linguistic economy that has dominated the discourse of the modern. The following is an example of both her writing style and how she perceives modern thought as it relates to the question,

"Where is she?":

Where is she?
Activity/passivity
Sun/ Moon
Culture/Nature
Day/Night

Father/Mother
Head/heart
Intelligible/sensitive
Logos/Pathos

Form, convex, step, advance, seed, progress.
Matter, concave, ground--which supports the step, receptacle.
Man

—
Women

Always the same metaphor: we follow it, it transports us, in all of its forms, wherever a discourse is organized. The same thread, or double tress leads us, whether we are reading or speaking, through literature, philosophy, criticism, centuries of representation, of reflection.

Thought has always worked by opposition,
Speech/Writing
High/Low

Cixous believes that the reduction of Woman through Western oppositional discourse accounts for "Her" being marginalized or restrained in other ways. In particular for Cixous, that which has made Her afraid to write. Cixous argues:

For "woman," well imprinted with the sociocultural heritage, has been inculcated with the spirit of "restraint." She is in fact "restraint" itself, socially. (Or, if you wish, the repressed, the controlled one.) She restrains herself, and is restrained, by a thousand bonds, hitched, conjugated, strings, chains, nets, leash, feeding dish, network of servile, reassuring dependencies. She is defined by her connections, *wife of*, as she was daughter of, from hand to hand, from bed to niche, from niche to household, woman as complement-of-a-name has much to do to cut free.⁶

For Cixous, feminine writing is different from masculine writing in that it is not restrained by the dualistic, oppositional preconditions of modern Western thought. She believes that writing comes from an urge to "live" as much as from the rational domain of the mind. She asserts that feminine writing is the writing of the body (the libido) while masculine writing is of the logical-rational (the "disciplined" mind), that mode of thought that attempts, at all costs, to avoid the abyss that

separates the signifier and its intended signified--the locus of Derridian *différance*. On this point Cixous notes:

They have taught you to be afraid of the abyss, of the infinite, which is nonetheless more familiar to you than it is to man. Don't go near the abyss! If she should discover its (her) force! If she should, suddenly, take pleasure in, profit from its immensity! If she should take the leap! And fall not like a stone, but like a bird. If she should discover herself to be a swimmer of the unlimited.⁷

In short, for Cixous, "the flesh writes and is given to be read; and to be written."⁸ Cixous explains that she made this connection early in her life as she tried to understand the contradictions of her very existence and her passion to express herself.

I remember, at the age of twelve or thirteen, reading the following: "The flesh is sad, alas, and I have read all the books." I was struck with astonishment mingled with scorn and disgust. As if a tomb had spoken. What a lie! And beyond, what truth: for the flesh is a book. A body "read," finished? A book--a decaying carcass? Stench and falsity. The flesh is writing, and writing is never read: it always remains to be read, studied, sought, invented.

In expanding on this notion, Cixous discovered the writings of Clarice Lispector, a Jewish woman born in the Ukraine, whose family emigrated to Brazil when she was a child. Cixous, always referring to Lispector as Clarice, believes Clarice to be her "unhoped-for other." In Clarice, Cixous immediately saw a writer equivalent to Kafka, but writing as a woman. Since this discovery in 1977, Cixous has been teaching and writing about Clarice. She compares her continual reading (examination) of Clarice with the project of the famous Japanese painter Hokusai who kept painting, over and over again, views of Mount Fuji. Explaining his passion, Hokusai said:

From the age of six, I had a passion for drawing the form of objects. By the age of fifty, I had published an infinity of drawings, but nothing I produced before the age of seventy is worth counting. It was at the age of seventy-three that I more or less understood the structure of true nature, of animals, grasses, birds, fish, and insects.

Consequently, by the age of eighty, I will have made even more progress; at ninety I will penetrate the mystery of things; at a hundred I will definitely have reached a degree of wonder, and when I am a hundred and ten, for my part, be it a dot, be it a line, everything will be alive.⁹

She thus compares writing to painting. We see Hokusai's paintings as "beautiful," while Hokusai sees

them as mere obstacles to the path of the last painting, the living dot, line. Painters paint "from hope to hope"; their dissatisfaction spawns hope that the next canvas will be the perfect one. Cixous's constant reading of Clarice is the realization that each reading is a new reading, a reading from hope to hope, the hope that she will, at last, arrive at the last reading, a complete understanding of Clarice and her "political approach" to writing. It is political because it dwells in the "betweenness" from hope to hope, which can only be assessed by probing the depth of the abyss. This, of course, requires time and patience. On this point Cixous notes that:

We are living in a time of flat thought-screen, of newspaper-thinking, which does not leave time to think the littlest thing according to its living mode. We must save the approach that opens and leaves space for *the other* [emphasis in the original]. But we live mass-mediatised, pressed, hard-pressed, blackmailed. Acceleration is one of the tricks of intimidation. We rush, throw ourselves upon, seize. And we no longer know how to receive.¹⁰

For Cixous, "receiving is a science" and "knowing how to receive is the best of gifts," in particular receiving the gift of things by thinking in the direction of the thing, "letting ourselves be called to it." In this regard Cixous gives us Clarice's lesson, "by letting the thing recall something to us, we no longer forget, we un-forget, we recall the boundless other, called life. Clarice teaches us to give ourselves, again, the time not to forget, not to kill."¹¹

To summarize, Cixous clearly is concerned with the displaced *other* in Western thought. Within oppositional Western metaphysics, the other has been delegated, given, ascribed to woman. But she does not see this as a disadvantage. Instead, she seizes the opportunity that this position affords her to explore, through "feminine writing," the potentials of swimming within the abyss.

Lucy Irigaray

Since 1964, Lucy Irigaray has held a research post at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris. Presently she is Director of Research in Philosophy at the Centre. She is a practicing psychoanalyst and has doctorates in both philosophy and linguistics. Her many books have been translated into a variety of languages. Only since the early 1980s have English translations been widely available in the United States.

Irigaray's project is difficult to assess completely, but clearly it is not to make women into men. She believes that for women to be freed from the hegemony of patriarchy they first must form a relationship among

themselves. To this end, she provides a theory of the feminine that escapes the Freudian "patriarchal specul(ariz)ation." As a student of Lacan, this caused her considerable difficulty. Because she was at odds with the Lacanian view of sexuality she was immediately dismissed from Lacan's *École freudienne* after presentation of her doctoral dissertation, *Spéculum de autre femme (Speculum of the Other Woman)*¹². But this monumental work nevertheless immediately established Irigaray as a scholar and philosopher of great merit.

Irigaray begins this three part work with a massive deconstruction of Freud's statements about femininity, but does not reject psychoanalysis. This rejection of Freud apparently is what put her at odds with the Lacanian views of sexuality. The third part, "Plato's *Hystera*," is a deconstruction of Plato's parable of the cave framed by the second part of the book which is a close reading of Western philosophers from Plato to Hegel. It is this second part, given the title "Speculum," that is of interest here.

In the modern medical-surgical discourse *speculum* refers to an instrument for dilating passages of the body for viewing. More precisely, it is a curved polished mirror-like gynecological instrument used to assist in the inspection of the vagina. Irigaray uses the term metaphorically in deconstructing (1) Freud's statements on femininity, psychosexual development, and sexual difference and (2) the philosophical discourses of Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, and Hegel in regards to how they construct a theory of the subject as "masculine." For Irigaray, this is the backbone of the masculine ideology and patriarchal discourse which characterizes modernity. For man to maintain dominance, she argues:

That which separates, divides, splits, must be taken away from the other, from the "feminine," for otherwise mathematics and dialectics no longer know what they're about. Lost in differences that cannot be analyzed by dint of their non-relationship with Sameness. The opening up of a heterogeneous space--a space-time--must now and always maintain silence about anything uneven that it might allow to appear in the functioning of the logos itself.¹³

As Toril Moi (a prominent scholar of feminist literary theory) points out, the book (*Speculum of the Other Woman*) itself is shaped like a hollow surface on the model of the speculum/vagina. Framed by the works of male "master thinkers" the middle section, "Speculum," is where the male penetrates the Woman with his phallogentric discourse and sees only himself in the mirror of the speculum. Having been always already exiled from the domain of reason since at least Plato, woman has only the "other" to which she has been

assigned, but which man always seek to appropriate for himself when he deems it in his best interest. In this regard Irigaray notes:

When the Other falls out of the starry sky into the chasm of the psyche, the "subject" [man] is obviously obligated to stake out new boundaries for his field of implantation and to re-ensure--otherwise, elsewhere--his dominance. Where once he was on the heights, he is now entreated to go down into the depths. These changes in position are still postulated in terms of verticality, of course. Are phallic, therefore. But how to tame these uncharted territories, these dark continents, these worlds through the looking glass? How to master these deviltries, these moving phantoms of the unconscious, when a long history has taught you to seek out and desire clarity, the clear perception of (fixed) ideas?¹⁴

Irigaray argues that man, when confronted with challenges to his sovereignty seeks out new theories ("strategies and tactics") in order to "reconstruct, in an impossible metaphorization, the matrix and the way that would lead to or back to his home, his theoretical elaborations. The problem that Irigaray sees with this is that:

man only asks (himself) questions that he can already answer, using the supply of instruments he has available to assimilate even his disasters in his history. This time at any rate he is prepared to lay odds again, and, give or take a few new weapons, he will make the unconscious into a property of his language. A disconcerting property, admittedly, which confuses everything he has long since assigned meaning to. But that, it seems, is not the most important thing at stake. The really urgent task is to ensure the colonization of this new "field," to force it, not without splintering, into the production of the same discourse. . . . The forms of arrangement may vary, but they will bear the paradox of forcing into the same representation--the representation of the self/same [man]--that which insists upon its *heterogeneity*, its *otherness* [emphasis in the original].¹⁵

Irigaray differs from other writers that assign rationality to the masculine and the other to the feminine in that she sees the male appropriating the other for himself. Unlike Foucault, who subsumes the female within the universal Man in his historical analysis of subjectivity, Irigaray separates the sexes in an attempt to focus on feminine subjectivity. She does so in order to establish woman as the speaking subject, not to replace man but to free women from the prison which has been constructed for them. Only in this way can women fully

participate in the construction of the social, economic, and political framework of a culture built on a foundation of justice and equity for all.

Julia Kristeva

Julia Kristeva was born in Bulgaria in 1941. She came to Paris in 1966 on a doctoral research fellowship. Within a year she established herself as an important player on the French intellectual scene, being published in then prestigious journals, such as *Tel Quel* and *Critique*. By 1970 she had already published two books, *Séméiotiké* in 1969 *Le Text du roman* in 1970. Her earliest French publications appeared about the same time as that of the presently more widely known Derrida. She presented her doctoral thesis, *La Révolution du langage poétique: l'avant-garde à la fin du XIXe siècle: Laut éamont et Mallarmé (Revolution in Poetic Language)*, in 1973. The defense of her thesis was a major event, with the venerable Roland Barthes serving as one of the examiners. The very next year, on the basis of her intellectual brilliance and the strength of her scholarly publications, she was awarded a chair in linguistics at the University of Paris VII. She still holds that position.¹⁶

In her association with *Tel Quel* it was clear that she was considered equal to the more popular male contributors and collaborators such as Barthes, Foucault, and Derrida. Toril Moi characterizes the project of the French intellectual movement of the late 1960s as the production of:

a "modernist" theory as distinct from a mere theory of modernism. Focusing, like structuralism, on *language* as the starting point for a new kind of thought on politics and the subject, the group based its work on a new understanding of history as *text* and writing (*écriture*) as *production*, not representation. Within these parameters, they sought to elaborate new concepts for description of this new vision of the social or signifying space (Kristeva, with her coinage of terms such as 'intertextuality', 'signifying practice' or 'significance', 'paragramme', 'genotext' and 'phenotext', was the main exponent of this specific trend); to produce a *plural history* of different kinds of writing situated in relation to their specific time and space; and, finally, to articulate a *politics* which would constitute the logical consequence of a non-representational understanding of writing.

Kristeva's project is twofold. First, she seeks to recover the significance of the historical and social elements that shape the character of language. For Kristeva:

The question "*What is language?*" could and should

be replaced with another: "*How was it possible to conceive of language?*" By posing the problem in this way, we resist looking for a supposed "essence" of language, and we present linguistic practice through the process that accompanied it: the thought it provoked, and representation that was made of it.¹⁷

Secondly, Kristeva seeks to liberate language from the restraints imposed by the continual division of language into discrete discourses that tend to construct the human subject into a homogeneous Self. In this regard she argues that language is already heterogeneous before divisions into closed systems are created; thus, she seeks to develop a theory of the speaking autonomous subject. In order to develop such a theory, Kristeva argues that we must look into the domain of psychoanalytic theory, in particular that of Lacan.

The significance of Lacan for Kristeva is his antibiological approach to psychoanalysis and his belief that the person-self cannot be separated from the social-self. For Lacan, without language humans cannot become social beings and social systems cannot be constituted. It is a dialectic within which both the person and society constitute each other. In short, for Lacan, like all postmoderns, nothing exists before language; thus, he rejects Freudian bio-anatomical psychiatry which seeks to *explain* in favor of an approach to psychoanalysis that seeks only to *interpret*. Perhaps the single most important aspect of Kristeva's work is the first part of *Revolution in Poetic Language*. Here she examines both how meaning is signified in what she calls the *signifying process* and what resists intelligibility and signification. Kristeva identifies two inseparable *modalities*, the *semiotic* and the *symbolic*, within the signifying process. She assigns to the meaning of *semiotic* the Greek sense which implies a quality of distinctiveness and is the one in Freudian psychoanalysis. This view points to both: (1) the facilitation and functioning of the drives which "involve the pre-Oedipal semiotic functions and energy discharges that connect and orient the body to the mother"¹⁸ and (2) the "so-called *primary processes* which displace and condense both energies and their inscription."¹⁹ These drives are 'energy' charges as well as 'psychical' marks which articulate what Kristeva calls a *chora* (a receptacle). She borrowed the term from Plato to denote:

an essentially mobile and extremely provisional articulation constituted by movements and their ephemeral stases. . . [t]he semiotic *chora* is no more than the place where the *subject* is both generated and negated, the place where his unity succumbs before the process of charges and stases that produce him . . . it precedes and underlies figuration and thus

specularization, and is analogous only to vocal and kinetic rhythm. . . [it] is a modality of significance in which the linguistic sign is not yet articulated as the absence of an object and as the distinction between real and symbolic.²⁰

Before the onset of the Oedipal phase, the *chora* 'regulates' by an objective ordering the vocal and gestural semiotics dictated by natural or socio-historical constraints such as biological differences between sexes or family structure. Although social organization is always already symbolic, at this stage in development it is not symbolic according to a social law or convention but only through ordering. Likewise it is not cognitive in the sense of being assumed by a knowing constituted subject.

The semiotic, and its relation to the *chora*, is at the pre-Oedipal stage of development; therefore, it is not of the symbolic order. It precedes the establishment of the sign, making it anterior to both sign and syntax. It is at this stage in the development of the human, the onset of the Oedipal stage, that the symbolic aspect of Kristeva's theory comes into play. Kristeva defines the *symbolic* as "a social effect of the relation to the other, established through the objective constraints of biological (including sexual) differences and concrete, historical family structures."²¹ The *symbolic* interacts dialectically with, yet imposes its order on, the *semiotic*. And unlike the *semiotic*, which is associated with the mother, the symbolic is governed by the phallic Law of the Father, which, as pointed out earlier, is considered *male*.

Kristeva explains how texts function in terms of what she calls *genotext* and *phenotext*. A *genotext* includes both semiotic processes (the disposition of drives and their division in the body) and the ecological and social system surrounding the body, including pre-Oedipal relations with parents. For Kristeva, the *genotext* is the only transfer of drive energies that organize a space in which the subject is not yet a split unity that will become blurred, giving rise to the symbolic. It is a space organized so that the *subject* will be *generated* as such by a process of facilitation and marks within the constraints of biological and social structures. In short, even though it can be seen in language, the *genotext* is not linguistic, it is a *process* underlying the foundation of language.²²

On the other hand, the *phenotext* is language that serves to communicate. Unlike the *genotext*, it is constantly split and divided and not reducible to the semiotic process that works only through the *genotext*. While the *genotext* is a process, the *phenotext* is a structure which can be generated. This structure has rules of communication and presupposes a subject of

enunciation and an addressee. Kristeva notes that if *genotext* and *phenotext* could be translated into a metalanguage that would convey their meanings, one might say that the *genotext* is a matter of topology, whereas the *phenotext* is one of algebra.²³

It is at this point in her conceptual scheme where one can begin to see the significance of Kristeva's theory of the *person* that has implications for feminist theory. Where Cixous locates "feminine writing" in the libido, Kristeva, on the other hand, believes that the semiotic pre-Oedipal state, although associated with the mother, nonetheless is both masculine and feminine; thus, open to males as well as females. On the other hand, *phenotext*, which is of the symbolic order, is the structure of language that serves to communicate; which in modernity has been appropriated by the male.

What Kristeva has done through her work is to join philosophy, history, and psychoanalysis with linguistics. In doing so she has mounted a formidable challenge to the grounding notion of modern linguistics, that language is a structure, an object. As postmodern thought illustrates, this has contributed to a scientized objectification of the human subject, allowing the subject to be conceived as a transcendental ego. Instead of linguistics being grounded on a notion of a static transcendental object-structure, Kristeva has provided us with a theory of signification grounded on the speaking subject constituted through the dialectics of the pre-Oedipal semiotic process and symbolic structure governed by the Law of the Father. On this point, Kristeva notes:

Because the subject is always *both* semiotic and symbolic, no signifying system he [the subject] produces can be either 'exclusively' semiotic or 'exclusively' symbolic, and is instead necessarily marked by an indebtedness to both.²⁴

In summary, Kristeva has given us a unique way of viewing the interactive effects of the conscious and the unconscious on language. In doing so, she provides an explanation for how the search for Truth in modernity has relied on only the "serious" rational symbolic (the domain ascribed to the male), reducing the "playful" emotional semiotic (the domain ascribed to the female) to a secondary function. The outcome is that women have been pushed to the margins of the social, political, economic, and cultural structures of the modern social order.

Implications for Education Policy

The notion that Western (Modern) thought is male is fully reflected in the history of American education discourse-practices. In curriculum, for example, the current "reforms" that stress "performance outcomes,"

"accountability," and "professionalism" are but a few of the prominent male signifiers that claim a rational-scientific foundation. But perhaps it is no more evident than in the male dominated enterprises of the theory and practice of Education Administration. For example, Education Administration as a field of study in the United States began with the work of the likes of Franklin Bobbit. As Raymond Callahan so eloquently documented, that work reflected the notions of scientific management popular at the time in business and manufacturing. Inherent in the notion of scientific management is hierarchy, division, and suppression of the subjective self (the other), all in the name of efficiency, accountability, and professionalism. In this regard all that can be classified as an educational "innovation" since at least the opening of the Quincy

school in 1847 is suspect of being a disciplinary (one of *place*) technology in disguise. It is disciplinary in that it seeks, through hegemonic Western oppositional discourses, to establish (produce through language) hierarchies, displacements, and differences operating between and on human subjects as transcendental. The result, for women and minorities at least, has been an unjustified distribution of power relations that tend to discriminate. Through the application of the analytical frameworks of Cixous, Irigaray, and Kristeva to educational policy outcomes one might uncover unjustified displacements and/or power differentials grounded in hegemonic mythical transcendental signifieds.

ENDNOTES

1. In this paper the term "modernity" is interchanged with "the modern." I do this fully realizing that "modernity" is most often associated with the character of Western society from the Renaissance forward while "the modern" was born with the thoughts of Plato and Socrates. I take Lyotard's position that, "Modernity is not, I think, a historical period, but a way of shaping a sequence of moments in such a way that it accepts a high rate of contingency. It is not without significance that this formalization can be verified in the works as diverse as those of Augustine, Kant, and Husserl." See, Jean-François Lyotard, *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 68. Originally published in France as *L'Inhumain: Causeries sur le temps* by Editions Galilée (1988).
3. Mitchell Stephens, "Jacques Derrida," *The New York Times Magazine* (23 January 1994): 22.
5. Helene Cixous, *"Coming to Writing" and Other Essays*, ed. Deborah Jenson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), back cover.
6. Cixous, *Coming to Writing*, 36.
7. Susan Rubin Suleiman, "Writing Past the Wall: or the Passion According to H.C.," Introduction to Helene Cixous, *"Coming to Writing" and Other Essays*, viii.
8. Cixous, *Coming to Writing*, 39-40.
9. Cixous, *Coming to Writing*, 40.
10. Cixous, *Coming to Writing*, 26.
11. *Le Fou de peinture: Hokusai et son temps*, exhibition catalog, Centre Culturel du Marais (Paris: CRES, 1980), 217; Cited in Cixous, *Coming to Writing*, 128.
12. Helene Cixous, "Clarice Lispector," in *"Coming to Writing" and Other Essays*, ed. Deborah Jenson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 62.
13. Cixous, *Coming to Writing*, 62.
14. Toril Moi, *Sexual Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London: Routledge, 1985), 127.

15. Lucy Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Women*, trans. Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985): 360; First published in France as *Speculum de l'autre femme*, Les Editions de Mimir (1974).
16. Irigaray, 136.
18. Irigaray, 137.
19. Michael Payne, *Reading Theory: An Introduction to Lacan, Derrida, and Kristeva* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995), 162.
21. Julia Kristeva, *Language: The Unknown*. trans. Anne M. Menke (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 5. First Published in France as *Le langage: cet inconnu*, Editions du Seuil, 1981.
22. Julia Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," in Toril Moi, *The Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 95.
23. Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," 93.
24. Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," 93-95.
26. Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," 97.
27. Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," 120-121.
28. Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," 121.
29. Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," 93.

THE SCOPES TRIAL: POLITICIANS MONKEYING WITH EDUCATION

by

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In the summer of 1925, exactly 70 years ago, one of the most infamous trials in the annals of American education was on stage in Dayton, Tennessee. While it was not as far-reaching in its aftermath as New Jersey's Everson Case and Iowa's Tinker Case, nevertheless, the Scopes Trial was as well-covered by national and international media in its day as the O. J. Simpson Trial today.

Background

From the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, scientists had been actively searching for evidence of man's origin in the Middle East and eventually in Africa. It was at the latter location that Professor Raymond Dart of South Africa came into possession of fossilized skull fragments of a primate that he described as a "man-like ape" which he believed validated Darwin's hypothesis of man's ancestry ("The Missing Link," 1925). The "scientific" theory of evolution was the interpretation that mankind, rather than being created by God basically as mankind is today, had evolved from some lower form of life over millions of years. Perhaps it was the furor resulting from the announcement of Dart's finding that precipitated the beginnings of the continuing saga.

The implications of Dart's conclusion led to heated arguments worldwide and tended to divide people by religion and education level. American discussion at this time was being dominated by those labeled as "Fundamentalists" and those labeled as "Modernists" ("Freedom in the Mountains," 1925). Fundamentalists claimed that the Bible was the inerrant word of God and that the "evolutionists" were not only badly mistaken in their beliefs but were blaspheming God. Furthermore, the Fundamentalists were angry that the courts were preventing the teaching of religion in schools, yet the courts allowed the teaching of sci was in direct opposition to Biblical teachings. They reasoned, therefore, that if they couldn't teach religion in the schools, then the "other side" shouldn't be allowed to teach their "truth" either (Hays, 1925).

The "Modernists," on the other hand, believed that there was no major contradiction between the Biblical version of mankind's origin and that of the evolutionists due to the Modernist interpretation of Biblical "creation" merely as a very simple explanation to

un-educated and non-scientific people. Furthermore, many Modernists believed that the Biblical use of the term "a day" could mean a far longer time frame--even millions of years. Consequently, many Modernists viewed themselves as Christian as the Fundamentalists but better able to intermingle the simple Biblical stories with modern scientific facts and theories (Hayes, 1925).

As the furor increased in the rural towns and villages of this nation, the Fundamentalists began to marshal their forces to counteract the blasphemy that undercut their understanding of what they preached and what they stood for. In the hills of eastern Tennessee, the Fundamentalists began to mount serious pressure on their legislators to enact legislation to prevent the teaching that mankind had evolved from a lower form of animal (Milton, 1925a). It being a time when many legislators were soon to plead to be re-elected, they could not fail to at least give lip-service to the cause, no matter what their real beliefs (De Camp, 1968, p. 60). In hind-sight, it seems that many representatives assumed that even if they voted for such a bill, the full house would never approve it. Furthermore, even if the full house approved it, the senate would reject it. Furthermore, even if they all passed such a bill, the Governor would veto it (Milton, 1925a).

Section 1 of the Tennessee bill (known as the Butler Bill and passed into law in March, 1925) reads as follows:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee that it shall be illegal for any teacher in any of the universities, normal and all other public schools of the State, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the State, to teach any theory that denies the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower form of animals. (Shibley, 1927, p. 194)

Section 2 of the bill stipulated that conviction of this law was a misdemeanor which carried a minimum fine of \$100 and a maximum fine of \$500 (Shibley, 1927, p. 194). Interestingly, there was no mention of possible jail sentence associated with this bill.

The ACLU Reaction

This law came to the attention of the American Civil

Liberties Union (ACLU), and they immediately began looking for a Tennessee teacher who would volunteer to teach the scientific theory of the evolution of mankind so that the teacher could be arrested and the law tested in court (Gurko, 1965). In the minds of the ACLU the law violated the principle of "academic freedom"--the right of a teacher to teach the "truth" as they perceived it without fear of reprisal (Scopes & Presley, 1967, p. 65). Consequently, representatives of the ACLU began their search for a science teacher who would volunteer to violate the law in order for ACLU to test it in a court. As a result, ACLU advertisements for teacher volunteers began to appear in Tennessee newspapers ("Scopes Trial," 1971).

The ACLU plan was for an indicted teacher to be tried at the local court, where a decision of "guilty" was practically guaranteed; have the case appealed to the Tennessee State Supreme Court, where they were sure to lose the appeal; and then appeal it to the United States Supreme Court, where they felt they had an excellent chance to have the case over-ruled (Gurko, 1965, p.232). If by chance the state supreme court over-ruled the lower court, the ACLU would consider that as "bad," since the ruling would only apply to Tennessee and they would then have to fight similar laws on a state-by-state basis (Milton, 1925b). Having the state supreme court agree with the lower court would allow the case to be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, whose decision would then apply to every state without the time and expense of fighting a state-by-state battle (Gurko, 1965, p. 231).

John Scopes Gets Involved

John Thomas Scopes had just completed his first year as a science teacher and coach at Rhea County's high school in Dayton. As Scopes, George Rappleyea (engineer for a local coal company), and "Doc" Robinson sat inside Robinson's drug store discussing Tennessee's new "anti-evolution" law, Scopes admitted that no biology teacher could follow the state-adopted biology text without violating the law. As luck would have it, Robinson's drug store stocked public school textbooks and just happened to have a copy. After listening to Scopes read passages which were perceived to be in violation of the state law, Robinson (who also happened to be the president of the Rhea County school board) suggested that Scopes should agree to be arrested so that the law could be tested in court (Milton, 1925c). For his contribution, Rappleyea volunteered to "swear out" a warrant to have Scopes arrested. Rappleyea made the whole situation sound like it would be so much fun that it was almost impossible for Scopes to say no. The plan was set into action after contact was made with the

ACLU to obtain their legal and financial backing; soon, the warrant was issued, Scopes was arrested, and then he was released on his own recognizance. It was much later when the initial characters in this play came to the realization that it was going to be perceived as serious business; but, by then, it was too late to back out (Milton, 1925c). This set into effect the biggest trial in the history of education.

In an attempt to steal little Dayton's "date with destiny," an envious newspaper editor in Chattanooga attempted to arrange a similar event and get it into their county's courts before Rhea County's courts could get untracked (Milton, 1925a). The editor viewed this as a publicity coup that would reap enormous publicity and financial benefits for Chattanooga and for his newspaper. Luckily, no local teacher wanted to get involved in such a fiasco. To counter Chattanooga's efforts, Rhea County (with Dayton as the county seat) called a special session of their grand jury to indict Scopes. This quick action and the failure of Chattanooga to secure a volunteer assured Dayton of its historical place.

The Opposing Attorneys

By law, the county attorney would be the official prosecuting attorney, but William Jennings Bryan (and others) volunteered their services in the prosecution process (Cherny, 1985). Bryan, a nationally-renowned speaker on the Chautauqua Circuit with his "Prince of Peace" speech, a highly respected Christian lay preacher, and the three-time (but unsuccessful) candidate for President of the United States would certainly qualify as the personification of "good" (De Camp, 1968). Representing a bevy of defense lawyers was Clarence Darrow, a man who in the minds of many "Christians" represented the personification of "evil" due to his being a self-professed agnostic (Cherny, 1985, p. 179). With these two flamboyant personalities in key roles, who could not be interested in "the Monkey Trial," as it quickly came to be known? Perhaps a little background information on the key figures would be of assistance to the reader. The following information regarding Clarence Darrow is primarily from stories heard by this writer many years ago from various sources which could not be confirmed by a review of the literature. True or not, the retelling of the stories has led to the creation of Clarence Darrow as a powerful figure in the annals of the legal profession. Clarence Darrow was such a renowned attorney of his day, had such a reputation for thoroughly researching all aspects of each case to the most minute degree, and had such a reputation for winning his cases that he is said to be the primary personality upon which the fictional attorney

Perry Mason was based.

Clarence Darrow, the lawyer, was not below stooping to his bag of tricks to prevent his clients from being convicted. One of his favorite tricks was to smoke a cigarette while the prosecuting attorney was presenting his case. When timed right, the trick worked like a charm. When the prosecuting attorney was reaching a critical point with his presentation, Darrow would often be turned in profile to the jury while calmly smoking a cigarette whose ashes had gotten so long that they should already have fallen from the cigarette. While the prosecuting attorney was presenting critical evidence, the attention of the jury was riveted upon the tip of Darrow's cigarette. Little did they know that Darrow had earlier pushed a few small wires into the length of his cigarettes that would prevent the ashes from falling without his purposely causing it. Darrow, obviously, was not beyond resorting to "dirty tricks."

In the days before self-service gas stations, customers drove their cars to the service station, where an attendant filled the tank with gas, cleaned the windshield, and checked the fluids under the hood. Even in that early era, service stations had signs that read, "Please extinguish all cigarettes." As one particular service station attendant removed the gas cap from a customer's car and inserted the filler-hose nozzle into the hole, he was smoking a cigarette. A fire started, and the customer's car was destroyed. Darrow was contacted to defend the oil company.

The prosecutor based his case on the fact that the attendant was smoking a cigarette and that this cigarette was directly responsible for the fire; consequently the oil company who employed the irresponsible attendant was responsible for any damages the attendant caused. Darrow arrived in court one day with a gallon jar covered with tinfoil and made a big scene as he set it on the evidence table. Knowing Darrow's reputation for gimmicks, the crowd buzzed with wonder at what the jar contained. When it came Darrow's time to present his client's case, Darrow was smoking a newly lighted cigarette as he slowly strode over to the jar, peeled the tinfoil down to reveal a gasoline-looking liquid, removed the top, leaned over, stuck his cigarette (between his lips) down into the jar which smelled of gasoline, and puffed on the cigarette. Many courtroom observers had begun to leave as they saw him peel the foil from the jar, and others as he began to remove the cap, and many of the remainder when they got a whiff of the gasoline and saw that he was going to keep the cigarette in his mouth over the opened jar. As he puffed, as evidenced by the glowing of the cigarette tip, people watched in amazement that nothing happened. Darrow won the case by doing his homework; the flashpoint of

gasoline was a safe amount above the highest temperature anyone could get a cigarette to burn by puffing on it.

As to William Jennings Bryan, he was well known to all of America's voters in 1925. He had already been the Democratic Party's candidate for president of the United States three times; although voters held him in high regard and highly respected him, they would not give him sufficient support to elect him president. In the pre-television days of the first quarter of the twentieth century and before radio had reached its prime, traveling Chautauqua shows entertained millions of Americans. Bryan was a crowd-favorite when he told his story of the "Prince of Peace" (Levine, 1987, p. 249). Throughout his lifetime, he probably told that thousands of times, and the crowds never tired of hearing him recite it so eloquently from his phenomenal memory. Perhaps to the crowds who came to court to hear the testimony, Bryan was the embodiment of "good" and "Godliness." To any extent, he was perceived to be the polar opposite of Darrow (De Camp, 1968)!

As should be expected from prior reputation, Darrow arrived in town with a string of high-powered witnesses, including many well known and respected scientists and theologians who would testify to their belief that the theories of scientific evolution did not contradict the Biblical version of creation, by and large (Gurko, 1925, pp. 214, 219, 22-24). As the powerful lawyers for the defense and the equally powerful lawyers for the prosecution lined up to do battle, poor John Scopes faded into the background.

The Issues at Stake

As the trial officially opened, the judge's admonition to the jury was that their task was not to determine the wisdom of the law, as written or by intention; rather, their task was simply to determine if the new law had been violated by Scopes when he taught from the state-adopted textbook (Milton, 1925a, p.327). This was as the prosecution wanted it. The defense, on the other hand, planned to pursue three major (to them) propositions: (1) The new Tennessee anti-evolution law violates the U.S. Constitution by setting up the *Bible* as "truth" against which all else was to be measured or interpreted; (2) "scientific" evidence which was widely accepted by most educated persons was to the contrary of a literal acceptance of Biblical creation; and (3) no two persons interpret the *Bible* exactly alike; furthermore, the Biblical version of creation was supported by scientific evidence, by and large (Hays, 1925).

Let the Circus Begin!

Trial officially opened on July 25, 1925. The State's

witnesses were comprised of two Roman Catholic officials, the Tennessee State Superintendent of Schools (who additionally was assisting the prosecutors in this trial), the Rhea County school board chairman ("Doc" Robinson), and two of Scopes' students who testified that he had indeed taught them biology and thus used the adopted textbook (Gurko, 1965, pp. 221-222; Shipley, 1927, p. 210). That he had used this textbook was admitted in the original confession of Scopes.

Now came time for the defense to perform. As Darrow tried to get his witnesses (Gurko, 1965, pp. 222-227; Shipley, 1927, p. 206-210) sworn in, the prosecutors protested that their testimonies regarding either religion or evolution were irrelevant, immaterial, or incompetent. After hearing four days of heated arguments on this issue, it was ruled that they could make depositions which could be included in official trial proceedings but that they could not personally testify before the jury ("The Scopes Trial," 1971).

Completely stymied by the judge in his attempt to present a defense, Darrow almost panicked. Then, in a stroke of genius, the defense announced that they would call as a witness for the defense the eminent William Jennings Bryan, an attorney for the prosecutors (Milton, 1925b). Although the judge initially disapproved it, Bryan said that he could not see any harm this could cause to his side and that he would be willing to answer the questions posed by Clarence Darrow.

Instead of treating Bryan the way a witness for the defense is normally treated and questioned, Darrow treated him as a hostile witness by grilling him mercilessly (Cherny, pp.179-181; Colleta, pp. 258-267; Gurko, pp. 228-231; Hibben, 401-403). Darrow did this in an attempt to show that the self-proclaimed Fundamentalist and Biblical expert neither accepted the basic beliefs of the Fundamentalists nor was really a religious expert. Reporters who witnessed the inquisition used such words and phrases to describe Bryan during and after his time on the witness stand as: "old man," "broken," "crushed," "stunned," "ignoramus," "fool," and more. Of Darrow's cross-examination, the reporters called it "a thing of immense cruelty," "inexcusable," "sarcastic," "devastating," "a spectacle," "a travesty . . . of justice," etc. For an unspecified reason, the judge later ruled that the Darrow-Bryan exchange should be stricken from the official trial records (Levy, 1925, pp. 305-306). Bryan, who before and during the trial had bragged to everyone that this trial would be a "duel to the death" between science and religion (Dayton's Amazing Trial, 1925), died a "broken man" just five days later.

The Scopes Trial Decision

On July 21, 1925, the trial came to an end; and, as expected by both sides, Scopes was convicted of violating the anti-evolution law. Since the law specified no jail sentence, there was none; however, the judge assessed Scopes's fine for the conviction at the lowest amount allowed by the new law--\$100 ("Scopes Trial," 1971). While this may not seem important now, it will prove to be highly significant later.

Immediately upon the judge announcing that the trial was ended, townspeople flocked to Darrow as though he were some local celebrity ("The Dayton battle," 1925). To have viewed him early on as an infidel, an atheist, and an outsider, the townspeople of Dayton certainly had changed their opinions of him over the course of the trial (Gurko, 1965). Also, they had changed their opinion of Bryan just as drastically. While they had welcomed Bryan initially as a conquering hero, they and the media almost totally ignored him after the end of the trial (Levine, 1965, p. 352). Bryan, an egotist, certainly must have been just as crushed by this change in their behavior as he had been by the grueling cross-examination by Clarence Darrow. Now that Scopes had been officially convicted and sentenced, Darrow and his legal colleagues immediately turned their attention to an appeal to the Tennessee State Supreme Court (TSSC). Things were going well for Darrow and the ACLU; a conviction of Scopes was exactly what they had wanted at the lower court. Now they wanted the state court to up-hold the lower court ruling so that the Scopes case could be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court (USSC) and end the back-woodigans once and for all.

Appeal to the Tennessee State Supreme Court

The TSSC apparently did not have a history of having country bumpkin lawyers and judges being appointed to it. No, in fact, two of the nine 1925 USSC justices were former Tennessee lawyers ("Freedom in the mountains," 1925). Further, the TSSC justices knew exactly what Darrow and the ACLU were attempting to accomplish, and this court wanted no part of it. If they supported the lower court, they knew that Darrow and the ACLU would appeal the case to the USSC, where the Tennessee law most likely would be overturned. Furthermore, such a ruling would then be applicable all across the United States, since the USSC had ruled on it. On the other hand, if they over-ruled the lower court and thus ruled that the Tennessee law was unconstitutional, they would be guaranteed to raise the ire of the Fundamentalist electorate of Tennessee. The TSSC did not attempt to make a hasty decision in this matter; in fact, they began immediately to search for a face-saving way out of this quagmire. Later, they found their "out"

in an obscure state law which specified that when a person is convicted by a jury of an offense, a fine in excess of \$50 can only be set by the jury which sat for the case (Shipley, pp. 234-235). They wasted no time in putting on their most solemn faces and apologizing to John Scopes for the lower court error and then correcting that error by canceling the fine and dismissing Scopes from the case. (Scopes & Presley, 1967, p. 238). Furthermore, they recommended to the State Attorney General that the case not be re-tried at the lower level (De Camp, 1968, pp. 469-472. Aha! Now the case has no "victim." No case can be appealed to the next higher level if there is no one who was "wronged" in the suit. Scopes was wronged, but he no longer was in the suit as a result of the TSSC having dismissed him from the suit. Furthermore, the TSSC justices found no error in the anti-evolution law; hence, it was upheld as valid. Consequently, Darrow and the ACLU would have to find themselves a new teacher and start over if they wished to continue fighting Tennessee's anti-evolution law.

John Thomas Scopes: Epilogue

Although Scopes' reputation was tarnished by the trial, "Doc" Robinson (President of the Rhea County school board) kindly offered to re-hire Scopes as a teacher of chemistry, physics, and algebra, as well as coach. Instead, Scopes chose to accept a scholarship offer to the University of Chicago, where he studied off and on over several years without ever completing a graduate degree. With his undergraduate degree from the University of Kentucky and his vast study at Chicago, he wrangled a geology position exploring the developing oil fields of Venezuela for three years. He returned to the United States and worked for nearly thirty years with United Gas Corporation. Scopes, born in 1900, died in 1970 (Scopes, & Presley, 1967).

Aftermath of the Case

There was an immediate fear that similar state laws might begin to be passed, particularly in rural southern and western states; however, such was not the case, although much effort was expended in the attempt ("Freedom in the mountains," 1925). Furthermore, a call among some of the religious Fundamentalists to have Congress enact a federal law resembling Tennessee's law tended to fall on deaf ears ("The Sweep of the Law," 1925). Perhaps the failure to pursue such legislation was partially a result of all the negative publicity generated by this case. After all, what state would want to share

with Tennessee the honor of hosting the "Monkey Trial"? As for Scopes-the-teacher, it appears that he lost his teaching position, as did other science teachers in the more rural areas of Tennessee. Furthermore, the currently approved textbooks were quickly removed from the state adoption list and replaced with "politically correct" textbooks which were approved by the key Fundamentalists. Eventually, but not until 1967, the Tennessee anti-evolution law was repealed (Scopes Trial, 1971).

As an interesting footnote to the above, the reader may be interested to know that the Tennessee anti-evolution law applied also to colleges and universities, normal schools, and even to the George Peabody College for Teachers (the latter even though it was a private college, because it accepted a small amount of state financial assistance annually). Even more interesting is the fact that it was not the private sectarian schools and colleges which felt the need to enact such rules, regulations, and laws as the anti-evolution law; rather, it was the schools which were supposed to be religiously neutral ("Educational Serfdom," 1925).

Application of Scopes to Today

One important message the Scopes Case has for us in the present time is regarding our law-makers. First, rather than assume like the Tennessee law-makers that someone else would "stop the buck," each one should assume that the "buck stops here." Another message is to us, the regular citizenry: Never ever assume that legislators will make the correct vote without our looking over their shoulders and demanding that they vote correctly just as loudly and adamantly as the "other side" is doing. This warning, first, assumes that we are accepting the major requirement of a democracy, which is be educated, knowledgeable, well-informed, politically astute, and vocal. Otherwise, we deserve what we get!

Lastly, we have our own Scopes situation emerging today under the guise of "Charter Schools." To avoid another stampeded decision like the Tennessee anti-evolution law, we must learn as much as possible about the proposal, investigate the pros and cons, weigh the short-term and long-term costs, and use our voice, influence, and vote to steer this new leviathan into full bloom or into a bottomless pit. Wherever it goes, the decision is ours, and the responsibility for it is ours. We can't pass the buck!

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NEO-CONSERVATISM AND ANARCHY

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Habits are difficult to break and across the years--for good or for ill--it has been my wont when writing papers of this kind, to start by analyzing terms. So, once again, I will indulge this habit.

While the term "conservative" may have lost much of its meaning as a result of over-use in something like the conservative vis-a-vis liberal debate, still it is generally recognized that this term is related to such an interpretation as, ". . . tending to preserve established traditions."¹ "Anarchy" the other key word in my title, may not be so easily defined; but a definition which fits the purpose of this discussion is, "disorder in any sphere of activity."² I hasten to add, especially with respect to what is happening in the United States today, that a broad interpretation of "anarchy" surely must include a kind of attitude that is basically anti-government in its perspectives.

To appreciate why it is that I chose my topic, let's simply state that after better than 25 years living in western Montana and loving it--still and all, there is one quality in some of my fellow citizens which I don't especially admire. For want of a better way of describing it, we will add that the area is somewhat thickly populated by an element which may be tabbed as "red necks *par excellence*." While I am sure that said element is by no means limited to western Montana, nonetheless a recent event in the Bitterroot Valley quite close to where we live, will illustrate my point (this is being written in February 1995).

"Don't pay your taxes to that greedy government in Washington, DC., no matter what!" The foregoing is this element's typical attitude, and one (I'm sure) with which you are all somewhat familiar. Well, up the Bitterroot recently, a helicopter was on a routine training flight. It happened to fly across the ranch operated by one of these super-duper tax opponents. He, and those like him, had already been "souped up" by articles in the media regarding widespread tax revolts--and these news accounts included reports of organized meetings where plans were made to rebel against that god-awful federal government, in Washington, D.C.

You might guess what happened: The rancher went in the house and grabbed his gun; someone (his wife perhaps) got on the phone, and before long there converged on his ranch his friends and supporters, most of them armed, all ready to literally do battle with those federal trespassers!³ When it is pointed-out by rational, law-abiding citizens that this paranoid behavior isn't

called for in a well-balanced society, the inevitable response of "these red-neck types" is that they are only defending the Second Amendment to the Constitution of the USA.⁴

It is necessary at this point to interpolate a note regarding anarchy--that is, in the broad sense of the term. Actually, it may be said that some of the truly great persons in the world's history have devoted themselves to this cause. Among them have been Henry David Thoreau, Count Lee Tolstoy, the Mahatma Gandhi, Missoula's own Jeannette Rankin, et al. One may or not support the principled positions of these personages all the way, but he/she can (and should!) agree that such individuals--with their pacifistic tendencies and their opposition to those tyrannical tendencies which to a greater or lesser degree infuse all governments--have kept before us theories related to actions. And on balance, these have been noble individuals.⁵

The extent to which anarchy--or anarchism as an ideology--is characterized by direct, physical action in the form of demonstrating and physical confrontation of authority, and the extent to which this kind of physical protest is encouraged (or made possible) by some kind of intellectual environment, is a debatable point. That the two are interrelated seems inevitably to be the case. I am perfectly aware of the fact that in legal jurisprudence, there is a long, long history and a disagreement over the question, for example, as to whether the advocating of violence is the same as actually using violence to achieve a social goal. Without getting involved in the legal implications of this question, I will state that it is in my opinion inevitable that there is at least some relationship between advocating an ideology (or an ism) which has the use of violence as a probability, or even a certainty on the one hand, and the use of violence on the other.⁶

Does anarchy prevail when violent action is absent? In short, and as an example, are the ultra-conservative attacks on virtually all forms of taxation to be placed under the rubric of anarchistic-ideology? My answer to that question is: YES. All government have historically exacted some kind of recompense in return for services rendered. Yet, in spite of the foregoing, there is abroad in our land a widespread feeling that to refuse to pay all (or almost all) taxes is an act of virtue. This anti-tax movement unfortunately has been led by some intellectuals who at least in the mind of the present

writer--they should know better. And maybe they do, but to put the matter bluntly, these so-called "leaders" are playing an opportunistic game.⁷

Possibly there are motives spread among those engaged in "the anti-taxes revolt" which may be best explained in terms of clinical psychology. Of course, if one has strong negative feelings toward Sigmund Freud's approach, then what I have to state in the following words, will carry little or no weight. Be that as it may, I will state what I am thinking:

The late Justice of the United States Supreme Court William O. Douglas wrote a remarkable autobiography titled *Go East, Young Man*. I will state that reading this volume moved me both emotionally and intellectually, one reason being the realization that Justice Douglas was forced to overcome seemingly insuperable odds in order to achieve his various goals: (1) As an attorney; and (2) as a government servant, ending up on the top court in our land where he was always to be found on the liberal side in the court's decisions.

However, the foregoing is far short of explicating the very real drama in his life; and this drama reached its apex when he was simply overcome with migraine headaches. He was on the faculty of the Law School at Yale with the prospects of a legal career which virtually knew no bounds, whether or not he remained a legal professor. Then the migraine hit him--and hit him with such force that he was close to "tossing in the sponge" and calling it quits, once and for all. Thank the Lord, he didn't do that!

While he was on the faculty at Columbia University and before joining the faculty at Yale--yes, at the invitation of no less a dean than Robert Maynard Hutchins--he had met George Draper, M.D., a professor of clinical medicine. They became friends, and the friendship lasted forevermore. Douglas had numerous contacts in New York City and when the migraine syndrome simply overcame him, he made a professional appointment to attempt to get help from Dr. George Draper. And did he ever get help! It was the major point-of-change in Douglas' life. If any of my readers/listeners doubt that the mental and emotional side of illness is a major factor, I urge you to not only read Douglas' autobiography, but concentrate on Chapter XII titled simply, "George Draper."

Have I wandered too far afield? Some of you may think so, and I admit that certain "materials" in this and others among my writings, are controversial. But please bear with me: "Richard E. Byrd, during the winter of 1934, stayed by himself in the remote Advance Base in Antarctica. . . (Byrd's account) was a grueling account of a man in a hole deep under the snow and ice... Draper used the account as illustrative of the urge of some men

to return to the womb, to escape the adversities of life, and to find security--only to realize there is no escape from life except through so-called 'nervous breakdowns,' insanity, or death."⁸ The foregoing quote (statement by William O. Douglas) surely is consistent with the oft-quoted classic from Aristotle's *Politics*: ". . . it is evident that the state is the creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. . . he who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state. . . is like the tribe-less, lawless, heartless one."⁹

As you have already observed, my definition of "anarchy" is quite broadly based. Is it possible, for example, for this phenomenon to consist of actions within the government, against the government itself? Again, I will answer this in the affirmative. And I will cite "the case" of the late Joe McCarthy. However, let me interpolate for a moment. As students of American history are aware, "Know Nothing-ism" has surfaced in American life more frequently than most of us would like to admit. In the 1850's (for example) there was the secret society which operated under the actual moniker of "Know Nothing," and had as its principal goal to keep out of public office anyone not born on American soil. Likewise, there was the post-civil-war Ku Klux Klan, et al. While the United States has not been plagued with near-fascist organizations to the extent historically as was the European experience, we have had our share of such groups. For example, though he did not actually form and organize a following headed by himself, Senator Joe McCarthy surely did lend support to tendencies within our society which may accurately be labelled as "fascist," and insofar as these encouragements were mounted against the government in unscrupulous words and actions--it seems not stretching the point to label McCarthyism as a kind of anarchism.¹⁰

If this manuscript seems to be "ambling along"--and my own re-reading of it thus far, confirms my fears to that effect--it reflects my preoccupation with events in that part of the United States where I now live. In this regard, we have previously referred to the Second amendment to the Constitution of the USA. And the controversy regarding the Second Amendment in my neck-of-the-woods goes on and on. Fortunately, we do have living in the area some truly intelligent and sophisticated citizens. One such recently was published in our daily *Missoulian* to this effect: "What would the framers of the Constitution have thought about a bunch of delusional paranoids who seem bent on shooting at lawmen or aircraft. Would the founders of our Republic have recognized these modern patriots as a 'well-regulated militia'?"¹¹

By way of introducing a note of balance into this

discussion, we have already mentioned that anarchy (and/or anarchism) is not necessarily to be frowned upon in all instances. Possibly, a further consideration of this phase of our paper is in order: Historically, the British philosopher, William Godwin with his publication of *Concerning Political Justice* (in 1793) anticipated many anarchist views, although he is not the one who coined the term. If ever a thinker supported belief in the individual goodness of persons, it was Godwin. He referred to the "benevolence of individual human beings," while at the same time he attacked all existing institutions.

Probably it was the Frenchman Joseph Proudhon who gets credit for being the founder of the anarchist movement with his publication of *What Is Property?* in 1840. It is interesting to note, in passing, that Karl Marx was at the first, very praiseworthy in his estimate of this work--but in due course Marx blasted it, as indeed he blasted the anarchists "across the boards." A crux of the controversy regarding anarchists rested upon the question of the use of violence. There may be no doubt that some anarchists believed in and practiced violence as a means of attaining a social objective. The Russian Bakunin was one such, while Proudhon (mentioned previously) opposed this tactic. Also, it has been stated that Peter Kropotkin "took a high moral tone."¹² Leo Tolstoy, as previously stated, was another Russian where this strain of social philosophy was obviously quite strong.

I am aware that "the wild west" where I live is not so very-very much different, politically speaking, than the rest of the nation. So let me state that another headline, this one on the first page of *The Great Falls Tribune*, recently caught my eye: "Bill targets threats by militia groups."¹³ Apparently, some elected officials have awakened to the fact that the contemporary problem in the Bitterroot Valley is anything but a laughing matter. Indeed, a judge in said area expressed relief that the state legislature is about to toughen laws against threatening and intimidating public officials. City Judge Martha Bethel (of Hamilton, Montana) is quoted: "I lay awake at night . . . I am scared to death . . . I hope blood is not shed before someone takes them seriously."¹⁴

While working on this manuscript--and with time enough to change it if necessary--I was considering: "Is the issue of absolute free speech an issue closely related to my problem?" And, of course, I had to answer that in the affirmative. One reason for an affirmative answer is, in some situations, the very real threat of violence. The semi-retired political science professor at the University of Montana, Tom Payne favors free speech "as an absolute right," with the one caveat that language which is clearly libelous does not belong in a logical, ethical

context of what the First Amendment is all about. Tom also told me, in answer to my question, that he agrees with the well-known statement made by the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, to the effect that properly interpreted, the First Amendment does not give a person the right to stand up in a crowded theater and cry "FIRE!" when there is no fire.

Previous attempts to introduce a note of balance in my discussion, have emphasized that certain kinds of anarchistic speech-and-actions may be productive of amelioration of society's ills. And writings along this line of thought do appear now and then, and no doubt such will appear in the future. So I find it essential to this discussion to again reiterate that my note of apprehension regarding anarchistic tendencies of the rightistst variety, probably places me in a kind of "minority position." So be it.¹⁵

Surely the classical literature of the western world is fairly packed with reference to The Social Contract and related problems. John Locke in England, Jean J. Rousseau in France, Thomas Jefferson in the USA and countless other historical figures of eminence have been included within the framework of THE contract, and rightly so! Likewise, in contemporary times, many noted voices have been raised in support of societal programs which virtually are the opposite of the anarchistic tendencies which have been abroad in our land.

Alfred North Whitehead has been one such voice. He has been described in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (vol. 16, 1968) as including language and ritual as among the symbolic substances which give meaning to our culture--as a kind of "glue" which works in and among our institutions. And: ". . . he thought the stability of a society needed the invocation of commonly shared symbols."¹⁶ Note in the foregoing statement Whitehead's heavy emphasis upon that which is social, which relates to group behavior--further evidence of what Aristotle stated when he ruminated regarding humans as social/political animals.¹⁷

If this presentation seems over-burdened with "news" regarding events in and around Missoula, Montana, it is because (obviously) I am privy to what transpires in this area--and also in my opinion, our area is a kind of microcosm of what has been happening in many parts of the USA. It goes without saying that my listeners/readers are mostly educators. In this context, no doubt many of you have experienced the attacks on public education which are part-and-parcel of the vindictive propaganda of various far-right groups. On the day before a special school election in our city (the day being Monday, 3 April 1995) my wife Ruth and I

were coming out of one of our shopping malls when we noticed that all cars which had been parked in the vicinity had political "flyers" attached to the windshields, where such propaganda is usually attached. It being the day before a school bond election, I was immediately suspicious of what contents I would discover purveyed by the flyers.

You guessed it! I will quote a few choice morsels directly; but before doing that, I'll mention that there was absolutely no identification printed on the propaganda sheet, so there was/is no way of knowing who published and paid for the screed. A STOP sign replicating stop signs which are used as traffic guides, was featured at the top of the sheet. Then, came the words, "Missoula County School District Mill Levy-- April 4, 1995--I AM VOTING NO! AND I AM PREPARED TO VOTE NO EACH TIME IT'S BROUGHT BACK TO THE PUBLIC. The Fiscal Policies Of The District And Its Board Are Irresponsible And Out Of Control. (Then, there follows a list of "reasons" explaining why, supposedly, the policies are out of control). Then, "The District And Its Board Have Put Dubious Social Programs Above The Educational Needs of Children. (And then, more so-called "reasons.") And finally, the bottom line clincher: "VOTE 'NO' ON ALL SCHOOL DISTRICT MILL LEVIES UNTIL EDUCATION IS TURNED BACK TO PARENTS AND TAXPAYERS!"

I will add that out of four propositions that made-up the bond election, three were defeated. How much this kind of low-down electioneering had to do with their defeat is not easily assessed. The main point, however, of including this portion of my manuscript is to indicate what is going on in various parts of our nation by way of attempting to defeat all votes on all propositions submitted to the voters which have anything to do with the support of special bond elections for the support of public schools. Obviously, this comes under the purview of the way in which I interpret right-ring-anarchy.¹⁸

A final point-of-interest gleaned from our Montana media, I will cite before I wind up this discussion. Hardin, in the southeastern part of our state, has a large Native American population. A short synopsis follows in the context of an item being a quote from *The Great*

Falls Tribune for March 21, 1995: "Less than a week after 150 white students skipped a cultural diversity and substance abuse conference . . . Ku Klux Klan literature was left at some houses as well as the doorway of the high school . . . 'I think the Klan is taking advantage of the racial situation that is here between the whites and the indians' said Big Horn County Sheriff Larson Medicine Horse." And a follow-up portion of the same item indicated that also involved in the circulating of the literature was the Church of the Creator which, according to watchdog groups, is (quote) " . . . a fiercely racist, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian organization that advocates a racial holy war."

I might elaborate on all of the above, but I think it un-necessary; in short, I think that I have made my point that the term anarchy may be interpreted in a manner which includes extreme rightists, or "extreme anybody"--provided that the "anybodies" are those who are vigorously opposed to government of all kinds. In the philosophical visionary meaning of this term, it is my conclusion that ideally, the anarchistic position makes quite a bit of sense for the reason that all kinds and conditions of government have within themselves repressive qualities which inhibit various kinds of human behavior. However, it goes virtually without saying that we members of species homo-sapiens are far-far removed from a condition whereby we are so self-disciplined that no repressive measures by some external force are needed. Many a human will reach such a condition eons hence --maybe so--but today's circumstances lend more of a note of pessimism than of optimism.

Indeed, it is a warranted assertion that the Founding Fathers were aware of the unpredictable natures in all of us, and precisely that is why the Social Contract received its birth--so to speak, to protect people from themselves. And I, for one, hope that the Social Contract will work, and in working that it will save us from all kinds of extremism. We can be thankful that, at least so far, no Hitlerian individual has appeared on the USA scene with sufficient charisma and ability to wreck our government to such an extent that it could no longer function. Let us hope that the good judgment of the people will prevail

long enough to prevent such a catastrophe!

Endnotes

1 Webster's New World Dictionary (Simon and Schuster, 1980), p. 302.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

- 3 Reference is made to this event in the daily Missoulian, February 7, 1995.
- 4 A careful reading of the Second Amendment re "A well-regulated Militia," should convince one that this Amendment (included in the well-known Bill of rights) was added to the original Constitution within two years of the publishing of the original document. And it was added at such a time when the repressive measures of George III's government were still quite fresh in the minds of the Americans. And here is one citizen (WHF) who will assert that bad as our federal government may be at times, never has it approached the kind of repression characteristic of the monarch who, more than any other single person, was responsible for our War of Independence, namely George III.
- 5 My previous statement (see above) includes the observation that to think highly of these great ones, doesn't mean that a person has to be in one hundred percent agreement with them. I may add that in my wanderings about the campus of the University of Montana, I am aware that my feet frequently have trod upon the same paths once trod by Ms. Rankin, as a student of our institution and is well known, as a member of the Congress of the United States of America, she voted against our entry into both world wars--and in the case of the latter one, she was the only member of Congress who voted in the negative. At the time and since then, I think she was wrong, that is, in the case of World War II; but I have never doubted that she was one of the greatest persons to have walked on the face of our planet!
- 6 In modern historic times, this writer (WHF) believes that both Nazi-ism and Soviet Communism were living examples of violent movements. Since both systems typified violence as a weapon to achieve a social goal, then it was inevitable that such would be used.
- 7 It is well-known, for example, that Newt Gingrich is well-educated and was formerly a college professor; and one we may add, who not long ago was in active support of the environmental movement. In our own state and I regret to say that in the person of a Law Professor at the University of Montana, one Rob Natelson has actively led an anti-tax revolt among ordinary citizens "out there." While his own colleagues in the Law School do not support this regress, among the public at large, he is known as quite a popular leader. Recently (again this is February, 1995) he was asked by Pat Sullivan, a local news reporter, whether he would accept a raise-in-pay which is in the offing. His answer was in the affirmative on the ground that the raise would come from raising tuition of Law School students, rather than from taxation sources.
- 8 Ibid., p. 178. This is, and I grant the point, strong medicine! Be that as it may, it is my opinion that there is at the least, an element of well-based truth in what Douglas has stated vis-a-vis his psychiatrist, Dr. George Draper. If I am correct in this, then the quotation is further corroboration that the individual person is not an entity onto himself/herself; and none of us can live successfully apart from civil-society. And further, civil society's major "glue" is government--and likewise, vigorous, extremist types of attacks on government represent one aspect of anarchy and, to put it mildly, a most unfortunate aspect.
- 9 This potent medicine from the writings of Aristotle is based upon his statement in The Pocket Aristotle (NY: Washington Square Press, 1961, edited by Justin D. Kaplan) p. 280.
- 10 Joe McCarthy, U.S. Senator from Wisconsin, occupied his senatorial seat from 1946-1957. During most of that time, he was preoccupied with diatribes mounted against all sorts of individuals and various departments of the federal government. To this day, "McCarthyism" is an epithet which reflects a form of vilification of persons and institutions who are verbally blasted, and who are left with little or no means of defending themselves. typical, was the charge against General George C. Marshall, the architect of American victory in WWII. Charged McCarthy in peroration: Marshall was part of ". . . a conspiracy so immense, an infamy so black, as to dwarf any in the history of man." M. Hutchins titled Unseasonable Truths (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), p. 329. Indeed, there is much in this fine biography that depicts the struggle in the USA between democracy and crypto-fascism--a struggle in which Hutchins played a heroic part.

- 11 See our newspaper for 3-6-95, p. 5. the letter was signed by one Gerald Parson.
- 12 Encyclopedia Britannica, op. cit.
- 13 Quoted from p. 1 of The Great Falls Tribune, Thursday, March 9, 1995.
- 14 Ibid. And I, WHF, am with this judge one thousand percent! As this paper is being written, I am impressed and frightened regarding what is transpiring roughly 45 miles south of Missoula.
- 15 Language and its various meanings, as is well known, is in a constant state of change. And we "ordinary folk" have the right to contribute to that on-going change. An additional reference on a serious note and an affirmative one, came to my attention while I was "roughing out" the original draft of this paper: "You Can Hear Their Voices" in The Nation magazine for April 10, 1995, being a book review by Paul Buhle of Anarchistic Voices, authored by Paul Avrich, pp. 499-501, in The Nation.
- 16 See p. 535 of the IESS, as quoted.
- 17 See reference cited above, footnote #15, regarding ". . . tribe-less, lawless, heartless one." I stated that this was "strong medicine" in defense of societal organizations and institutions, as opposed to anarchistic trends and tendencies.
- 18 I will take to our meetings in Austin, Texas--September, 1995--a copy of the screed which I have quoted. And I will do this in-spite of the fact that whatever portion of our baggage I use to transport this vicious, anonymous piece of propaganda, will be infused with a god-awful stench!

**THE QUEST FOR NON-COMPETITIVE GAMING:
AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP OF GAMES,
PLAY, AND COMPETITIVE BEHAVIOR**

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As the title of this paper implies, the topic of non-competitive gaming posed itself as an intellectual challenge to me. Even after reading Kohn's arguments in favor of cooperative games, I found it difficult to imagine games without competition. So I set off upon this quest. My objective was to explore the connection--or lack thereof--between games and competition and perhaps to find a game that was inherently non-competitive. The criteria would be rigorous: the game would have to exclude competition by design.

My first stop upon the trail of understanding was the intellectual exploration of what I considered to be at the heart of gaming: play. Why else would we pursue games but for fun? And play I thought, was the essence of fun, so it must also be a central theme in games. *Silly* me.

Kohn instructs us to think of play "as enjoyment in its purest form." (Kohn, 1992) He tells us that play must be voluntary, pleasing, and intrinsically gratifying; "an end in itself."

The master aphorist G. K. Chesterton perfectly captured the spirit of play when he said, "If a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing badly." Results will not matter, in other words, if we love what we're doing for its own sake. (pg. 81)

It took only a few episodes of observing my own children at play for me to discount any inherent connection between *gaming* and *play*. What I found, instead, was a sort of natural opposition between the two activities--that is *playing* and *playing games*. 'Play' is manifest in the unfettered act of exploration, inquiry, and excitement. It is intoxicating and rhapsodic. In its most intense forms, play so captures the attention of participants that they may enter into a trance-like state, unaware of other activity around them. It might even be argued that it is in this play-focused frame of mind that players are most apt to experience discovery, learning, and insight...but that's a topic for another paper.

Kohn, who is arguing against competition, focuses on the "process orientation" of play as opposed to the "product orientation" of competition. But aren't the goals of games external by design? That is, the goals of the games are specified for the participants. That is what a game is. *Random House Webster's Electronic Dictionary and Thesaurus* includes 23 entries for the word game, including: "a competitive activity involving skill, chance, or endurance and played according to a set of rules for the amusement of the players or spectators"

and "to act in accordance with rules or standards." (1992)

The element which causes gaming to so oppose play is that of structure (those "rules or standards"). The only structure imposed upon *play* is the natural progression of the mind from one fantastic thought to another or the guiding imaginations of other players. Gaming, on the other hand, is the epitome of structure. In gaming, the objective is known from the onset. The method of obtaining the objective is spelled out in the rules. In games, the penalties for attempting to reach the objective from outside the stated method are also often stated. And the penalties are often quite final: Break the rules; you lose. It occurs to me that this is how some would have us view life--as a game. In truth, life is more like play--unstructured, ever-changing, without clear objectives or definable methods. As we play, we can always pause, look back at the paths we've followed, and call it a game. But in truth, that would be just the history of our own play. Similarly, it is possible to incite 'guided play' by introducing players to some enjoyable activities and then leaving them to direct and entertain themselves and each other. For the most part, this is what I have seen in my examination of "cooperative games" (more on that later).

So, if gaming isn't play, what is it? Perhaps gaming is a tool for socialization. Perhaps it is a way that we softly introduce our children to cultural values and mores. If so, it would follow that some games emerging from a specific culture would carry the messages and traditions of that culture, including cooperation and competition.

We humans are no strangers to cooperation. Self-sacrifice for the benefit of a larger group is relatively common behavior. Some authors argue that the very existence of complex societies is the greatest evidence of cooperative behavior. (Boyd, 1991)

Neither are we strangers to competition. Whether we are driven to compete out of *need* or out of *desire* remains to me an unanswered question. Some degree of competition appears in most cultures, but the inclination in that direction varies. In an experiment using games promoting cooperative behavior, notable differences in levels of competition and cooperation were observed in children from different cultures. There were also obvious differences between rural and urban children within the same macroculture (Argyle, 1991).

In cultures whose survival or economy is based on

agriculture, cooperation is a necessity. The use of money, the existence of governments, and systems of roads all are manifestations of cooperative behavior. In many species, cooperation is limited to herds or others bonded by kinship (Boyd, 1991), but humans need to cooperate to remain at the top of the food chain.

Kohn goes to great lengths to argue that competition and cooperation are learned behaviors; that if either has a genetic base, it must be cooperation, which in Kohn's view more often leads to success than does competition. His arguments are sound enough to make me question the underpinnings of my own perspective. Am I so entrenched in a paradigm of competition that I am unable to look upon what are called "non-competitive games" without interjecting my own slanted, competitive views? Perhaps.

But some of Kohn's arguments for the effectiveness of cooperative games rely heavily on evidence from observation of "play" subsequent to the experimental treatment of cooperative games. Since the two are indeed quite different, I must question the cause-effect relationship.

Group play, by nature of its lack of *imposed* structure, requires cooperation. Games, by imposition of rules and goals, falls outside the purview of play. Kohn (1992) agrees to a point:

An activity might be said to approximate play in inverse proportion to the extent to which it is rule-bound. (pg. 82)

I would argue that as an activity moves into the realm of "voluntary, pleasing, and intrinsically gratifying," it moves away from categorization as a *game* and toward categorization as *play*. Sobel (1983) alludes to the character of "cooperative games" by defining "cooperative play:

Cooperative play consists of games and activities that the participants play together, rather than against one another, just for the fun of it...The emphasis is on total participation, spontaneity, sharing, the joy of play, acceptance of all players, playing our best, changing rules and boundaries to suit the players, and recognizing that *every* player is important. We don't compare our differing abilities and past performances, we don't emphasize winning and losing, results and standings. (pg. 1)

The problem with Sobel's definition is in the actual playing of the games. Many, if not all of Sobel's games are open to competition if the players choose to impose it. For younger players, such choices are made for them by the culture that raises them.

A child in our culture knows without thinking how he is supposed to have fun with his friends: play a game whose structure requires that not everyone can

be successful. (Kohn, pg. 92, 1992)

Culture is both informed by and reflected in its games. In studies of primitive cultures, Mead et al found that the games played in these cultures imitated adult ritual and cultural tradition as well as serving to nurture important social and survival skills in youthful players. (Mead, 1961)

Kohn (1992) makes a distinction between *structural* competition and *intentional* competition.

Games, if they are competitive, would be structurally competitive; that is, they would promote competition through their rules and objectives. To Kohn, the essence of competition is that "two or more individuals are trying to achieve a goal that cannot be achieved by all of them." This phenomena is dubbed "mutually exclusive goal attainment."

Literature on competition and cooperation often speaks of the concept of independence. One perspective is that a person cannot compete against himself. This notion stems from the definition of competition as a desire to obtain something that another has or might obtain; there is an inherent loser in this definition.

I agree that two or more persons trying to attain a mutually exclusive goal does constitute competition, but I would like to extend my working definition of competition just a little. Inherent in competition is the notion that in the end, there is a loser. Since "independent" pursuits may lead to a loss of self-confidence or self-efficacy, I prefer to simply define competition as: *situations in which there may be a loser*. The purpose of extending the definition ties into my objective in this quest: to find a game that is strictly non-competitive. This definition works well if you accept the notion that competition requires two or more participants to occur. But if you consider competition with self a valid concept, than the possibility of failure (of not completing the task or not completing the task satisfactorily) is present in any activity that defines success in terms of acceptable performance or results.

Competition with oneself is as much a social phenomenon as competition with others. With our cultural emphasis on "being the best," or "being better than others," the only way we can ensure continued success is through continued improvement. Even if we do not share news of our continuous improvement with others, our self-image may be tied to socially-promoted definitions of "good" or "successful" which are measurable only through the results of competition.

Competition appears to manifest itself in groups more frequently when the social connection between participants is transient. When in-group members were placed in potentially competitive situations, participants were more likely to cooperate. It seems that in choosing

between competitive and cooperative behaviors, participants tend to consider the long-term consequences of either behavior. If cooperation is apt to benefit the participant, she will likely choose to cooperate. Interestingly, if there is no apparent long-term or immediate benefit in cooperating, participants appear more likely to compete. (Boyd, 1991)

It would be easy to assume that the roles we assume in games reflect choices we would likely make in life. Such an assumption, however, is currently unprovable through research. In fact, some research tends to contradict this assumption. When placed strictly in game situations, there seems to be a tendency toward competition. However, as the stakes become more real (and less pseudo-monetary in games), behavior shifts more toward cooperation. Games, it seems, are opportunities for exploring behaviors we might not choose in life. The stakes are relatively low; other players won't *really* get hurt by competitive or non-cooperative behavior.

One way to remove cooperation from a game that is *intended* to be cooperative is to introduce competition. Reciprocity for competitive strategies often ensues. The intentional introduction of competition, however, may not be necessary. Even when instructions state an objective of scoring well for oneself without regard for another's score, we tend to look for standards of comparison, such as the score of other players. Once envy of the other player's score appears, attempts to diminish their lead or advantage soon follow. (Axelrod, 1984)

Our inclination toward competition is closely related to our perceptions of "winners" and "losers." Out of curiosity, I asked my favorite experts on play what they thought about these terms.

My son, Joey (3 years old):

Question 1. What's a winner? "I am."

How do you know you're a winner? "Because you do something."

Question 2. What's a loser? "I am. And I am a winner."

How do you know you're a loser? "Yeah." He looks at the Pez dispenser, waiting for the candy I promised if he'd answer my question.

Obviously, Joey hasn't focused on the concepts of *winning* and *losing* much; he just knows he wants to be *something* and even more, he wants to *eat* something.

My daughter: Tiffany (5)

Question 1. What's a winner? "A winner means you're happy and you're lucky and you get a name tag." I know she's referring to the name tags given in her Kindergarten class. She's only been attending for eight

days now, so even the name tag is still something of a novelty.

Question 2. What's a loser? "A loser means no one wins and they're not happy and everyone doesn't think what they all think and they lose when they want to and they're not being a great winner. Maybe some other time they can be a winner."

Again, I suspect the influence of Kindergarten is seeping through. How fortunate these Kindergarten teachers are to be able to plant visions of sugar plums in the minds of young students. Then again, maybe she's got a point. Maybe some other time everyone wins. Maybe that's all that matters. But here, in her response, it's easy to see how she might be learning the concepts of winning and losing as our society intends to portray them: when you win, you're happy; when you lose you're not happy.

Question 3. What is a game; what does it mean? "It means: you can win." her mind wanders and she starts to fidget, the moment passes. Through her words, she confesses enculturation by a competitive society, but through her actions she rejects the demands associated with that paradigm. In choosing play over games, perhaps *she* wins.

Indeed, the American culture in particular tends to profess that you must "play the game" in order to win. Perhaps Tiffany does not grasp the notion that you *must* play in order to win. Perhaps it's the potential to win that she associates with gaming. Then again, I must consider that her answer to the first question, *What is a winner?*, implies that everyone's a winner; that is, everyone in Kindergarten gets a name tag.

It was not a scientific survey, but from these two responses, I see validity in Kohn's suggestion that competition isn't natural or inherent or latent in all of us, but rather, that it is learned. I have watched my children learn to be competitive creatures though they still haven't swallowed that doctrine whole.

The notion that neither competition or cooperation is inevitable also emerged in the work of Margaret Mead and her associates, who in studies of primitive peoples determined "that competitive and cooperative behavior on the part of individual members of a society is fundamentally conditioned by the total social emphasis of that society..." (Mead, 1961)

Our notions of competition are closely tied to concepts of "winning" and "losing." For competition to exist, there must be a definable "winner" in the mind of at least one player. Even games clearly intended to be played competitively may, for example, be played non-competitively.

Upon introduction to a "cooperative" game, my children tended to ask questions about winning and

losing. Their concepts of "game" were so tied to these notions that they expected there to be some definition of how to win or lose. In fairness to my children, they seemed to accept rather readily that everybody could win in the game. But the game seemed to take on a more play-like quality as we played. This lapse into play seemed connected to the fact that there was no definition of winning or losing in the game.

The game was a slight variation on a card game called SET. The game, as defined by the rules, offered many opportunities for "wrong" answers. As an incorrect answer could constitute losing, I decided this could not be a purely non-competitive game as defined by the rules. Fortunately, the nature of the cards made SET a good candidate for modification into a non-competitive game.

The way we played it, there could be no loser--no potential loss of self-esteem; by definition, no winner. Twelve cards with pictures of squiggles, ovals, or diamonds were placed on the table. Other features of the cards included a variety in the number of objects on each card (one to three), different colors (purple, red, and green), and different patterns (solid, empty, or striped). Each player in turn picked three cards and identified whether they were the same or different. The key was that they would be the same or different by the player's definition. Since each group of cards had some differences and there were ample opportunities for even the three year-old player to choose cards based on similar shapes or colors, there was *virtually* no way to lose. The only possible losing move would be to select cards that were different and declare that they were the same. But even that, which the youngest player did once, could easily be corrected by the other players with a helping, cooperative strategy.

Games played independently can be considered competitive if the player can lose something. Self esteem, for example, may suffer if a player does not better a previous score or complete a "problem" in an acceptable manner. In such case, a player may be competing against past performance, or "acceptable" levels of performance defined by the game. For example, a game which requires matching flowers with the "correct" number of pedals or color, leaves players open to the opportunity to lose by not matching these items correctly.

Conclusions

This was not a "scientific" study. It was, instead, an exploration of existing evidence and thinking about competition, cooperation, play, and games. As is so often the case, this path of inquiry has led to more questions than answers. In the future, I'd like to more

thoroughly explore the connection between games and play. In this paper I focused more on the differences between the two. I am led to believe that they are exclusive to the point that modeling a game as truly non-competitive might move the activity from the realm of *game* to the realm of *play*. In fairness to those who would argue otherwise, I am using my own definitions of "game," "play," and "competition," which appear to be more rigid than definitions others might choose.

Based on my readings and observations, the nature of a game (in terms of competitiveness or non-competitiveness) is determined more by factors external to the game. Cultural values are perhaps the most dominant factor influencing the presence and degree of competitive behavior. Even when a game is devised with the explicit intent of making it non-competitive, the attitudes of players may provide competitive overtones.

Rules for playing a game which identify winners or losers or which specify standards of correctness or completeness open the door for competitive behavior. Many "cooperative" games define how to win. In some, the objective is for each person to win in turn. In a competitive society, however, at least some of the players are apt to see the first winner as *the* winner.

World views inclined to perceive competition as "natural" or "good" promote competition in nearly every facet of life, especially in games. Games designed to be non-competitive can lapse into competitions easily upon the defection of one participant. Once a player believes that any other players have adopted a competitive strategy, that player is more likely to adopt a competitive strategy as well.

Implications for Education

If there are no truly non-competitive games, is that in itself a loss for the field of Education? Does that leave us resigned to continue enculturation of learners into a dog-eat-dog world of fierce competition? I think not.

Jeffrey Sobel on competition:

It is time to change our concept of "competition." There is competition in some of the games in [Everybody Wins], but not the kind that ends with teams or individuals hating each other. The competition in these games comes mainly from within one's own self, with players trying to do their best without regard to who is winning. (pg. 2)

Sobel and others realize that the definition or rules of a game don't really govern the degree of competition. That is something controlled by the players. As a child I played t-ball and heard a lot about "good sportsmanship" and "being a good winner." The attitudes that I was taught dictate good form for both

winner and loser. It's all in how you play the game. Perhaps many of the arguments we hear against competition might be better framed as arguments in favor of humanity, kindness, and cooperation.

Sometimes I watch my wife play a "memory" game with my five-year old daughter. If she tried, Kristy could win the game every time. But what's wrong with intentionally picking a card that doesn't match and instead identifying one your opponent can use in the next play? What's wrong with letting someone else

"win" as the rules define it?

In informal educational situations, more experienced players often willingly give advantages to novice players. Chess masters pass on a penchant for the game not by consistently stomping their opponents into the dust, but rather, by sharing tricks, tips, and insights. What good is mastery if you cannot share it? Perhaps this is the grail awaiting at the end of the quest: that out of competition the desire to compete might be diminished and replaced by the desire to teach.

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THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS: WESTERN VALUES AND EDUCATIONAL AIMS

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Western civilization begins with the Greeks, and the Greeks - or at least our first knowledge of the activities of a people who called themselves Greek - began with the Trojan War. And how did the Trojan War begin?

Today, of course, anyone who looks at a map will surmise that Troy (or Ilium as the ancients called it) occupied an exceedingly strategic location near the entrance to the Dardanelles, (or the Hellespont) which provided access to the Black Sea into which flows the Danube, the Dnieper, the Don, the Dieter and many other eastern European rivers. Archaeologists from Schliemann to the present have discovered not one Troy, but ruins of city after city, built on top of earlier ruins, perhaps nine in all. There must have been many Trojan Wars across the millennia. Most recently the British campaign in Gallipoli during World War I was the latest testament to the strategic importance of the Dardanelles.

The Trojan War that was fought around 1200 B..C. probably was about more than simple access to the Black Sea for trading purposes. The Bronze Age, which had begun perhaps around 4,000 B. C., had begun to exhaust its supplies of cooper and tin. A new metal, iron, was coming into use and it was stronger and hence militarily superior to bronze. It could be found in abundance on the south shore of the Black Sea and perhaps at some inland sites along the Danube. An ancient arms race may have been underway which could have determined who would dominate the ancient world for centuries to come.

But when the ancient Greeks themselves tried to understand the origin of the was they said nothing about access to the Black Sea or an arms race necessitating a good supply of iron. Instead, they told a story, or invented a myth, which has been understandable to everyone for about 3,000 years. And like all good myths this one was pregnant with covert meanings. In *The Gods of the Greeks*¹, C. Kerényi, in agreement with most scholars, says "the Judgment of Paris - an epoch-making event in the world's history, as our heroic saga tells of it - was the beginning not only of the Trojan War, but also of the Age of the Heroes..."

The Judgment of Paris, of course, was not an historical event *per se*, but a seminal mythological event evolved by the Greeks sometime between the war itself and the development of Greek literacy in the 8th century, the century in which Homer lived. The myth

provided an explanation to the Greeks of the causes or justification of the war. It enabled the Greeks to define their own character and their differences from the Trojans and hence to become self-conscious of what they stood for. It promoted and promulgated a code of behavior and an ethical system which defined Greek culture and Greek education. It defined the issues in terms which are still relevant today.

The Myth and Its Meaning

The story is told that one day on Mt. Olympus, the three principal goddesses, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, were out for a stroll. On this particular day the god of discord, Eris, saw them and decided to have some fun. He concealed himself behind a bush, and as the goddesses passed by he rolled out a golden apple upon which was inscribed "For the fairest of them all." In a short time the goddesses were arguing heatedly as to whom the apple belonged. It was soon decided that a young man named Paris would adjudicate the issue. (What Paris, a mortal and a prince of Troy, is doing in a Greek myth with gods raises some interesting questions. Some scholars, most notably John Erskine, in his entertaining book, *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*, locate Paris as a houseguest of Menaleus and his wife Helen.) Paris takes custody of the apple, and agrees to meet them the next day, and retires to his room.

He is soon visited by Hera, wife of Zeus, who is prepared to bribe Paris by giving him the power to become the ruler of a vast kingdom in Asia Minor if she is awarded the apple. He is later visited by Athena, and as impressed as he was by Hera's bribe, he now is confused, as Athena offers to bestow wisdom upon him. (Some versions of the myth have her promising victory in battle, as Athena is the warrior goddess as well as the personification of wisdom.) Finally Aphrodite pays him a visit and makes him an offer that this young man, with a high testosterone level, cannot refuse. He can have the most beautiful woman in the world if he names Aphrodite as the fairest.

Next day Paris awards the prize to Aphrodite. He thereby is allowed to choose his heart's desire and names Helen, whom he abducts, thereby violating the hospitality of his hosts, stealing another man's wife and ruining a family, and embarking on a long career of adultery. Aphrodite, of course, is delighted by his

decision and becomes his staunch ally for the remainder of his life. Athena is offended by the stupidity of his choice and will never forgive him. Hera is especially infuriated, not only for not being chosen, but also because Paris has violated the sanctity of marriage and the family over which she, as the wife of Zeus and the Mother (of some) of the gods, presides.

The rest of the story is familiar to most of us. Menelaus and his brother Agamemnon unite all the chieftain of Greece to regain Helen and Greek pride by building a thousand ships to sail against the Trojans. After ten years of warfare the Greeks are victorious. Troy is sacked and burned and the Greeks return home triumphantly. In all their dealings, Athena and Hera assist the Greeks, while Aphrodite does her bit to help the Trojans.

There are times when a myth is subject to multiple interpretations. The deities are personifications of universal powers and values, but as they became people and actors in the mythical actions, they take on the complexity of characteristics which humans exhibit, and cease being one-dimensional entities. A case in point, as we have mentioned, is Athena, who embodies wisdom, but who somehow also came to be a warrior goddess. Most gods are composites, syntheses of earlier deities from many localities, not only in Greece, but from Crete, Egypt and the Middle East. Some have several names, like Dionysus who is also known as Bacchus, who is the god of wine, vegetation, resurrection, etc. Hence an unequivocal interpretation of a myth is often difficult or impossible.

The meaning of the judgment of Paris, however, seems to suffer from no ambiguities. It is clearly about moral values and choices and about the consequences of those choices. Athena represents wisdom. Hera represents the family and femininity, and as Carol Gilligan and many feminists remind us, the core of feminine values is relationships. Aphrodite, of course, represents love, but not the philo or agape kind, but the lustful kind of eros.

The myth acknowledges that all of these are parts of human nature and are valuable, but that they are not equally good. There is a hierarchy of goods; some things are better than others. The Trojans and other non-Greeks (often referred to as barbarians) too often indulge their passions and come to grief because of it. Greeks are more in control of themselves and should and can subordinate passion to higher values. Whether Hera or Athena is most valuable is not clear in the early writers like Homer. After all, Odysseus, who is the "best of the Achaians" is controlled by both his reason and his unwavering quest to return home to Ithaca and his faithful, beloved wife, Penelope. Later writers, however,

such as Plato and Aristotle subordinate Hera to Athena. The major thrust of Greek thinkers is, however, to condemn Paris' choice. Plato, remarking that a city ruled by those who value material matters would be soon destroyed, likely had the example of Troy's fall in mind.

The significance of the three goddesses needs to be broadened and deepened. Aphrodite (The Romans' Venus) needs to be understood as symbolic, not only of lustful, venereal love, but of the passions and appetites and bodily needs generally, something akin to the Freudian libido or id. These are intrapersonal forces. Lustful sexual satisfaction, to be sure, usually involves interpersonal relations, but here the concern for the satisfaction of the other is subordinate to one's own satisfaction. Once our concern is more for the other than for oneself, we move out of the lustful realm of Aphrodite. For the intrapersonal, material means are necessary for the satisfaction of bodily needs. Clothing and shelter are necessary to maintain bodily comfort, food and drink to fuel the body's functioning. The provision for these needs, of course, involves us in economic activity. This is clearly a necessary aspect of human well-being, but is it sufficient? Is it the highest value for humans as it obviously was for Paris, and, perhaps, for the Trojans? For the Greeks, with some notable exceptions, the answer was "no." For most of Western history, with a great many notable exceptions including the present, the answer was "no." Wordsworth's observation that "getting and spending, we lay waste our powers" well states our dominant Western position.

As wife and mother, Hera, goddess of family and femininity, is concerned with enduring relationships. Hers is the interpersonal level, and hence more generally she rules over friendship and social relationships and esteem, and even relationships between groups and nations. As wife and mother she wants a harmonious, cooperative family. She wants all people to be brothers and sisters, so she wants social stability, she wants international peace and cooperation. Her love is not the lustful eros of Aphrodite but the philo we all know from Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love, philanthropy, the love of mankind and similar words.

Athena, who sprang parthenogenically from the brow of Zeus, is obviously the goddess of wisdom. Now wisdom involves a coupling of a knowledge of what is true with what is right and good. Not what you and I may think is true, but what is objectively necessary or demonstrable as true. Not what is right and good for you and me but what is right and good for everyone in terms of objective standards. Wisdom fuses the descriptive and the normative in a transpersonal sense. Science, metaphysics and axiology are all territories of Athena's

domain.

The Three Traditions of Greek Education

As Greek civilization developed, three distinct schools of thought or educational philosophies emerged, each an outgrowth of what was represented by each of the three goddesses.

1) First to emerge, what historians now call the "Old Education," was an approach designed to socialize or enculturate the young. Each society must teach its young the language common to the community; it must teach a religion that further strengthens the ties between its citizens; it must teach the manners and mores that create harmonious and cooperative relations between people; it must construct a meaningful past and project worthy goals and aspirations. It must, in other words, take isolated human organisms and make them members of a large extended family. Thus mother Hera must raise all children.

In his discussion of early education in the Republic,² Plato says "And what shall be their education? Can we find a better than the traditional sort? --- and this had two divisions. gymnastic for the body, and music for the soul." And he quickly adds that when we speak of music, we include literature as well. (376 D) This very terse description of the Old education is given greater elaboration in his Protagoras:³

Education and admonitions commence in the first years of childhood and last to the very end of life. Mother and nurse and father and tutor are vying with one another about the improvement of the child...he cannot say or do anything without their setting forth to him that this is just and that is unjust; this is honorable and that is dishonorable... At a later stage they send him to teachers, and enjoin them to see to his manners even more than to his reading and music... they put into his hands the works of great poets...in these are contained many admonitions, and many tales, and praises, and encomia of ancient famous men...in order that he may imitate or emulate them." (325, 326)

Clearly, the Old Education was focused on creating good citizens and moral men. Gymnastics was important not only to provide a healthy body for a healthy mind (mens sana in corpore sano) but to train potential warriors, defenders of the society. Music and literature were important not only to teach sound manners and morals but also to inculcate pride in the culture and its great men who will serve as precedents to the striving youth. Perhaps the central tool for the Old Education was the work of the great poet, Homer, whom Plato called the "educator of the Greeks"; hence we can call this Hera-inspired, basic, Old Education by another

name as well: Homeric education. Its ultimate purpose was to prepare the young to be able to implement the oath which eighteen-year-olds took:

I will never disgrace my sacred arms, nor desert my comrade in the ranks. I will fight for temples and for public property, whether alone or with my fellows. I will leave my country not less, but greater and better, than I found it. I will obey the magistrates and observe the existing laws, and those the people may hereafter make. If anyone tries to overthrow or disobey the ordinances, I will resist him in their defense, whether alone or with my fellows. I will honor the temples and the religion of my forefathers."⁴

It is, perhaps, unfortunate to use the terms "Old Education" and "New Education" as historians of Greek education refer to developments in the fifth century B. C. (and as John Dewey referred to developments in the late 19th century A.D.). These terms suggest that the new supersedes the old; that the old is obsolete and should be discarded while the new is better. I think we should, instead, look upon the Old Education (whether the Greeks' or Dewey's American) as being fundamental and necessary, but not necessarily sufficient. The New Education, then, builds upon the Old, complements it, makes it sufficient, perhaps, for new times and new places.

Thus, despite Plato's attempt to discredit Homer and other New Educators' attempts to establish the exclusivity of their new approach, Homer continued to be the "educator of the Greeks" and become the educator of the Romans as well (the Trojan Aeneas, after all, was supposed to have founded Rome), and as Jaeger says, the educator of mankind." For we are all born uncivilized animals and must be taught, before anything else, to be cooperative members of society.

But the times were changing, and the single focus of the Hera-inspired Old Education needed to be supplemented with two other orientations.

2) The first of these which we will consider was the scientific-philosophic approach of the so-called Pre-Socratics, beginning with Thales and the Milesian nature philosophers. With them we have a rejection of the mythological thinking of the Homeric tradition and of convention generally, and an attempt to use reason to achieve an understanding of man and the universe. The rejection of Homer for them is always implicit; with Xenophanes it was explicit:

Homer and Hesiod have ascribed to the gods all things that are a shame and a disgrace among mortals, stealings and adulteries and deceivings of one another...Mortals deem that gods are begotten as they are, and have clothes like theirs, and voice and

form...Ethiopians make their gods black and snub-nosed; the Thracians say theirs have blue eyes and red hair.”⁵

Plato’s critique of Homer in The Republic a century later was merely a continuation and elaboration of these ideas.

For these Pre-Socratic philosophers knowledge and wisdom, the domain of Athena, is in the transpersonal realm of nature. With such extraordinary geniuses as Thales and Pythagoras who pioneered the disciplines of astronomy, arithmetic, geometry and harmony, the scientific and mathematical foundations of Western science, later called the Quadrivium, was laid.

Thales was criticized by his contemporaries for his impracticality, for his failure to apply his theoretical understandings, and Greek science generally has been accused of its indifference to practical application, unlike the Romans later. But in many ways this was admirable. It was knowing driven by a sense of wonder alone, knowledge for its own sake, understanding the nature of things so that man would feel at home in the universe. This is the origin of our liberal tradition in education, the pursuit of truth not for good citizenship or wealth through applied technology, but simply to satisfy perhaps the most basic craving in man, the homo sapien, knowing.

3) The practical and the personal, however, were not to be denied. In the years following their victory over the Persians (ca. 479 B.C.), an expansive democratic outlook and increased prosperity and economic opportunity encouraged ambition and upward social mobility. For many the primacy of either social cohesion (Hera) or the joy of knowing (Athena) was cast aside, and now individual satisfactions and success moved to the center of their educational concern. The intrapersonal, personified by Aphrodite, came to dominate.

This new education” was championed by teachers who came to be known as Sophists. For some of them (like Hippias) broad liberal” learning was not to be spurned, nor the preservation of tradition and social cohesion, but all of them believed that their role was primarily to help the student achieve wealth and power. To attain that end no study was more essential than rhetoric which was designed to sell” one’s ideas, policies and arguments in commerce, the Assembly and the law courts. Also valuable were the emerging disciplines of grammar and logic which rounded out their ideal curriculum which eventually was dubbed the Trivium.”

They came to develop an egocentric or ethnocentric position, basing all knowledge on sense-experience and rejected any claim to supra-personal knowledge. Man

is the measure of all things,” asserted Protagoras, while his contemporary Gorgias claimed that there was no reality beyond our experience, that if there were, we could not know it, and that if individuals could know it, they could not communicate it to others.

Thus three quite distinct and apparently mutually exclusive positions were staked out by the end of the 5th century. In the face of these competing claims, it was natural for considerable reflection to arise, and thus was educational theory born.

Plato, Aristotle and Tripartitism

The identification of the three basic human values in the Judgment of Paris, and their expression in the three basic educational traditions may have led thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle to conceive man and the state in similar terms.

For Plato, all humans are made up of three parts, and the State is conceived as The individual writ large.”⁶ (368 D) The three parts are popularly called the head, the heart and the belly, which can be rephrased as functions -- thinking, acting and feeling (or the cognitive, the volitional and the emotional-appetitive). As each part functions well or excellently (arete) it manifests the virtues of wisdom, courage and temperance, respectively.

Corresponding to the three parts of the individual are three divisions in the State. The producer class satisfies the needs of the body; the soldier class satisfies the needs of safety or security in interpersonal and international affairs; the ruling class provides guidance and order. They too manifest the virtues of temperance, courage and wisdom. When each class does indeed perform in this way, and when each part of the individual manifests its excellence, then we speak of justice in the State and just individuals.

Plato then builds upon these concepts and develops a philosophy of history as well. The just state is the best state, an aristocracy (544-5), and it will continue in existence insofar as a preponderance of its citizens recognizes the primacy of wisdom. Plato then enquires how timocracy (the government of honor) rises out of aristocracy” (545 c) and sketches some psychodynamics of family life. From here he then proceeds to derive oligarchy from the timocratic individual and state, the form of government in which the rulers are elected for their wealth.” (553 A) But the insatiable desire of wealth and the neglect of all other things for the sake of money-getting” (562 B) leads to the ruin of oligarchy. The rich get richer and fat, the poor get poorer, the State falls sick, and is at war with herself.” (556 D) and soon the poor conquer their opponents, slaughtering some and banishing some, while to the

remainder they give an equal share of freedom and power; and this is the form of government in which the magistrates are commonly elected by lot." (557 A) Thus arises democracy, which is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike." (558 C) Freedom and equality become the idolatry of democracy and soon anarchy reigns, which brings tyranny...

Plato had borrowed from Hesiod in his myth of the metals" wherein he identified the wise rulers with gold, the courageous soldiers with silver and the temperate producers with brass and iron. Here, in his philosophy of history, he reinterprets Hesiod's theory of the successive Ages of Men. Ultimately, what is projected is an eternal conflict or contest between the Three Goddesses, with Athena dominant, then Hera, then Aphrodite.

Continuing the tradition, sometimes explicit, always implicit of the contest of the three value systems and of man's (i.e. Paris') need to choose, Aristotle puts his analytic mind to the issue. In Book I, V, of the Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle discusses the values or Goods that man prizes. on the one hand the generality of men and the most vulgar identify the Good with pleasure, and accordingly are content with the Life of Enjoyment - for there are three specially prominent Lives, the one just mentioned, the Life of Politics, and thirdly, the Life of Contemplation." He soon makes clear that he means animal or bodily pleasure when speaking of the former, and that the Life of Politics centers on receiving honor, which is, after all too superficial...since it appears to depend on those who confer it more than on him upon which it is conferred." Having thus dismissed the realm of Aphrodite (bodily

pleasure) and the realm of Hera (interpersonal relations) as inadequate for man's highest value, he then proceeds with a variety of arguments to install the activity of contemplation as the highest good.

The history of tripartitism may well constitute a sizable portion of the history of philosophic thinking, since the justification of one set of values over others -- perhaps just two others! -- is so central to philosophy. Many twentieth century theories come to mind. Pitirim A. Sorokin, for example, postulated three ideal types, the sensate, the ideational and the idealistic. Most popular of recent conceptual schemes was Freud's tripartite soul composed of the id, the ego and the superego.

When discussing the aims which we Americans have for education, my students agree that three main aims can be discerned:

1) Economic -- preparing students for the workplace and/or making the United States the leading economic power (turning back the Japanese threat).

2) Creating social justice and harmony through desegregation, multiculturalism, etc.

3) Developing critical thinking and the intellectual capacity of all our students.

When I ask them to vote for the aim which most resembles theirs, in class after class, year after year, a large majority always choose the last one; some choose the second, and the economic aim -- clearly the focus of government, business and the press in recent decades -- receives very few votes indeed. This always gives me a certain satisfaction although it may put them in conflict with parents and school boards. Then I tell them a little bit of their history, starting with the Judgment of Paris.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1951), p. 225.
2. Plato, *Republic* 376 D.
3. Plato, *Protagoras* 325-326.
4. William Boyd, *The History of Western Education*, 8th ed. (N.Y.: Barnes and Noble, 1966), p. 20.
5. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (N. Y. : Simon and Schuster, 1945), p. 40.
6. Plato, *Republic* 368 D.

EFFECTIVE EDUCATION'S IGNORED OR DISCARDED OPTIONS: UNSHACKLING AND ACTIVELY SUPPORTING OUTSTANDING TEACHERS

Porky Haberman

As a businessman and observer of the education process for the past 15 years, I am convinced that in the majority of instances, Daedalus, Merlin, Machiavelli and Rube Goldberg have been on permanent retainer by state education agencies, school boards, administrators and education's other significant stakeholders. Their singular objective has been to devise inestimable obstacles to thwart effective education by outstanding teachers.

In this regard, a close friend asked why waste time talking to a bunch of philosophers, historians, and sociologists. Taken aback by his tone of voice, I asked, "Why do you think I am wasting my time?" He snapped back, "They cannot make anything happen. They cannot or will not devote themselves to the practical problems of human life."

I disagreed. From my vantage point, philosophy is always beginnings and, for me, this occasion was only a beginning. Nothing can begin without the philosophical underpinnings they can help to provide. We all need to remember that it is the mind that sends us into action.

None of us can change yesterday.

The directly quoted or paraphrased incidents/opinions/episodes that I am about to relate were based on selected recent written communication from a pool of ninety-six recognized (Texas Exes and The University of Texas at Austin's College of Education Outstanding High School Teachers Award. Nominations are solicited from all Texas high schools and are received from across the state. Ten are chosen annually.) outstanding high school teachers from all disciplines.

I would add that their recent comments on the points I will relate are consistent with similar comments and/or conversations I have received or had with this group and countless other teachers over the past ten years.

Additionally, the opinions/episodes/incidents related are consistent with my observations as well as communications received and/or read from various school district personnel and community members during the time period of 1978-1995.

As a businessman who has been "unofficially" involved with education in general and outstanding teachers in particular, the way to straighten me out was to put my smidgen of knowledge and understanding under a klieg light manned by you. That way, when I walk out the exit door, either I will be back at square one, or you will begin to scrutinize effective education's

ignored or discarded options: unshackling and actively supporting outstanding teachers.

It is not an easy matter to be simple, but I am going to exert every effort, because the abyss beneath our feet is yawning.

We do not like to admit it, but each time we blink, another generation is lost.

It is not a generic trait of a businessman to watch and listen long before making judgments, but that is what I have been doing.

Before making my specific observations, you need to know where I am coming from.

From my vantage point, the world is not divided into compartments. No magical powers or insight can be ascribed to businessmen, educators, philosophers, historians or sociologists. It is a waste of my time counting outputs of widgets.

Pragmatism should prevail.

What is the objective?

What are the potential problems?

What means can be formulated that will increase the odds of success?

Which consistent actions will increase the likelihood of success?

And finally, but most importantly, who can I look to for help, and what can be done to support and enable them?

It is understood that objectives cannot be achieved without the "front line" people. In business they are the sales force. In education they are outstanding teachers.

Additionally, I accept the distinction between molding the malleable lives of young people and making a profit. Education's objective is noble. Business's is merely worthy. If anything, education's purpose should always dictate higher standards because its failure translates into wasted human potential.

My personal philosophy that dictates where to spend my spare time is son who is having an enormous positive impact on the potential of other's lives and volunteer to be a water boy. Way out in front of that line are outstanding teachers. They are self-taught, as the poet Blake wrote,

"to see a world in a grain of sand
and a heaven in a wild flower,
hold infinity in the palm of your hand
an eternity in an hour"

I am fortunate that so many have invited me into their lives.

Here is my perspective:

I try very hard to select supervisory personnel at every level who are sensitive to the type of people they are to supervise. There is a difference between the supervisor of someone in the accounting office versus the supervisor of a salesperson. When doing this task effectively, the net result is the supervisors will quickly deflate the morale of the people they are supervising, and productivity will plummet or they will quit.

Think of that approach in contrast to this note I received yesterday:

"After 12 years at a high school going from 2 classes to 5 with a waiting list of 145, countless students' regional, state and local awards and community initiatives, and many personal awards, they suddenly and without notice yanked a classroom, storage room and restroom away from me and denied my students permission to use the gym for rehearsals. I took the principal to lunch and had four meetings with him to change his mind. He refused to consider it. What a devastating blow to my students who are learning communication skills, discipline, a work ethic, teamwork and thinking on their feet."

Could we have done it better with a meat axe?

Where should administrators begin?

After asking for input from the "front line", we set clearly defined and stated goals that relate to reality.

You be the judge of this message:

"My latest frustration has been with T.E.A. and the Board of Education. These individuals believe that algebra is for everyone. Now I am not against rising standards and all those lofty goals, but please remember we have kids who cannot pass TAAS and are in vocational programs. These kids need courses that deal with real life math skills, not factoring and the quadratic formula. Please let us help these kids learn how to use the math they will meet in life. The Math of Money class the state does allow carries a prerequisite of Algebra I.

Are we asking for more dropouts and blaming math?"

Can beginning be relevant?

We are taught to focus intently on the number one objective. We are trained to ask the question, "How will my contemplated actions impact the achievement of it?"

Business people do not hold a candle to outstanding teachers when it comes to focusing on their objective of educating students to the exclusion of 99% of the other distractions and/or obstacles around or in front of them. They instinctively know that ultimately education reform depends on their expectations of the individual students and what happens between their students and them in the classroom.

Here is a recent example from an outstanding teacher:

"For the past several years, my associate and I spent countless hours during spring generating interest in the students' future participation in the academic decathlon competition. Beginning this past July 1, we assembled a pool of interested students and proceeded to spend many hours narrowing the pool down to the required numbers and preparing for the competition. The first week of school, the principal notified us that there would be no academic decathlon entry this year."

Makes you wonder what part, if any, of the students' education the principal focused on!

We recognize that training is vital to our success. Aside from requisite degrees, people are immersed in significant training before they begin working. Subsequently we are constantly searching for and paying for their participation in relevant continuing education programs.

Most of today's entering teaching corps have been exposed to the gentler extremes of teacher training. There is no concerted effort to expose them to both extremes and the experience in between. Supplemental education and training or going to meaningful conferences is for the most part out of the question, and mandatory attendance at mind-numbing in-service sessions is the norm.

Maybe this letter will give us some insight.

Why, why, why?

Finally, after ten years, I was encouraged to attend a summer math conference. Of course there was a catch: I'd get \$25.00 per day and it was 300 miles away.

I needed to go for my students' sake, so I borrowed from my mother. Much to my surprise, I ran into five administrators attending. I was the only teacher from my school. I attended eight sessions to include three general ones during my two days. They were at none of them. In fact, every time I broke, they were just entering the building (around 9:30 A.M. or 2:30 P.M.) or leaving (11:00 A.M. or 4:00 P.M.).

When I returned, I started asking other math teachers whether any of the administrators has passed on what they had learned or observed. To date, none has heard a word.

Why, why, why does one bureaucracy after another act as if educating students and dealing with teachers is a game of illusion played before a 20X20 fun house mirror?"

When will they begin to understand?

It would be foolhardy on our part to send a neophyte salesperson out to deal with our toughest customers until he/she has several years of experience under his/her belt.

This letter is paraphrased: Last fall was the beginning of her first classroom assignment in South Texas. It did not take long to figure out she had been sandbagged. The students were mostly rejects. After her first week, she asked the only more senior teacher who had befriended her how her students were assigned to her. Her reply was not surprising: "Last spring when school was over, a group of teachers got together and dumped their worst students into a pot to make up the upcoming fall class of the new teacher to be hired."

As a recent research paper, entitled "The Effect of the Relationship Between Classroom Student Diversity and Teacher Capacity on Student Performance" by Omar S. Lopez, Ph. D., has shown, a teacher is not fully capacitated for about 5 years, but teachers are assigned on the basis of tenure.

If you want results, the students' backgrounds and capabilities must be matched with a teacher's experiences.

Administrator after administrator laughs at this idea. Below par teachers reject it outright.

The majority of teachers that leave the profession do so in the first 5 years, and we wonder why?

How can we begin to teach with so many mismatches?

We are not hung up on buying every technology tool that comes along the pike for our "front line" people, but we constantly ask ourselves, "Will our customer be better served by utilizing current technology?"

Last week I received this note from an outstanding science teacher:

"Internet access is an incredible resource for students and teachers. Outstanding teachers search for every way possible to get the equipment and phone line they need. In two different departments in my high school, hard won phone lines have been cut by the administration IMMEDIATELY after grants that teachers have been awarded have ended. Teachers weren't notified and weren't allowed to search for funds to pay for the monthly costs or even to pay the costs themselves. (In one case both of those avenues were requested by the teacher.) The lines just went dead. The teachers still have all the other necessary equipment including the Internet gateway, but there's no phone line to connect to it. The teachers eventually wear out (not me yet) and stop trying to bring new technology to their students."

How did this action affect achievement of the objective--not to mention the morale of the teachers?

How many times are we going to wish we could begin again?

We strongly encourage and allow time for clear-eyed planning.

I have yet to meet an outstanding teacher who has been given time to plan. Site-based planning is a tragic joke because the vast majority of it is done after a full day of teaching. In that context, there cannot be clear eyes or alert minds.

Here is one example from an outstanding teacher:

"Last year our school went through a BIG transition: New superintendent, new high school principal, two new assistant principals, a new social studies coordinator, etc. Then we decided to go to the 4 X 4 accelerated block; but rather than plan it out, it was decided that it would go into effect for this year. On top of that, I was asked to introduce a new class - AP US History. Great! We'd have the first half (thru the Civil War) in block 1, and then teach the second half in block 2..or so I thought..and was led to believe. Then suddenly, it's all--the whole survey--in one 80-day block! I'm not teaching this year: I'm throwing ideas, concepts, etc., at the kids and "hoping" they catch them. You can guess the answer to that one! If we stay on schedule, in one three-week period, the kids will "cover" (note, I did not use the words "study" or "learn") WWI, the roaring 20's, depression and New Deal, WWII, and start the cold war in one 3-week grading period! (I'm so stressed that I'm repeating myself--sorry!) I've asked for "help" and I'm either told "let's try it" or "it will get better" or (my favorite) "if anyone can pull it off, you can." I've also been given leads/contacts whom I call and their responses have universally been, "Are you crazy? You can't teach AP in 80 days!" I'm still looking for some school that thinks this works and will give me the "magic formula"! In the meantime, I'm documenting the hours I spend on this one class, outside the regular school day--last week, over 40 extra hours; and I'm cringing when bleary-eyed kids tell me they were up till 4:30 a.m. studying their AP US history."

Does a new beginning preclude planning?

We constantly strive to give credit to those who earn it. That action boosts the morale of the deserving and emboldens others to make a contribution.

Again a paraphrase of two episodes will illustrate: A 5A high school had no history of actively preparing and equipping their students to secure scholarships. An outstanding teacher decided to test the waters and succeeded beyond his wildest imagination. His students were garnering hundreds of thousands of dollars in college scholarships across the nation. At none of the first three annual student assemblies was he given credit for showing the way to other disciplines as well as inspiring students and parents who had never dreamed higher education could be a reality.

Or how about a teacher whose students are being accepted in every top college in the country while she is reading and grading 3,500 pages of essays per month, yet has not once received credit after 18 years?

There are very few companies that do not promote the recognition of and reward their top performers. This is particularly true of their "front line" sales force. Their objectives are threefold:

1. To award outstanding accomplishment
2. To set a benchmark for others to reach or exceed
3. To send a strong message to the laggards that they had better get off their posteriors

By their actions many public school administrators demonstrate an aversion to putting their outstanding teachers on a pedestal for fear that they will upset those less talented or energetic. In a program with which I am involved, we send out 1,900 nomination forms for a significant teaching award to high schools in Texas. We have consistently received approximately 300 replies. Additionally, there are other statewide efforts to recognize and reward outstanding teachers that go begging and nomination entries have been declining for several years.

And to think, these awards will not cost the school district a cent!

Here is a good one:

"Last October I was named the Outstanding Biology Teacher for the state of Texas by the national NABT organization. Though my principal was informed, he never said a word about it. And to get to St. Louis to attend the convention and the awards ceremony, I paid \$900 out of my own pocket. Though months later the central administration proudly announced this honor for the district, \$250 was all they offered to help offset the expenses. Luckily I could afford the trip, but most teachers could not have. What should have been one of the most special personal honors of a lifetime was at first ignored, then used for self-serving P.R."

At this juncture, I am reminded of a quote by Herbert Swope: "I cannot give you the formula for success, but I can give you the formula for failure-- which is: Try to please everybody."

What are the costs to students if we do not begin to recognize outstanding teachers?

We do not condone unprofessional behavior towards our front line personnel.

In a recent paraphrased incident, a principal of a high school asked an outstanding teacher to try to infiltrate and influence the process of awarding another teacher, whom she did not respect, a state-wide award.

In another, an outstanding teacher, who had raised his own money to bring outside speakers to talk to his

students, was put through an inquisition about his expenditures by an administrator who had been indicted for racketeering, embezzlement and money laundering.

And finally, from an outstanding teacher, who has been training others in tandem with a college professor:

"I firmly believe that teachers need to get together and teach each other. Staff development offices, in my opinion, should facilitate that interaction rather than purporting to be the experts on what's happening in our classrooms. I thought the following was going to reap good results:

Staff Development Office: We'd like you to teach some workshops about incorporating advanced placement strategies into any high school or middle school English classroom.

Unfortunately, there was a catch:

Staff Development Office: Oh, by the way, before you do that, we'll need you to write a module (detailed "lesson plan" including a script) about your presentation. We'll keep the module so that other people in the future will be able to look at your script and teach the same workshop.

Thwarting times three:

- (1) What sane and busy teacher would want to take the time to write such an inane manuscript?
 - (2) The idea that a teacher could write an effective script for an interactive, dynamic workshop is completely ludicrous.
 - (3) The only thing more asinine is the idea that just anyone could look at such a script and teach the material enthusiastically and knowledgeably!
- I declined to write the module, which in turn meant I couldn't teach the workshops."

Where could that school district go to begin to replace this outstanding teacher's impact?

We prize innovation and encourage by every means possible our front line employees to be creative.

Another paraphrase:

Prior to last spring's semester at a well-known high school, an outstanding English teacher, who had a history of turning out students who were exempted from one and often two years of their college English requirements, was notified that she could no longer arrange her room in groupings around special tables. (She had built and painted them.) Their dictate was as subtle as a sledgehammer. They told her another teacher would be using her room for two periods a day and that visiting teacher didn't like her arrangement.

She gave her notice.

Another teacher puts it in a nutshell:

"I think innovation requires upsetting the status quo and is seen as disruptive, troublesome, time-consuming or worthy of only short-term attention

and no sustained support. Innovative programs are time consuming for the people doing the scheduling in the front office. So many creative teachers are discouraged from even trying, because they've seen others fail or get no help from the scheduling end."

How can we begin to stimulate creativity and innovation?

We recognize that, if we undermine the respect and authority we give to an outstanding employee, we negate the effectiveness and morale evaporates.

Paraphrasing this incident makes my point:

At a renowned Dallas area school district an outstanding teacher, who was selected tops in the nation in her discipline, was visited by a surly former coach-turned-vice-principal who quickly placed her on the defensive regarding her discipline of a clearly troubled student who consistently refused to do her work. She was repeatedly told--never asked for her explanation--that her behavior was unacceptable.

Her effectiveness undermined, she gave her notice. Where can they begin to find a comparable replacement?

It is vital to our success to listen to our "front line" and to offer help.

Here is a recent note from an outstanding teacher in a predominantly Hispanic area:

"For about ten years I've been begging to teach an Advanced Placement Class in Spanish Literature. I've attended meetings, seminars, etc. Well, I'm finally teaching it, but guess what??? I have no books, no videos (an integral part of the program), and I don't know when I'll get all materials necessary to teach the class. Every time I call the main office to inquire, they tell me the same thing. "They've been ordered since May, but have not arrived yet." Well, I'm managing on my own. I'm using old texts, Xerox copies, and my own creativity and ingenuity to teach this very demanding course. I don't know if the materials will ever arrive. Meanwhile, crime is rampant, and violence is ever present in our communities and schools. I'm beginning to lose faith."

And this one from an outstanding teacher from a small town:

"On our own time and at our own expense, we frequently arrange to take students to cultural events in a nearby metropolis. We requested that the principal help us find a van. We'd pay for its use. His response: "I can't help you, because it's not an important activity and not in my job description."

And one more:

"We are smiled upon, patted on the head, and dismissed. None of us is asked to give input into

decisions made by the school, much less the district.

If we were asked, we think it would only be form. None of the school board members has ever asked us for opinions on curriculum, the school calendar, or anything else. It's hoped that we won't do anything to embarrass anyone and that we'll continue to put in far more hours than most of our colleagues without compensation or complaint."

How can we begin again?

If your business is successful, and you want it to succeed in the future, your decisions must be consistent and serve as a model for its employees. Every one of them watch and emulate your actions.

How could we expect outstanding teachers to interpret these two actions:

Recently a school district in one of Texas' largest cities was ordered to remove all employees at two high schools, a middle school and an elementary school. As reported by the local dominant newspaper, here is a litany of some of the problems:

1. Central office was "highly bureaucratic and dictatorial".
2. Low expectations for students and no instructional leadership for teachers.
3. Staff morale was low; not enough student or staff recognition.
4. Ineffective staff development to carry out planned improvements.
5. "Lack of commitment by a significant number of teachers."
6. Outdated curriculum guides
7. Textbook and library book shortages

In the same press release, a spokesman for the district announced, "No district employees will be fired, and **some may be reassigned to their old campuses**. Additionally, some of the displaced-but-not-fired administrators said that they have been stigmatized and unfairly blamed."

Apparently the administration defines begin as more of the same!

Add this paraphrase of an incident:

A math teacher in South Texas had volunteered to teach a part of a block. For two years her annual reviews were outstanding. In comes a new principal. Her ear was bent by other teachers who did not like the teacher's supervisor and were envious of the fact that the block only taught 60 students. The principal abruptly decided the block teachers could continue to teach, but they would have no conference period and no extra salary.

She gave notice and is beginning anew in another school district!

I am going to wind this up with a young elementary

teacher's story, a quote, and in business jargon I will ask, if not plead, for "the order".

Last November I took an elementary teacher to lunch. Two and a half years ago she had graduated from one of the state's major universities. Her practice teaching had been done in an upper middle class neighborhood. She had entered her profession with high hopes.

Her first assignment was in a lower income area. Although she had been raised in a different environment and had no prior exposure to or experience in a school in the "other part of town", she immediately fell in love with and became committed to her third grade students. At the end of her first two years, she received glowing assessments and was about to finish another semester.

As we sat down, tears began to well up in her eyes, as she recited this story:

"One of her students was giving her problems as well as disrupting the class during the entire semester. She had spent countless hours working with the student and trying to involve parents in her efforts to help her. There was one outburst too many, and she sent the student to the principal. As she was leaving the classroom, the student yelled obscenities and threatened her. After school, as she was standing outside, the student yelled more obscenities and was soon joined by her grandfather, who threatened her. The principal then received an obscenity-laced phone call together with threats. The principal scheduled a conference to be held in 2 weeks.

Meanwhile, she received more obscene phone calls and violent threats, and was constantly looking over her shoulder.

She could not sleep, eat or teach. The only encouragement or explanation she received from the principal was the statement, "I've seen worse cases."

She could not understand why the principal, knowing the parents and grandparents had prior records of violence, would insist that she attend the meeting. They were not rational people. The teacher suggested they ask the male assistant principal to attend, but her suggestion went unheeded.

The meeting began. Obscenities and threats

commenced. The parent and grandparent were soon in the teacher's face. The principal, belatedly sensing danger, finally told the teacher to leave. One door was immediately blocked, so she literally ran through the other one with the grandparent screaming threats and obscenities behind her. They told her "she'd better watch out, because they'd get her." After the meeting the principal told her two things:

1. "Who you are and where you come from doesn't help this situation."
2. "I can't protect you. If you don't personally file a lawsuit, I can't protect you. Maybe you can teach with the door locked."

The principal excused her for the rest of the day, but assigned no one to conduct her class. The teacher submitted her resignation and left the profession.

This fall the inept principal was reassigned to another school.

My question is, how many times must a new beginning end like this?

All of us have watched the dying coals in a fireplace. We know that we can restart a fire by blowing on the coals. That is how this quote from Archibald MacLeish ended up as my favorite.

"Blow on the coal of the heart
The candles in churches are out.
The lights have gone out in the sky.
Blow on the coal of the heart
And we'll see by and by....."

The business proposition, I would like for you to consider is this: I will blow a little harder on those coals until the fire is rekindled, if you will take some of this string and, just as the king's daughter slipped the hero some string so he could find his way out of Daedalus' maze, you will start passing some out to every outstanding teacher you have met or will meet in the future.

They cannot escape the maze or begin to get out without your help. Each of them touches a minimum of 125 student lives a day. Whether you multiply that by one or 10,000, the numbers become staggering. They can begin on Monday morning.

AUSUBEL REVISITED

Stan Ivie
Texas Women's University

Biography

David Paul Ausubel came to educational psychology after completing highly specialized training in medicine and psychiatry. He was born in New York City, October 25, 1918. His father was an oral surgeon. Medical topics were common objects of conversation in the Ausubel household. Ausubel (1995) writes, "My vocational ambition to become a psychiatrist began at the age of ten" (p. 1). Ausubel's college degrees were earned from three prestige institutions: the University of Pennsylvania, B.A., psychology, 1939; Columbia University, M.A., experimental psychology, 1940; Middlesex University, M.D., 1943 (APA, 1977, p. 52).

Ausubel served his medical internship at Gouverneur's Hospital, 1943-44. The following year he established a general practice in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts. In 1945 he entered the United States Public Health Service. He spent the following year in psychiatric residency at a public hospital in Lexington, Kentucky. Ausubel completed his psychiatric residency in 1948 at Buffalo State Hospital, New York (APA, 1977, p. 52).

After completing his training in psychiatry, Ausubel accepted lectureships at Long Island University and Yeshiva University. These positions allowed him to work on a Ph.D. in developmental psychology at Columbia University, which he received in 1950. Ausubel switched from psychiatry to psychology in order to pursue an academic career in teaching and research. "Psychiatry," Ausubel (1995) writes, "was completely dominated by psychoanalysis. There was no real opportunity for an academic career in psychiatry, since I viewed psychoanalysis as a far-fetched, desperate mythology, with no scientific or empirical basis" (p. 1).

In 1950 Ausubel accepted a position with the Bureau of Educational Research at the University of Illinois. He was with the Bureau for the next sixteen years. While Ausubel was at the University of Illinois, he published extensively on cognitive psychology. He left the University of Illinois in 1966 in order to accept a position with the Department of Applied Psychology, Ontario Institute of Studies in Education. Ausubel was in Toronto for two years, 1966-68. He moved to become Professor and Head of the Department of Educational Psychology, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, where he served until his retirement in 1975 (APA, 1977, p. 52). When Ausubel left university teaching, he returned to the practice of

psychiatry. Since the time of his retirement from university life, Ausubel has held a number of psychiatric appointments in the state of New York. He currently resides and conducts a private practice in Espous, New York.

Ausubel (1995) is an internationally recognized scholar. He has received many honors and awards, among them a Fulbright Research Grant (1957-58) and the Thorndike Award (1976). He has published voluminously within the fields of educational psychology and psychiatry. Ausubel has authored eight books on psychology and education. His works cover such topics as adolescent and child development, meaningful verbal learning, cognition, learning theory, and teacher preparation. He has published a similar number of books on psychiatry. Some of his continuing interests have been ego development, alcohol and drug addiction, and mental disorders. One of his last works, Death and the Human Condition: A Cosmology for Modern Man, reflects both the depth and breath of his thinking (pp. 7-9).

Learning Theory Theorizing

Ausubel's (1995) research interests led him to conduct a number of experimental studies. Commenting on his studies, he says, "Although I have done empirical research, I am more of a theorist than a researcher--by temperament and preference" (p. 2). Good theory, he believes, is grounded in personal experience. "Much of my theory of meaningful verbal learning was derived by introspection into my own education" (p. 2). If someone wishes to theorize about a discipline, he or she should first receive the broadest possible education. "I decry narrow specialization as non-conducive to productivity and creativity" (p. 2). The good theorist owes more to his or her genes than he or she does to any specialized education. "Good theorists and good researchers in psychology are born, not made. They are especially sensitive temperamentally (genetically) to psychological characteristics and phenomena" (pp. 2-3). Hence, professional schools in psychiatry and psychology should exercise appropriate care in selecting candidates for their respective professions. "In choosing good psychologists and psychiatrists, selection is more important than training" (p. 3).

Metaphor

Ausubel views knowledge as representing an integrated system. Ideas are linked together in an orderly fashion. The human mind follows logical rules for organizing information. Mind, metaphorically, is like a Chinese puzzle box. All the smaller boxes, ideas and concepts, are tucked away inside the larger boxes. "Cognitive structure," Ausubel (1960) contends, "is hierarchically organized in terms of highly inclusive concepts under which are subsumed less inclusive subconcepts and informational data" (p. 267). The idea of subsumption is central to Ausubel's learning theory. The bigger boxes in the mental pyramid subsume the smaller boxes. Subsumers are the general categories within which we organize our thinking. Through subsumption we integrate new information into our cognitive structures. Teaching and learning are largely matters of erecting cognitive structures (scaffolding) to hold new information. By placing information into its proper box, we are able to retain it for future use. Similarly, forgetting occurs when the smaller boxes (being made out of less durable stuff) fall apart and become incorporated into the larger boxes.

Cognitive Structure

Ausubel's (1963a) theory of learning emphasizes the importance of the learner's cognitive structure in the acquisition of new information. Present experience is always fitted into what the learner already knows. "Existing cognitive structure, that is an individual's organization, stability, and clarity of knowledge in a particular subject matter field at any given time, is the principal factor influencing the learning and retention of meaningful new material" (p. 217). A cognitive structure that is clear and well organized facilitates the learning and retention of new information. A cognitive structure that is confused and disorderly inhibits learning and retention. Learning can be enhanced by strengthening relevant aspects of cognitive structure. Putting the mind in order is one of the principal objectives of all education. Having a clear and well organized cognitive structure, Ausubel (1968) believes, "is also in its own right the most significant independent variable influencing the learner's capacity for acquiring more new knowledge in the same field" (p. 130).

Hierarchy

How is knowledge organized? Ausubel's and Robinson's (1969) theory of learning assumes the existence of a hierarchical structure of knowledge. Fields of inquiry are organized like pyramids, "with the most general ideas forming the apex, and more particular ideas and specific details subsumed under them" (p. 47). The most inclusive ideas--those located at

the top of the pyramid--are the strongest and most enduring elements in the hierarchy. They possess a longer life span in memory than do particular facts or specific details, which fall at the base of the pyramid. "Learning occurs as potentially meaningful material enters the cognitive field and interacts with and is appropriately subsumed under a relevant and more inclusive conceptual system" (Ausubel, 1963b, p. 25). Thus new information is organized under higher level concepts already existing in cognitive structure.

Subsumption

Subsumption is the central idea underlying Ausubel's (1960) theory of learning. (In his later writings, Ausubel tends to use the words "subsumption" and "Assimilation" interchangeably.) When a new idea enters consciousness, it is processed and classified under one or more of the inclusive concepts already existing in cognitive structure. (Little boxes, metaphorically, are fitted into bigger boxes.) "New meaningful material becomes incorporated into cognitive structure in so far as it is subsumable under relevant existing concepts" (p. 267). Subsumers provide a basic structure around which information is organized. They are the intellectual linchpins holding the system together. "Subsumption," Ausubel (1962) informs us, "may be described as facilitation of both learning and retention." (p. 217).

Anchorage

The major concepts (subsumers) in cognitive structure act as anchoring ideas for new information. The availability of anchoring ideas facilitates meaningful learning. Antecedent learning usually performs an anchoring function. "If this ideational scaffolding is clear, stable, and well organized," says Ausubel and Fitzgerald (1962), "it is reasonable to suppose that it provides better anchorage for new learning and retention than if it is unclear, unstable, and poorly organized" (p. 244). The cognitive stability provided by anchoring ideas helps to explain why meaningful learning is retained longer than rote learning. Meaningful learning is anchored; rote learning, on the other hand, is not.

Organizers.

No feature of Ausubel's (1963b) learning theory has stimulated more discussion or raised greater controversy than his advocacy of advance organizers. Organizers are not to be confused with introductory remarks or brief overviews, which are "typically written at the same level of abstraction, generality, and inclusiveness as the learning material" (p. 214). Organizers are abstract ideas presented in advance of the lesson. They represent a

higher level of abstraction, generality, and inclusiveness than the new material. Ausubel (1960) believes organizers can be used to assist learners in assimilating new ideas. Organizers help to bridge the gap between what is already known and what is to be learned. "The learning and retention of unfamiliar but meaningful verbal material can be facilitated by the advance introduction of relevant subsuming concepts." (p. 267) Organizers are particularly useful when learners do not already possess relevant concepts needed in order to integrate the new information into cognitive structure.

What are the instructional advantages of using advance organizers? Ausubel and Fitzgerald (1961) innumerate three reasons why teachers should use organizers. "First, organizers provide advance ideational scaffolding" (p. 267). They furnish a conceptual structure around which the learner is able to organize new information. "Second, they provide the learner with a generalized overview of all of the major similarities and differences between the two bodies of ideas before he encounters the new concepts individually in more detailed and particularized form" (p. 267). Organizers furnish the learner with a synopsis of what is to be learned. "Finally they create an advance set in the learner to perceive similarities and differences . . . encouraging him actively to make his own differentiations" (p. 267). Organizers stimulate the learner to think about what he or she is trying to learn.

Which students profit the most from the use of organizers? Ausubel and Fitzgerald (1962) believe good students--those who possess clear and well organized cognitive structures--profit very little from the use of organizers. This is because their minds are already programmed with anchoring ideas. Poor learners, on the other hand, benefit the most from the use of organizers. They require additional assistance in learning how to structure their thinking (p. 247). Ausubel's (1963b) research disclosed another interesting aspect of using organizers. Advance organizers are more useful when working with factual material than they are when dealing with abstractions. Organizers "facilitate the learning of factual material more than they do the learning of abstract material, since abstractions in a sense contain their own built-in-organizers" (p. 82).

Retention

What is the best way to improve the retention of information once it has been learned? Ausubel's (1962) views on retention are linked to his larger theory of subsumption. Subsumers, anchoring ideas, help to facilitate learning and retention. Retention is influenced by three factors: "(a) the availability in cognitive structure of relevant subsuming concepts at an

appropriate level of inclusiveness; (b) the stability and clarity of these concepts; and (c) their discriminability from the learning task" (p. 223). Learners who possess well organized cognitive structures tend to retain information effectively. Conversely, learners who have poorly organized cognitive systems tend to forget information rapidly. "Thus," concludes Ausubel (1968), "it is largely by strengthening relevant aspects of cognitive structure that new learning and retention can be facilitated" (p. 128). One way of improving retention is to introduce appropriate subsumers prior to presenting the new lesson.

Forgetting

Why do we forget information we once labored so painstakingly to learn? Ausubel's answer is contained in his theory of subsumption. Just as subsumption explains how learning takes place, so it offers an explanation for why forgetting occurs. New information is retained when it becomes anchored to a larger subsuming idea. Reciprocally, this same information is forgotten as it becomes progressively absorbed into its anchoring concept. Forgetting is complete when the information can no longer be separated from its intellectual host. Ausubel (1963b) refers to this process as "obliterative subsumption." When the "obliterative stage of subsumption begins, the specific items become progressively less dissociable as entities in their own right until they are no longer available and are said to be forgotten" (p. 25). (Forgetting occurs, recalling the metaphor of a Chinese puzzle box, when the smaller boxes become lost inside the larger boxes.) Forgetting is complete when, says Ausubel (1968), the new information is "reduced to the least common denominator capable of representing it, namely, to the anchoring idea itself" (p. 98).

Educational Applications

Rote Learning

Ausubel (1962) draws a sharp distinction between rote and meaningful learning. Rote learning occurs when the learner memorizes information in an arbitrary fashion. The knowledge or information is stored in an isolated compartment and is not integrated with other information already present in his or her cognitive structure. "Rotely learned materials are discrete and isolated entities which have not been related to established concepts in the learner's cognitive structure" (pp. 215-216). Because rote learning is not anchored to existing concepts, it is more easily forgotten. Formal education is filled with examples of rote learning. Did you ever learn to conjugate Spanish verbs? If the task was treated as an end-in-itself rather than as a mean to

greater conversational fluency, then it was rote learning.

Meaningful Learning

Meaningful learning, on the other hand, takes place when we grasp the interrelationship between two or more ideas, old and new. "A first prerequisite for meaningful learning," Ausubel and Robinson (1969) inform us, "is that the material presented to the learner be capable of being related in some 'sensible' fashion" (p. 46). The new information must be fitted into a larger pattern or whole. "Second, the learner must possess relevant ideas to which the new idea can be related or anchored" (p. 46). The learner must already have appropriate subsuming concepts in his or her cognitive structure. "Finally, the learner must actually attempt to relate, in some sensible way, the new ideas to those which he presently possesses" (p. 46). If any of these conditions are missing, the end result will be rote learning.

Reception Learning

Few educational practices, Ausubel (1963b) tells us, have been more widely misunderstood than verbal reception learning. The method has been characterized as "parrot-like recitation and rote memorization of isolated facts" (p. 15). The problem stems from the widespread confusion "between reception and discovery learning, and between rote and meaningful learning" (p. 15). Reception learning is not invariably rote; likewise, discovery learning is not always meaningful. Either one--reception learning or discovery learning--can be rote or meaningful. Everything depends upon how the knowledge is treated. If the learner merely memorizes the material (even if the conclusions have been arrived at by the discovery method), then, says Ausubel (1961), "the learning outcomes must necessarily be rote and meaningless" (p. 17). Reception learning or discovery learning may be matched with either rote learning or meaningful learning. One does not necessitate the other. Thus discovery learning, just like reception learning, may be either rote or meaningful. The whole question of rote learning versus meaningful learning centers around whether or not the new information is integrated into the learner's cognitive structure.

Ausubel (1961) defends the use of verbal reception learning. "Most classroom instruction is organized along the lines of reception learning" (p. 24). Verbal reception learning can be genuinely meaningful. "The rote outcomes attributed to the method of expository verbal instruction," Ausubel (1968) believes, "do not inhere in the method itself but are derived from various misapplications" (pp. 84-85). Reception learning is not necessarily passive by nature. When the learner is asked

to relate the new information to ideas already existing in his or her cognitive structure, then the method can be very active indeed. The central feature of reception learning, according to Ausubel (1961), is that "the entire content of what is to be learned is presented to the learner in final form" (p.16). The learner is not required to make an independent investigation on his or her own. The learner's role is one of internalizing the material so that it can be reproduced at some future date.

Expository Teaching

The flip side of reception learning is expository teaching. Ausubel (1963b) believes most teachers favor this method of instruction. Expository teaching is the most efficient and effective way of organizing classroom learning. Even laboratory sciences--which lend themselves to the discovery method--can be taught as well or as effectively by using the expository method. Though expository teaching has been criticized as being authoritarian, such criticism is unjustified. "There is nothing inherently authoritarian in presenting or explaining ideas to others as long as they are not obliged, either explicitly or implicitly, to accept them on faith" (p. 160). Teachers have an obligation to share their understanding with their students. To cast out the teacher's understanding because it might impose some structure on the students' thinking is an idea too foolish to require refutation. "Didactic exposition has always constituted the core of any pedagogic system, and, I suspect," adds Ausubel (1963b), "always will, because it is the only feasible and efficient method of transmitting large bodies of knowledge" (p. 160).

Discovery Learning

How does discovery learning differ from reception learning? In its initial stages, discovery learning differs markedly from reception learning. Whereas in reception learning the teacher furnishes the student with a framework for understanding the information, in discovery learning the student must provide his or her own intellectual context. "The essential feature of discovery learning," Ausubel (1961) informs us, "is that the principal content of what is to be learned is not given but must be independently discovered by the learner before he can internalize it" (p. 16). Discovery learning requires the student to order or arrange the material so that he or she may integrate it into his or her cognitive structure. "After this phase is completed, the discovered content is internalized just as in reception learning" (p. 16).

Though Ausubel (1963b) assigns a dominant role to reception learning, he does not reject discovery learning in toto. The discovery method, like other instructional

techniques, has its place in education. Discovery learning is indispensable when "pupils are in the concrete stage of cognitive development" (p. 143). The discovery method can furnish youthful learners with the tangible experiences they need in order to support the later development of abstract thought. "Discovery learning," Ausubel and Robinson (1969) believe, "is indispensable in testing the acquisition of problem-solving skills, and that it possesses advantages--mainly in the enhancement of cognitive drive--in the learning of generalizations" (pp. 475-476). The greater effort and vividness associated with the discovery method may also work to facilitate better learning and retention.

What Ausubel (1963b) finds objectionable about discovery learning is the "mystique" that has grown up around it. "Its legitimate uses and advantages have been unwarrantedly extrapolated to include both educational goals and levels of intellectual maturity" (p. 139). The critical question is not whether discovery learning enhances motivation, retention, and transferability, but "whether it does so sufficiently, for learners who are capable of learning principles meaningfully without it, to warrant the vastly increased expenditure of time it requires"; also, whether it is a feasible technique for transmitting content to intellectually "mature students who have already mastered its rudiments and basic vocabulary" (p. 144).

Motivation

Ausubel (1963b) believes human beings are born with a natural desire to learn. "Cognitive drive is probably derived in a very general way from curiosity tendencies and from related predispositions to explore, manipulate, understand, and cope with the environment" (p. 226). Knowing, in other words, provides its own rewards. This is particularly true when it comes to reception learning. Learning, says Ausubel (1963b), must sometimes precede motivation.

Frequently the best way of teaching an unmotivated student is to ignore his motivational state for the time being, and to concentrate on teaching him as effectively as possible. Much to his surprise and his teacher's, he will learn despite his lack of motivation; and from the satisfaction of learning he will hopefully develop the motivation to learn more. Paradoxically, therefore, we may discover that the most effective method of developing intrinsic motivation to learn is to focus on the cognitive rather than on the motivational aspects of learning, and to rely on the motivation that is developed retroactively from successful educational achievement. (p. 226)

Practice

Is there a place for practice or drill in today's education? Ausubel and Robinson (1969) answer this question in the affirmative. "Most integrated sets of ideas are not learned in a single presentation" (p. 131). Formal education is a slow, incremental process. What is acquired one day provides the basis for what will be learned the next. Practice or drill is necessary in order to master most classroom learning. It is a grave error, Ausubel (1963b) warns, to assume "all structured practice (drill) is necessarily rote, that unstructured (incidental) practice is maximally effective for school learning tasks" (p. 178). Teachers have been told that drill is an outdated technique. This is not necessarily true. Everything depends upon how drill is used, rote or meaningfully. Practice is useful "for acquiring many skills and concepts that do not occur frequently and repetitively enough in more natural settings" (p. 12). Though children may learn some things from incidental contact, most of what they acquire at school comes from deliberate, guided practice. Even though many educators have shied away from endorsing drill, "classroom teachers and athletic coaches have continued to place implicit reliance on practice as an essential condition of learning" (p. 179).

Problem-solving

Ausubel (1963b) is skeptical of the school's ability to teach complex problem-solving skills such as critical thinking and creative thinking. Most students simply do not possess the intellectual ability to perform these tasks. "Although the ability to understand original ideas worth remembering is widely distributed, the ability to generate comparably original ideas autonomously is manifested by only relatively few persons, that is, by gifted individuals" (p. 154). Even though most learners are not gifted with problem-solving skills, it is appropriate to use a certain amount of classroom time to encourage such objectives. This, however, "is a far cry from advocating that the enhancement of problem-solving ability is the major function of the school" (p. 154). If critical thinking is hard to teach, then creative thinking is virtually impossible. Indeed, according to Ausubel and Robinson (1969), creative behavior "is in at least one important respect unteachable (that is, in that the strategy cannot be explicitly formulated)" (p. 477).

Evaluation

What has been Ausubel's legacy to modern education? His influence on cognitive psychology has been profound and lasting. Teachers, whether they realize it or not, borrow from his ideas whenever they discuss practices such as cognitive mapping or instructional design. No other aspect of Ausubel's

research, however, has been more roundly discussed and more severely criticized than his notion of advanced organizers. Can advance organizers be used to enhance learning? The research on this question is filled with conflicting results. Anderson, Spiro, and Anderson (1978), for example, concede Ausubel's general theory of subsumers contains much that is valuable to educational practice. They take exception, however, with his research on advance organizers. Referring to Ausubel's work on teaching reading comprehension, they say, "It is difficult to see why outlining subsequent material in abstract, inclusive terms should help readers" (p. 439). If readers already possess relevant subsuming concepts, they will use them in assimilating new material. When readers do not possess such concepts, there is little reason to believe advance organizers can be used to take their place. Anderson et al. (1978) conclude by saying, "the theoretical justification for the advance organizer is quite flimsy." (p. 439).

Ausubel (1980) rejects the criticisms leveled against his work by Anderson et al. Citing his earlier works, Ausubel illustrates the fact that he has never advocated using advance organizers to replace cognitive structure.

learning. More dissertations--most of them worthless because the organizers used were not genuine--have

"Advance organizers explicitly draw upon and mobilize whatever relevant subsuming concepts are already established in the learner's cognitive structure and make them part of the subsuming entity" (p. 402). Organizers are designed to "bridge the gap" between what the learner already knows and what he or she is currently studying. The purpose of the organizer is to activate the appropriate categories in the learner's cognitive structure so additional information can be added.

Ausubel (1995) believes the attention devoted to advance organizers far outweighs their relative importance. His views on this matter (which were shared with the author in personal correspondence) are reflected in the following quotation:

Advance organizers are not the most important aspect of my work in educational psychology. They are merely a specific technique or method of presenting information more effectively, which is based on my more general subsumption or assimilation theory of learning. However, they caught the imagination as a "gimmick" for performing empirical studies of meaningful

been written on organizers than on any other topic in psychology. (p. 5)

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SIGNIFICATION MODEL FOR EXPLORING WORLDVIEW NOTIONS, TRADITIONAL TO POSTMODERN

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Abstract

This paper propounds a model for exploring epoch-based values. The core of the method is a "signification" model.

The model has two dimensions and twelve cells. One dimension has four components: traditional, nontraditional, modern, and postmodern. The other dimension has three components: self, others, and spiritual. The 4 by 3 components generate the twelve cells of the model. Each cell carries four signification questions; therefore, there are a total of forty-eight signification questions.

The paper discusses a research methodology, test survey results, and graphs used to "zero in" on the signification signals.

I. "Signification" Model

A. The Dimensions

The model is a two-way structure. These two "ways" are the primary dimensions of the model. The first dimension represents fundamental value clusters. These value clusters are imaged in specifically selected sets of questions. It is postulated that affirmative answers to specific clusters of questions reflect human characteristics that echo corresponding underlying principles.

The second dimension denotes facets of existence. This dimension sorts the models into bundles of questions applying to human relationships.

B. The Components

The components of the dimensions are laid out to provide a reliable (yet not quite flawless) set of predominant value statements. Recall that the dimensions are dubbed fundamental value clusters and facets of existence. The components of each dimension are discussed below.

1. Fundamental Value Clusters

a. traditional (the T-tag)

The traditional component of the value dimension centers around a core of Western values, canons, time-honored virtues and even ancient probities. Agreement responses to the traditional cluster questions indicates a "bond to handed-down" concepts of behavior,

customs, religion, and heritage.

b. nontraditional (the N-tag)

The nontraditional component is a "played-off-of" concentration of qualities that are thought of as (not after- or post-) antithetical to traditional attitudes. This component can be thought of as "counter-culture."

c. modern (the M-tag)

The modern component is grounded in the values unfolded from the Enlightenment. The 18TH Century philosophical movement was predicated on reason, individualism, progress, and science. The United States is shaped by the Enlightenment, in fact, the very texture of the American constitution is weaves out of the Enlightenment.

d. postmodern (the P-tag)

The postmodern component is tergiversate, that is, shaped by a renegade slipperiness. The postmodern component is a nonvariant of traditional (the authors postulate that postmodernism cannot directly come out traditional). This component is bursting with an "unambiguous ambiguity"; with an intentional subthreshold of clarity; and filled full of a "desertion of abandonment." Lightheartedly, yet realistically the Western view is impacted by the postmodern apostates -- our deconstructionist patriots.

2. Facets of Existence

a. self (the 1-tag)

This component reflects the side of being understood as the "solitary oneseif." Responses to questions in this component indicate one's view of individual behaviors relative to personal actions, activities, and self-regard.

b. others (the 2-tag)

This component revolves around the side of being conceived as the "social self." The questions in this grouping have to do with an individual's relations with other people the individual's interconnection with society.

c. spiritual (the 3-tag)

This component probes the side of being conceived as "spiritual/philosophical." This set of questions inquires into the respondents' sense of the metaphysical, of human

nature, of the philosophical plane.

C. Bosky-esque Sentiments

It was stated above that, "the components of the dimensions are laid out to provide a reliable (yet not quite flawless) set of predominant value statements." The following collection of non-numbered tables lists

short comments that reflect and couch the intellectual and era "textures" of the cells. These tables of sentiments are attitudes, dispositions, beliefs and notions that "inform" the 48 signification questions.

T₁
conforming to established family practices
community conventions
continuous
organized patterns
rituals
essence
meaning through purpose

T₃
transcendence of God
religions & mystery
God as perfection
absolute principles
devotion to God
wisdom as highest understanding
universe as one
contoured moral topography

N₂
create groups to fit needs (interests)
popular equality
counter-culture
anti-
seek higher values than
family obligations cannot be given
universe of particulars
knowledge as highest
no eternal duties
social leveling
status, rank not savored

M₁
enlightenment
science
natural rights
materialism
a social contractual self
rationalistic self

M₃
earth as heaven
communism, & democracy
life-mystery to be solved
science and technology as
religion
human perfection
Deism, natural religion

T₂
community
hierarchical
all have place in society
service
rank order
clan
balance "golden mean"

N₁
individual(ism)
separate discrete existence
self alone
create own meaning
"over-man"
existential doubt

dilemmas
loss of place

N₃
existential confrontation with nothingness as
movement towards growth
existence precedes essence
cynicism
creativity as perfection
individually fit morality

understanding
god is missing
"God" is dead

M₂
reconstruction of society
scientific socialism
welfare state
social progress
social engineering
Reconstructionism- Dewey

P₁
post-enlightenment
rejection of enlightenment
self as human experience
experience as key to self
post-truth
self as meta-physical
abstraction

relative morality
information
universe as clocklike mechanism order
P₂
solipsism "don't bother looking"

"what others"
constantly changing texts
(new interpretations)
relationships-experience
are key
agog "fixing" of social
injustices, now
fascism

"no signification"
electronic/cybernetic/visual
feelings as erudition
P₃
de-struction--no centers
collapse of metaphysics
freedom as highest value
a time collapse/impatience
flat moral topography
"anything goes"
the bit--data
universe of chaos
all concepts are arbitrary including "God"

D. A Diagram of the Model

The signification model is illustrated in Figure 1. Each block represents a cell and the blocks are labeled in the manner defined in Table 1. Of the twelve cells of the model, M₂ and M₃ cannot be seen. In this perspective, they are covered by other cells, and must be visualized by the reader.

E. The Cells

The first dimension has four components and the second has three components. Therefore, as seen in Figure 1., the structure of this two-way signification model creates twelve cells. Each cell is identified by a code made from combinations of the component tags. Each component of the fundamental value clusters is paired with all of the components of the facets of existence. The names of the twelve cells of the model are designated in Table 1.

Figure 1.
An illustration of the signification model

- Table 1.**
The Twelve Cells of the Model
1. traditional-self (T₁)
 2. traditional-other (T₂)
 3. traditional-spiritual (T₃)
 4. nontraditional-self (N₁)
 5. nontraditional-other (N₂)
 6. nontraditional-spiritual (N₃)
 7. modern-self (M₁)
 8. modern-other (M₂)
 9. modern-spiritual (M₃)
 10. postmodern-self (P₁)
 11. postmodern-other (P₂)

12. postmodern-spiritual (P₃)

II. The Two Samples

A. Texan questionnaire (n = 1589 Texans)

In April of 1991 a 143 question survey was given to Texas university students. The sample frame was the spring 1991 class rolls of three Texas universities (see Table 2). The sampling elements consist of the students on the rolls. The actual respondents were those students that attended the selected classes on the date that the questionnaire was administered.

A nonprobability convenience sample design was chosen. There is no way to measure sampling error, therefore generalizing from the sample is inappropriate. The argument for exercising a convenience sample was economic. Because of the obvious restrictions of the sample, the authors undertook two pragmatic intrasampling goals. The first declared goal was to include as many colleges and departments as physically possible. The second goal was to struggle for the highest n possible. The authors assert that both goals were reasonably met.

Table 2.
Participating Institutions in the Texans' Survey

1. Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas
2. Texas A&I University, Kingsville, Texas
3. University of North Texas, Denton, Texas

B. NonTexan questionnaire (n = 973 nonTexans)

In the Spring of 1992 a questionnaire was given to university students in the USA (Louisiana, Illinois, North Carolina, Kansas, San Antonio, Colorado), Chile, South Korea, Australia, Canada, Wales, and the Gaza Strip (see Table 3).

The Texan instrument was a revised but similar questionnaire to the nonTexan instrument. The authors

revised the questionnaire for two reasons: first, to reduce the number of questions, and second, to refine a small number of "cloudy" questions. The revisions resulted in a lesser number of questions. The Texan instrument contained 105 questions --- a 38 question reduction.

As in the earlier Texan efforts, a nonprobability convenience sample design was chosen for the same economical reason as before.

Table 3.

Participating Institutions in the NonTexans' Survey

1. Grambling State University, Louisiana, USA
2. The University of Newcastle, Callaghan, New South Wales, AUSTRALIA
3. Humber College, Etobicoke, Ontario, CANADA
4. St. David's University College, University of Wales, Lampeter, Dyfed, WALES
5. Illinois Institute of Technology, USA
6. Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, USA
7. Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, USA
8. Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas, USA
9. Colorado Christian University, Lakewood, Colorado, USA
10. University de Vina del Mar, San Felipe, CHILE
11. University de Vina del Mar, Vina del Mar, CHILE
12. College of Science and Technology, Khan Younis, Gaza Strip
13. University College of North Wales, University of Wales, Bangor, WALES
14. The National University, Seoul, REPUBLIC OF KOREA
15. The Kangweon National University, Chuncheon, REPUBLIC OF KOREA

III. Signification Questions

A. Forty-eight Signification Questions.

This section lists all 48 signification questions. The questions are grouped by the twelve cells of the model. The cell label appears to the left of each box. The particular question numbers are enumerated inside the box. The question numbers appear to the right of one of two statements: " benchmark Texans-1" (the Texan survey), or " benchmark nonTexans-2" (the nonTexan survey). The row of four numbers to each statement's right indicates a particular question's number in the Texan or nonTexan instrument. Ultimately, the four questions for that cell are listed under each box.

For example, the box immediately below is labeled T₁ on its left. The top row declares, " benchmark Texans-1: 47, 72, 88, 114," and the bottom row states, " benchmark nonTexans-2: 15, 38, 49, 68." Note that the first

number of the top row is "47" and the first number of the bottom row is "15." These two digits refer to the respective numbers of the question, "Honor is important to me" in the Texan, and then the nonTexan survey.

T₁ benchmark Texans-1: 47, 72, 88, 114
 benchmark nonTexans-2: 15, 38, 49, 68

47=15 Honor is important to me.
 72=38 Personal sacrifice is essential for happiness.
 88=49 Duty is important to me.
 114=68 I do not feel anxious most of the time.

T₂ benchmark Texans-1: 82, 95, 129, 135
 benchmark nonTexans-2: 44, 53, 78, 82

82=44 One must have children in order to have a happy life.
 95=53 The coach of an athletic team, not the players, should determine team rules.
 129=78 Rituals are vital.
 135=82 Family is the most important thing to me.

T₃ benchmark Texans-1: 33, 56, 125, 141
 benchmark nonTexans-2: 9, 25, 75, 85

33=09 If people did not believe in God, there would be increased immorality.
 56=25 Sometimes violence is necessary.
 125=75 An immoral person cannot be truly happy.
 141=85 I am sure that there is some reality beyond me.

N₁ benchmark Texans-1: 61, 78, 79, 113
 benchmark nonTexans-2: 27, 40, 42, 66

61=27 I feel anxious most of the time.
 78=40 "Home" is wherever I go.
 79=42 Regardless of disadvantages, each person ultimately is responsible for himself/herself.
 113=66 Duty is unimportant to me.

N₂ benchmark Texans-1: 66, 106, 119, 120
 benchmark nonTexans-2: 31, 63, 72, 73

66=31 First names always should be used, beginning with the first meeting.
 106=63 You can only depend on yourself in this world.
 119=72 Institutions are basically bad.
 120=73 Children are not necessary for a happy life.

N₃ benchmark Texans-1: 49, 85, 93, 97
 benchmark nonTexans-2: 19, 47, 52, 54

49=19 "God" exists only in human imagination.
85=47 An extra month of life, even though earned by cowardice, is better than a shorter life and a brave death.
93=52 We live in evil times.
97=54 An immoral person can be truly happy.

M₁ benchmark Texans-1: 19, 20, 63, 139
benchmark nonTexans-2: 2, 3, 30, 84

19=02 "Live free or die" is a motto that I accept.
20=03 I am more hopeful about the future than despairing.
63=30 Individual rights are more important than community rights.
139=84 Happiness is important to me.

M₂ benchmark Texans-1: 45, 46, 99, 130
benchmark nonTexans-2: 12, 13, 56, 79

45=12 Life is getting better and better for most people.
46=13 Merit should be the basis for determining a person's status in society.
99=56 A complete education must include knowledge of the greatest ideas of the Western world.
130=79 We are living in wonderful times.

M₃ benchmark Texans-1: 25, 54, 101, 134
benchmark nonTexans-2: 7, 24, 58, 80

25=07 Only tangible things are real; ideas are not.
54=24 Technology is good.
101=58 Only the visible, tangible world is real.
134=80 Money is the primary indicator of success.

P₁ benchmark Texans-1: 105, 117, 136, 142
benchmark nonTexans-2: 62, 70, 83, 86

105=62 I am the only certain reality.
117=70 Freedom means doing anything I wish to do.
136=83 I am the most important person in my life.
142=86 Happiness is whatever makes me feel good.

P₂ benchmark Texans-1: 18, 67, 100, 108
benchmark nonTexans-2: 1, 33, 57, 64

18=01 My ideas are as good as those of an authority.
67=33 All limits on personal choices of action are outmoded and unjust.
100=57 A person 65 years of age is middle-aged.
108=64 All institutions should be governed democratically, even teams and families.

P₃ benchmark Texans-1: 21, 69, 84, 126

benchmark nonTexans-2: 4, 37, 45, 76

21=04 Popular music (such as the rock and roll), is just as good as classical music (Beethoven, Mozart, etc.).
69=37 All ideas have equal worth.
84=45 A student who exerts his/her best effort should receive a passing grade regardless of the quality of the work.
126=76 The era in which we live is not an evil time.

B. Other Questions

There are many questions in the two instruments other than the 48 signification questions. The Texan instrument has 95 additional questions, and the nonTexan instrument has 57 more questions. These additional questions were included in the instruments for two reasons. First, the additional "value" questions offer a wealth of further information. Second, these extra questions "cloaked" the central 48 signification questions. The information derived from these extra questions is not covered in this paper.

IV. A Spatial Description

The manifested data from the overall project (both instruments) is considerable. The number of generated data points is 348,460.^b Subsequently, when the results are crosstabulated (the research by the demographic questions) the information becomes staggering. To deal with the overwhelming amount of data, the authors resolved to describe the data spatially. The "signification" questions alone are first expressed in a global manner. From the global graph each fundamental value cluster component is compressed.

A. Global

Four global graphs of the two sets (both instruments) of data points for the signification questions are presented.

1. the Texan survey

Figure 3. and Figure 4. show front views of the Texas responses (in percents) for the 48 signification questions. The x-axis represents the fundamental value cluster components: traditional, nontraditional, modern, and postmodern. There are 49 lines (inclusive of the edges) projecting out from the x-axis labeled: TRAD, NON, MOD, and POST. Between these lines are 48 spaces representing the "response space" of each of the signification questions. Each of the spaces contains five data points and they will add to the 100% of the particular question represented in that one space.

There are twelve responses in each for each of the four labels. For example, in the diagram of Figure 2.

notice the elaboration in the postmodern section. There are twelve " " data point symbols in three sections marked P_{1s}, P_{2s} and P_{3s} for the three cells of postmodern. The questions are appropriately located in their cell space, with the same descending order as seen in **III. Signification Questions**, A. Forty-eight Signification Questions.

The z-axis represents the possible answers. There are six lines (inclusive of the edges) projecting out from the z-axis labeled: SA, MA, U, MD, and SD. Between these lines are five spaces representing the space for the possible answers: strongly agree, mildly agree, undecided, mildly disagree, and strongly disagree. Each of the spaces contains 48 data points.

The y-axis measures the the total percent tally. The y-axis tops at eighty. The peak of eighty is chosen because the highest percentage answers in the entire study are in the seventies.

2. the nonTexan survey

The nonTexan survey Figure 5. and Figure 6. are presented in the same manner as the Texan study.

B. Compressed Fundamental Value Cluster Components

Because very little can be discerned from the global graph there must be a refinement of the spatial representations. The authors elected to compress the information contained in each of the fundamental value cluster components. This is done by compressing the x-axis to zero space. Eight compressed graphs are presented four for the Texan study, and four for the nonTexan study one for each component. Note that

the four compressed graphs for the nonTexan study each have a "2" attached to their on-graph titles.

Figures 7. and 8. represent the traditional component questions. Figures 9. and 10. picture the nontraditional component questions. Figures 11. and 12. describe the modern component questions. Figures 13. and 14. depict the postmodern component questions. At the bottom of each of these eight figures are twelve codes. Each code has a box, cell label, and a question number. For example, Figure 7., "TRADITIONAL," has two rows of codes. The top row on the left has a black box with a T1 - 47 to its immediate right. This code means that at the very bottom of the graph is a strata that is marked in solid black, and that it is a traditional-self question (T₁). The 47 means that it is the question, "Honor is important to me."

The z-axis is laid out in exactly the same manner as in the global graph. The y-axis also measures the total percent tally, but in a cumulative manner for all twelve questions in a component. Notice that the y-axis for both of the traditional graphs totals to 400 cumulative percent points. This is important because it demonstrates that the most "approve" answers occur with the traditional questions. In other words, the 2,562 respondents tended to answer more positive to the traditional component than to the other three fundamental value cluster components. The other y-axes are delimited at 320, except for one at 350.

It is remarkable that the data patterns for the four fundamental value cluster components are shaped similarly. This shape correspondence is a sort of "visual t-test." A quick scan of the compressed graphs suggests that no significant difference exists between the two group's answers (Texans & nonTexans).

RESEARCH ENDNOTES

The term, nonTexan, is not precise. One of the fifteen universities in this "international" sample is a small Catholic college in Texas, Incarnate Word College of San Antonio.

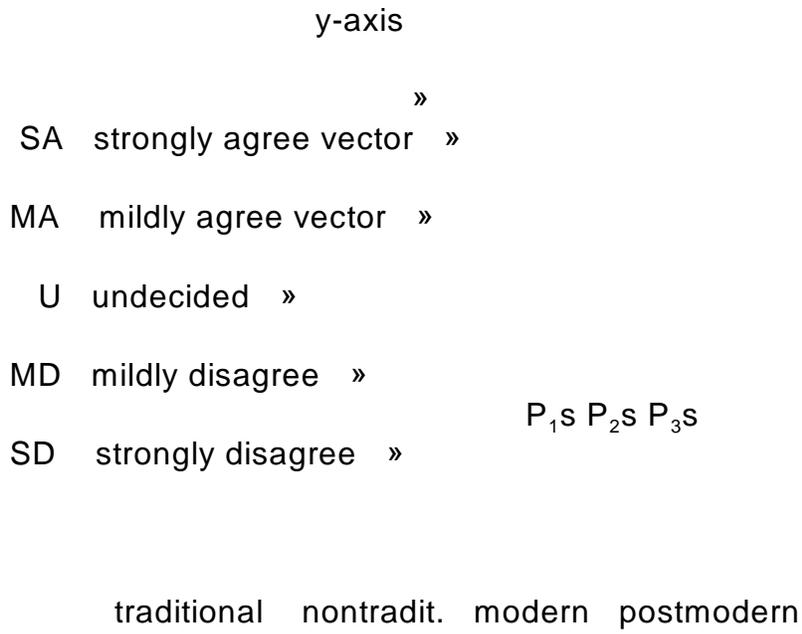
^β 140 * 1589 = 222,460 -- the 1991 instrument 3 * 5

* 1589 = 23,835 -- 105 * 973 = 102,165 -- the 1992 instrument a total of 348,460 data points
Three questions in the 1991 instrument ask for five answers each.

Thousands of crosstabulations cells have been generated. The results of these are beyond the scope of this methodological paper, however the results are available.

At this time, t-test (or the nonparametric equivalent for this ordinal data) have not been run. Even if the t-tests showed no significant difference, one must be very careful in placing too much faith in such results. The 1991 sample was homogeneous, whereas the 1992 sample was heterogeneous based on permanent residence of the respondent.

Figure 2.
Overhead Diagram for All Four of the Global Graphs



BARRIER COURSES: RECOGNITION, EFFECTS, AND SOLUTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

A barrier course in a curriculum of study can be defined as a required course which represents a significantly greater obstruction to graduation than the other courses in the curriculum. The obstruction presents itself as significantly fewer A's, B's, and C's than other courses. The cause of a particular course becoming a barrier to students may be one or several of the following:

1. Poor prerequisite preparation
2. Poor presentation of the material
3. Excessively difficult tests
4. Excessive material covered in the course.
5. Poor textbook
6. Excessively high grading standards

It is unreasonable to expect all of the courses in a curriculum to be of similar difficulty, and an important consideration is an acceptable range of variability. If course difficulty varies little, students have a narrow range of effort required for various courses. As a result, they know approximately what level of effort is required for a particular grade. If course difficulty varies greatly, a large range of effort is required. For large variations in course difficulty, students are more likely to mismanage the effort required for a satisfactory grade in the difficult courses.

RECOGNITION

Percentages Method:

A reasonable evaluation method for a barrier course is to evaluate the percentage of grades that are A's, B's or C's. An excessive number of D's, F's, I's (incomplete), WP's (withdrawal passing), WF's (withdrawal failing), and X's (stopped attending) tend to create a barrier. The numerical average for each course in the curriculum can be calculated by assigning numbers to the students' final letter grades such as A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1, with all other grades equal to zero. A course becomes a barrier when the percentage of A's, B's, and C's are significantly less than other courses in the curriculum, and there may be several barrier courses. Barrier courses can be viewed as statistical outliers and obvious examples may be discovered visually by plotting the average grades for all of the courses against the course sequence in a curriculum. If a course is far from the mean on the low side it is probably creating a barrier. Statistical methods can also be used for more precise identification and a more convincing argument that a barrier course exists.

One problem of using percentages for statistical

analysis is that percentages are binomially distributed rather than normally distributed. As an example, it would be unusual for a low percentage of students to pass a course, but not unusual for a high percentage of students to pass a course. The maximum deviation from the normal distribution occurs at the tails of the distribution where the test for a barrier course must be made. Fortunately, the following transformation can be used to convert percentages to a near normal distribution (Zar, 1984).

$$P' = \text{ARCSIN}(\text{SQRT}(P))$$

Where: P is percentage

P' is the transformed percentage

ARCSIN is the inverse trigonometric function

SQRT is the square root function

The units of the transformation are degrees or radians. However, means, variances, confidence intervals, and other statistical techniques can be applied accurately.

The means of the course grades can be weighted by the number of students in each course. However, the barrier phenomenon should not be imposed on even a few students. Thus, in fairness, the means should not be weighted.

The following technique identifies courses with excessively low grades. If a curriculum contains N courses, one barrier course represents $1/N * 100\%$ percent of the curriculum. Courses with grade averages that fall below $(1/N * 100)$ percent of the distribution have excessively low grades and represent a barrier course. An example is a bachelor's degree program which requires 50 courses. One barrier course would represent $1/50$ or 2% of the curriculum. For the normal distribution, a single tail of 2% occurs at a z value of -2.06 or 2.06 standard deviations below the mean (Bartz, 1976). A normal distribution would be expected to contain one course at approximately $z = -2.06$. However, course averages of below -2.06 standard deviations from the mean are unexpected and should be considered barrier courses.

Means Method:

Unfortunately, the number of students that have received the grades of WP (withdrawn passing), WF (withdrawn failing), and X (stopped attending) may be difficult to determine in many grade accounting systems. However, the class mean grade is generally closely correlated with the percentage of successful grades of A's, B's, and C's even if I's, WP's, WF's, and X's are not

counted. Fortunately, the class mean grade is quite often calculated as a part of the usual grade accounting process. Consequently, a method of identifying barrier courses based on the class mean grade is reasonable and more convenient.

Class mean grades are normally distributed and can be analyzed directly without the above transformation. The same procedure to identify an expected minimum z value based on the number of courses in the curriculum is used. For a 50 course curriculum a course with a class mean below a z of -2.06 is unexpected and should be considered a barrier course.

EFFECTS

In some cases, a barrier course is desirable to "humanely" eliminate poor students early in the curriculum. These "gatekeeper" courses are intentional and can serve a useful purpose. However, unintentional barriers for students later in the curriculum are inappropriate and should be modified to reduce the unfair impact on students and on program enrollments. Faculty who teach barrier courses may believe that they are setting high standards for the program. However, students often put off barrier courses as long as possible even when the knowledge gained in them would be

beneficial for other courses. Even for students that eventually pass them, barrier courses may reduce the overall learning in the curriculum.

SOLUTIONS

An important attribute of using a statistical test to identify a barrier course is its impartiality. Barrier courses may be barrier professors or barrier textbooks. Reducing the effects of a barrier course may require asking the instructor to change some of the course content or grading system. Such requests may be perceived as an assault on academic freedom. If the course cannot be changed, the course may be dropped from the curriculum or another course substituted. Other solutions are to split the course into two courses or add another instructor and team-teach the course.

Conclusion

Identification of a barrier course will certainly be easier than changing it. However, if the above method is explained to the instructor, and if needed to the supervisor, more willingness to change may occur. If a curriculum with fewer barriers can be presented to students, more of them may take courses in the appropriate sequence and may take more learning with them to graduation.

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VIRTUALITY AND THE POLITICS OF LEADERSHIP

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Introduction

With the introduction of computer-generated "virtual reality," a wholly new mode of simulated practice has been launched which has potentially revolutionary implications for all types of educational programs. Computer technology allows for the individual to don a science fiction-like helmet and enter a video-game world of 3-D objects and figures. Interactions are triggered by movements of the head, eyes, hands and arms, etc. The effect is one of moving through a surrealistic space, transacting business within it, and feeling both a part of and detached from conventional reality. Virtual reality is exactly that: Almost true-to-life contextualized space in which computer-induced simulated actions take place.

Guattari (1995) talks of "virtual ecology" which will both preserve endangered species, but lead to conditions whereby we may create and develop unprecedented forms of subjectivity. A kind of "ecosophy" will result; a science of ecosystems, politically regenerative, and leading to a new taste for life built upon ethical, aesthetic and analytic engagement.

The new virtuality is a human composition, a culture of computer-generated shapes and colors --- which is at once safe and challenging. Here it is possible to act out decisions without the costs attached to real world interaction. A kind of Hollywood experience may be had in which we escape the confines of our humdrum everyday existence, exchanging it for the excitement of remote places and roles.

The techno-world of virtual reality awaits us; yet it sets certain conceptual and practical problems for the leadership professional. In the pages to follow, I shall examine some of these: First, what does 'virtual reality' mean? A clearer notion of this concept may help us understand its potential for leadership. Next, the popular expressions of virtual space, the contextualization via concept, rest heavily upon the manner in which it is signified and inscribed. Narratives regarding virtuality surface at the heart of virtuality a contested territory of 'the self.' How does the human subject operate within the virtual reality? Finally, what is the political impact of virtual reality on leadership preparation.

Virtual Worlds and Virtual Leaders

From the onset, we should be clear as to what

'virtual reality' means or fails to mean. First, something that is 'virtually' real is a not-quite-real, approximation or modest copy. We mean by virtual reality not just a simulation, or a mimicking of reality; we mean that it stands for reality, nearly matches it, or in some way approximates the real. Virtually real is so real that we can take it for reality: we may trust it to be as nearly real as can be.

Next, we find in virtual reality the assumption that there are other possible realities: There are the real and the approximate versions of that reality that are nearly as real. To so entertain virtuality as a real is to accept the notion that reals are multiple and competing; that reality is shared amongst a number of candidates.

Third, 'virtual reality' seems to hold a notion of acceptability or accessibility. The reality is not real, but so much a copy that it is treated "as if" it were the real. For all intents and purposes, we may conduct our affairs within it such that we make no serious errors in decision-making or conduct. Virtual reality in this meaning is a theater-like setting.

Virtuality is also connected to belief. We are in a virtual world, so convinced of its authenticity, we may at times believe it is the real world. The world of virtuality is one of mechanical icons and artistically rendered landscapes. Wooley (1995) tells us; "'Virtual' . . . is a mode of simulated existence resulting from computation (69)." Computers are virtual machines, abstract entities or processes that have found expression, or realization, in physical circumstances. Virtual reality is a simulacrum, Baudrillard (1994) would tell us, but not necessarily of anything actually real.

In the last analysis virtual reality is an artist's rendering of the real. This is an important point. Virtual reality is sketch or computer programmer's template, not a mirror image or analog of a single reality. Built into virtuality is the notion that reality itself is not uniformly known. Virtuality opens us up to the possibility of multiple created worlds, one of which happens to be the virtual one at hand. Wooley (1995) goes further. He writes: "For virtual realists and postmodernists...there is no reality...there is no longer any world independent of our experience of it. We can make it up as we go along (254)." Virtual worlds are constructed environments which move and relate to our every significant gesture.

The potential application of virtuality technology to a wide range of human activities is clear. We have had flight simulators which so mimic actual combat that

pilots in training experience the same stresses and emotions to combat pilots. Virtual reality computer games abound in which youngsters do battle with Goliaths and Megamen. Surgery is taught in hospitals using virtual tools. For educators, in the near future it will be possible to create a virtual school landscape and place leaders-to-be in this environment to experience life-like leadership challenges.

Teaching Leadership Through Virtual Reality

What are the consequences to be anticipated when this new technology is applied to leadership training? First, we may bid goodbye to games, simulations, case studies, and other such tools for teaching leadership. These devices lack the multimedia impact of virtual reality; they fail to engage the senses, enhance credulity, or touch the core emotions of learners.

Virtual reality leadership learning places the learner --- as a virtual leader --- in the thick of it. The learner becomes an insider, privy to all that is going on in the environment. This objectifies the realm of the life world entered, while preserving the subjectivization of the individual that allows for full engagement with the obstacles encountered.

Virtual reality in leadership training is "made up" or constructed reality for the purpose of teaching something: In the present case, virtual reality would be used to teach leadership in the "best of all possible worlds." This is to say that there is an ethical-aesthetic interest that must be served: We are forced to consider the good and the beautiful as we activate leadership. For school leaders this may be easier: Schools are essentially normative rehearsals of future social arrangements, with children being inducted into them in formal ways. But professional leadership preparers ought to be aware of the artful and moral dimensions of leadership virtuality and the contexts wherein these manifest themselves for leadership learning.

The Self

With the artist's version of reality come two contrasting views of the place of individual human beings in the virtual landscape. Two competing views of the self vie for our attention in depicting virtual reality systems, one modernist and the other postmodernist. How the human individual is conceived relative to the artificial world of virtuality impacts the ways in which this technology touches our sense of who we are.

Postmodernist Nicholas Negroponte (1995) lauds the new post-information age. He sees humans achieving a new individualism via the computer. Information is tailored to the singular needs of the self. The bits of computer data are so numerous, individuality is the

logical result. Mass man is replaced by singular persons inhabiting a world of vast information. On the other side of the argument for individualism is modernist critic of computers Clifford Stoll. In his book, *Silicon Snake Oil* (1995), Stoll laments the loss of personal experience. Individualism is threatened by the same vast sea of data Negroponte champions. Increasingly people are watching computer screens to learn about the stars, rather than going outside in the evening to view them personally. This tendency to short-circuit experience Stoll finds as the most threatening feature of the computer age.

For other modernists, such as Charles Taylor, the self is much like what the pragmatist William James charged it was: "...a system of memories, purposes, strivings, fulfillments or disappointments." Taylor (1989) speaks of the self in historic terms, and finds today's troubled individual the product of a misunderstanding of the rich philosophic traditions which informed our conception of self in the past. We must resurrect the ancient Greek notion of self, see what the history of western thought has done to that notion, and seek to reconstruct self to solve our social problems. Two moral ideas inform us as we face life's issues: the significance of ordinary life; and the ideal of universal benevolence. Through these ideas we seek to avoid suffering while securing dignity and justice. At the heart of this configuration is a notion of the free, self-determining subject. The problem for modern humankind is that the introduction of a free agent actively determining her/his future leads to a decline or erosion of all visions of a cosmic order. (I would argue following Taylor that chaos theory is a direct result of this emphasis upon a conception of self as autonomous and free.) While on the other hand, the idea of a free human subject provokes us to look inward. This inward search or desire for individuality is positive where it prizes disengaged rationality and creative imagination. It is precisely this notion of human free selves which yields democracy, equality and the breakdown of hierarchies. Hence, for Taylor a theory of the good as a moral ideal is required if we are to understand the self, its history and prospects.

Virtuality, from this modernist perspective, is a version of the real, a carbon copy of the rational universe we all inhabit. Moreover, no self is entirely a part of the real unless it is attached to moral purposes and goals, derived from human history. Objective individuality is preserved via scientific rationality.

The postmodernist view of the self is enlightening when juxtaposed to virtuality. Michel Foucault, the postmodernist, spoke of "L'écriture de soi," or "scripting the self." As early as 1983, Foucault had

written of the stoics such as Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and others, by meditating on one's experience, exploring certain ideas in writing, and then testing these ideas out in practice. The stoic could create a script to follow in life, thus transforming the truth into an ethos or form of life (Miller, 1993, 340). Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guatarri (1983) sought an even more grotesque suggestion: The self was elusive, all that was remaining was "a body without organs," a kind of "desiring machine." They wrote: "The full body without organs is the unproductive, the sterile, the unengendered, the unconsumable" and may be contrasted with the "organs of life" which are the "working machine" (p. 8). For Jean Baudrillard (1994), the self has become a mere "simulation." In fact, Kellner (1989) in a critique of Baudrillard, finds him simulating himself by constantly re-describing who he is in his writings. Derrida too has been concerned with the self as subject. Derrida sees writing inscribing itself, with the author as self moved from center stage. The 'self' is divested of meaning.

While the modernists scientized the self and elevated rationality over subjective interests, what the postmodernist theorists have in common is the attention being placed upon the subjectivity and the propulsion of self into positions (posturings) in situ. The re-invention of the subject is predicated upon a Nietzschean subjectivism that had been ignored by the French philosophic community until Deleuze brought it to the attention of French intellectuals. In short, the postmodernist celebrates the return of the self as subjectivity, rife with passion and yet alienated while the modernist situates the individual as rational subject thinking "reed" in a single techno-industrial real world. The self is either a scientist or an artist-poet, depending upon the philosophy employed.

Now we have the other side of the equation that must be examined: Is the new subjectivized self tethered to any reality at all? Wooley (1995,254) sets the question squarely: Are we industrious humans constructing through culture and commerce our reality --- artificial reality? "...or is natural reality still there, holding up the flats and drapes of human artifice?"

Political Pitfalls of Virtual Reality Leadership Training

The implicit belief in autonomous individuals acting as subjects upon their world, where that world is hyperreal, has vast allure for us in the field of leadership preparation. This is to say that virtual worlds become the arena wherein leaders-to-be may act out scenarios and learn by doing: it is a clean world where realistic opinions may be tested and the skills of leading learned in actual lifelike experience. But such technology carries

with it a techno-history that is circumscribed by political tentacles.

Virtual reality had its real birth in military work. The goal here was to prepare combat pilots, tank commanders, and others for actual battle conditions. The technology had attached to it the purpose of "the kill." Video games and computer games have carried this dimension into the mass market. Some have questioned the ethics of designing such games for children which enhance the shooting reflex and teach aggression, and the near total regard for human carnage the games celebrate. Virtuality applied to leadership preparation may seize upon the same emotion-driven aspects of gaming: The politics of aggression and oppression, reductionism and annihilation may abide in the computer programs regulating leadership life worlds. Moral/ethical goods are suspended as ideals in the face of political/ideological agendas.

We must be on the alert for the political dimensions of virtual reality leadership exercises. The repressive and submissive, controlling and enabling, etc. aspects of politics do not go away in virtual worlds, Stoll tells us (1995). In fact, given the world of video gaming, we see violence and coercion to be major factors in the reality they depict.

On the other side of the political is to be found the democratic and emancipatory. This is to say that computer-generated leadership virtuality may operate with an enhanced interest in freeing and expanding human options. Where virtuality allows for the "trying on" of differing roles and personae, the participant grows in an awareness of the fuller range of life choices available. Leaders-to-be may rehearse alternative styles and behaviors, factor in heretofore unheralded voices, and in other ways expand the fabric and direction of the organization. The political dimension of virtuality takes on a liberating character, the virtuality of the artist and the poet that is most creative and sustaining. It is this aestheticized reality that forms the locus for the dramatic rehearsal of leadership in education, for schooling is essentially a moral/ethical enterprise.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Virtuality is here to stay. As Hayles (1993) tells us: "...information circulates as the currency of the realm ..." (p. 69). But, what shall leadership preparation professionals do with it? The bright spots and the dim margins are emerging as virtual science and technology grow and envelope educational worlds.

As we have seen, virtuality opens us to key philosophical questions. What does virtuality tell us about our own "real world?" Virtual reality is a composed cyberworld, artificial but useful as it teaches

us how to interact with components too dangerous or threatening to deal with in the real world. By using virtuality in teaching leadership, we may engage in rehearsals of actual chaotic events, try out decisions where the consequences are not too serious or threatening.

We wonder what role the individual learner-self will play in the new world of virtual leadership. We ponder whether there are not alternative worlds or versions of this one with differing selves inhabiting them. We have seen two options present themselves: modernist and postmodernist. The dangers in these alternatives are clear. Modernist virtuality limits us by positioning the autonomous rational self within a Hollywood-film-like computer-generated play. What is required is an enhanced notion of self, one that builds upon creative life and enlarges human character via transactive artful choosing.

We are driven to face the matter of choice among

alternative worlds and beyond this - -- what is the best world? Choices at this level inevitably lead to matters of ethics. What is the best way of living and leading in the world? I would suggest we find the aesthetic, for it is the most artfully constructed version of reality, where we may do the most good and least harm, that seems to emerge. How we craft or compose such a virtual world relative to educational goals is decidedly the pragmatic issue we now face.

Human leadership is political, in the sense that it involves people in communities joined together for purposes which develop and reinforce the nature of that bond. Leading with an eye to a virtuality of mutual needs and interests, where decision and direction are shared, and where the goods of the group are maximized --- results in a "good version" of the real. The ethico-aesthetic interest should not be overlooked as we embrace this new virtual reality technology in preparing future leaders for the schools.

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HAROLD HILL COMES TO ROSEBUD: AMERICAN INDIAN RESERVATIONS AS RIVER CITY

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In the three-hundred plus years that European-Americans have been convinced that their culture should be imposed upon Native Americans and that education designed and conducted by white men was the way to accomplish this most humanely, none was more convinced of the propriety of such a course than Richard Henry Pratt. Pratt, founder of the first, and model for later, government Indian boarding schools, faced the same major problem as such like-minded predecessors as the seventeenth century Puritan John Eliot and such later exemplars of this view as the mid-twentieth century Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dillon S. Meyer. Eliot moved "Christian Indians" into special villages with European style schools to get them away from their more traditional brethren. Meyer was in charge of the World War II internment camps for Japanese-Americans prior to his overseeing the dispersal of American Indian people to major cities for vocational training in the 1950s.

The problem was/is how to get American Indian people to abandon their traditional ways of education and submit themselves and their children to educational programs designed to eliminate their cultures and languages. Pratt's first students were prisoners of war who had little choice but to submit to the educational program he, as their U.S. Army guard and jailer, imposed. Lean Bear resisted by committing suicide, and Graybeard was shot trying to run away; several died of wounds or illness, but the others of Pratt's first students during their captivity, 1875 through 1878, were tutored by "benevolent ladies" such as Sarah Mather and Harriet Beecher Stowe.¹ Some continued their studies at Hampton Institute, and a few even studied for the Christian ministry under the tutelage of clerics in New York.

But Pratt's vision was to work with children, not grown men, since older students often reverted to their traditional lifestyles when allowed to return to their people. Getting the cooperation of American Indians in turning over their young children to be taken many miles away, for years at a time, became an over-riding concern of Pratt's once he received the necessary permission and government support to bring fifty American Indian students to Hampton and to open Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania for an even greater number of what were called "blanket Indian" children. Once the "Outing

System," in which students were placed for the summer with white families or in industrial jobs away from their reservations, was in place, children could be kept away from home for most of their childhood and adolescence.

Believing his cause was just, (in a letter to President Hayes he stated, "Knowing as I do that I am supremely right,")² he developed an assortment of arguments and examples to place before tribal leaders in attempts to get them to hand over their children to him and his agents. Some of his tactics were reminiscent of those of Professor Harold Hill in Meredith Willson's musical *The Music Man*. Or, perhaps, Hill learned from Pratt, since the play set in 1912, opened in 1957,³ and Pratt began recruiting for his school in the 1870's and 80s.

When he approached the War Department with his plans to remove 250 to 300 American Indian children from their homes to an appropriate boarding school,⁴ it was decided that he should concentrate on the removal of Sioux children even though Pratt preferred to begin with the Southern Plains people who had made up the majority of his prisoners of war students.⁵ As Hultgren and Molin describe it, "the Sioux were selected, on the principle of taking the most pains with those who give the most trouble."⁶ Since the defeat of the Southern Plains tribes, the American Indian people viewed as giving the American government the most trouble were the Sioux. The Battle of Little Big Horn was only three years in the past, and Sitting Bull, and other less well known Lakota leaders, were still free and defying American government and European-American settlers' plans to dispossess them of their traditional lands. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs settled this matter by saying, "...the children would be hostages for the good behavior of the parents."⁷

For both Harold Hill and the European-Americans holding power over Pratt's plans, gold was involved. Hill supported himself by absconding with money paid for non-delivered goods and services. The recently discovered gold in the Black Hills had helped focus settlers' and government attention on the Lakota rather than on some of the other American Indian people still free of American government control--the Nez Pierce and the Apache for example.

When Pratt received governmental permission to proceed with his plans, just as Harold Hill enlisted the aid of Marcellus Washburn, a former confederate or "shill" as he called himself,⁸ so did Pratt telegraph Miss

Mather, the headmistress of a private girl's school in Florida who had been the most important of the volunteer teachers of his prisoners of war. Together they visited the Dakota Territory agencies of Rosebud, the agency for the Brule' Lakota, and Pine Ridge, the agency for the Oglala Lakota, (or *Sioux*, as European Americans called them.) While Harold Hill had to sell his plan for a boys' band to River City mayor Shinn and Marian the librarian, Pratt had the more formidable task of persuading Lakota leaders Spotted Tail and Red Cloud that their children should be taken away to be educated in the white man's ways. Harold Hill was offering to bring morality and high culture to the children of River City while still leaving them in their homes. Pratt had to convince the Lakota and other American Indian people that morality and high culture could be acquired only by leaving home.

By the time Pratt and Mather arrived at Rosebud in September 1879, the government Indian agent there had already informed the Lakota of the plans for the Indian school and a number of their leaders had met and decided that they would not send their children.

Violations of the recent treaty by gold prospectors, settlers, and the government had not disposed the Lakota to trust white men's words. Spotted Tail spoke for the Brule'.

The white people are all thieves and liars, and we refuse to send our children, because we do not want them to learn such things. The government deceived us in the Black Hills Treaty. The government knew that gold was there and it took the land from us without giving us its value, and so the white people get rich and the Indians are cheated and become poor. The government let us keep this plains country and it agreed that the lines should be away out, and we should have a large district. Your men are out there now running the lines and they run a long way inside of where we agreed they should be. Some of our people who lived outside of these lines have been compelled to move inside. The government has always cheated us and we do not want our children to learn to do that way.⁹

In effect Spotted Tail's reply was similar to that of Marian the librarian when she told Harold Hill,

I'm not as easily mesmerized as some people in this town...I am not impressed by your credentials, which I have not seen, nor your manners which I have...I am happy to continue in my way of life as before without personal knowledge of it or you.¹⁰

Pratt saw that he had to convince the Lakota that they had a problem analogous to that of the people of River City, except it did not start with a "capital T which rhymes with P and stood for Pool."¹¹ Pratt's response to

Spotted Tail was that white men were not cheating the Lakota. The problem, as Pratt described it, was that they could not read English and thus did not understand what they signed. He further stated that he would be able to help Spotted Tail in Washington if he could write to him without the need for an interpreter to read, write, and interpret Pratt's letters to Spotted Tail.¹² He then asserted that the next generation of Lakota would only be able to function in the world of the future if they were not only taken away to a white man's school, but also lived in white men's homes, and worked on white men's farms and in white men's businesses.¹³

Turning to the assembled Lakota leaders, Pratt praised several of them by name for their intelligence and wisdom, promising that their children, educated in white men's schools, would come back home even more useful to the Lakota people than their parents were. One is reminded of Harold Hill's promise to the mayor of River City that his son's "inherited" little finger spread combined with Hill's musical instruction would produce a B flat flugel horn player "who could flugel the *Minute Waltz* in fifty seconds,"¹⁴ or his insistence to Marian the librarian's mother that her son Winthrop's ganglion met his ligature at the apex and therefore he had inherited the "facial characteristics of a cornet virtuoso" and only needed training in Hill's "Think System" of music education to exceed his dead Irish father's musical virtuosity.¹⁵

At this point, however, the tactics of Professor Hill and Captain Pratt diverge. People begin to buy Hill's band instruments and uniforms, not realizing that he could not read a note of music nor teach anyone to play any instrument. The Brule' Lakota still resisted so Pratt threatened to take his offer to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche and Apache. He said that they were his first choice anyway and that it was the Secretary of the Interior who chose the Lakota to receive the first opportunity. He said he would visit for a brief time with the local agent and then leave for Indian Territory to choose children from these other Indian nations. Later that day Spotted Tail reported that Brule' children, including five of his sons, would go to Carlisle.¹⁶

Pratt immediately went to the Pine Ridge Agency and met with Red Cloud, American Horse and other Pine Ridge Lakota leaders. Here he reported that he Brule' Lakota were sending their children to the government school. However, only sixteen Pine Ridge children were recruited. It was necessary for Pratt to take additional children from the Rosebud Agency to make up for the shortfall at Pine Ridge. In explaining this low level of success, he blamed "an outside influence."¹⁷ Although he did not say so, this influence was that of local white

missionaries who opposed the plan.¹⁸

In general, missionaries, anthropologists, and ethnologists tended to oppose off-reservation government boarding schools throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, their challenges to such schools were largely ineffective because as a result of military defeats of American Indian nations, most American Indian People were viewed for a time as prisoners of war, followed by a period as wards of the federal government, and not until 1924 were they granted American citizenship. Thus, control of American Indian people passed from the army to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

As the time for departure from Dakota came, Pratt observed a phenomenon common to many American Indian nations and frequently celebrated, then and now. Pratt's statement many years later referring to this event, "...the like of which I never saw but the once among the Indians,"¹⁹ shows he really knew little about the American Indian culture he wished to destroy. Called by different names by various groups, today what he observed is most often referred to as a "give away" or a "potlatch." Honor and respect are earned in Lakota (and many other Native American traditions) not by acquiring material goods, but by giving them away. Although Pratt devoted considerable space in his report to explaining in detail what happened at the agency just prior to the departure of the children, he did not praise the participants in the "give away" for their charity. Perhaps he realized that these customs might interfere with his interest in promoting capitalistic habits of thrift and saving which he hoped would be instilled in Carlisle students through the industrial training program and the "outings" where students would be allowed to earn a little money if they would save it.

More than two thousand people had gathered at the Rosebud Agency, and the parents of children leaving gave away in Pratt's words, "scores of horses and ponies, many bolts of calico and muslin, large quantities of groceries."²⁰ It appeared to him that the rich were giving to the poor. At one point a man stepped forward with six sticks representing six fine horses and called for old men or old women to come forward and take them. As he was preparing to give away the sixth horse, the finest of all, Miss Mather decided she would take one. Why she might be entitled and how she would get it to Pennsylvania if she were truly poor, did not seem to concern her or Pratt. However, perhaps the giver realized what was about to happen as instead of calling for an old man or woman to come for the sixth stick, he pronounce that whoever could catch it should have it. Miss Mather did not hike up her skirts and compete for

it.²¹

While Pratt was occupied in Dakota, he had dispatched two of his former prisoners of war who had become Christian ministers, a Kiowa, Etahdleuh, and a Cheyenne, David Pendleton Oakerhater, to their home reservations to gather children to augment the Lakota he was gathering. Thus on November 1, 1879, Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened with 147 students from seven tribes, a number which was to grow to a total of approximately 8300 students by the time of the school's closing in 1918.²²

A combination of various forms of pressure, half-truths, and military force was used during the ensuing years to bring children from dozens of Native American tribes to Carlisle and thousands more to its later clones. Withholding of treaty guaranteed annuities resulting in near starvation for entire families, release from captivity in prisoner of war camps, promises of employment, health care, and eventually even athletic stardom on the Carlisle Indian Football team and Olympic glory such as was won by Jim Thorpe were among the tactics used.

Was there a happy ending similar to that in *The Music Man* where the people were satisfied seeing their sons somehow miraculously able to play the *Minuet in G* even though Harold Hill was unmasked as a fraud who could not play or teach music? Were American Indian people better off for having many of their children subjected to the government boarding school experience? An adequate answer to this question would be long, controversial, and beyond the scope of this paper. Perhaps the best brief answer is that some good, but more that was not good, resulted from the boarding school experience. Michael Coleman concluded from his study of the school experiences of American Indian children that the responses of the individuals involved were highly ambivalent.²³

All sorts of problems in modern Indian communities have been blamed on the separation of an entire generation of children and young people from their communities and families. Lack of parenting skills, for example, is sometimes cited as a result of the boarding school experience. Adolescents saw no interaction between parents and other adults and infants and young children in the rigid, militaristic, institutional life of the boarding school dormitories. The typical Native American style of child-raising was complex with many adults, not just the biological parents, having specific nurturing roles.²⁴ The boarding school children saw neither these traditional expressions of care and affection nor the usual interaction within European-American families. The teachers and matrons worked in a system more typical of a penal institution or large orphanage than a family.

Judgments of the effect of the boarding school experience should be made by the native people themselves, and among them there are mixed feelings. George P. Horse Capture, an A'ani Gros Ventre from Montana says in his foreword to Witmer's history of Carlisle, many American Indian people know well the stories of their parents' and grandparents' unhappy experiences such as the unnecessary punishments for speaking their languages, even to their siblings from whom they were purposely separated in the dormitories and the degrading, embarrassing (to them), clothing and hairstyles they were forced to wear. Whipping for both genders must have been especially frightening to students from tribes whose discipline techniques were shaming and ignoring of children who misbehaved. The cutting of boys' hair was done only as a sign of mourning in many tribes. European-American women rarely wore short hair at this time so girls did not have their cut short when they arrived at school. However, cropped hair was a common punishment for girls who tried to run away and return home.²⁵ It was thought that the shame would be so great that they would not want their families to see them and that other children in the school would see their disgrace. Historian Edward Dale's account of his foster daughter Pearl's loneliness, the use of barred gates across dormitory stairs, and the "lockup," a bare, narrow punishment room similar to that in prisons, is interesting coming from a member of the Meriam Commission which later visited government schools and exposed some of the abuses.²⁶

A number of publications, often sponsored by the boarding schools or the Bureau of Indian Affairs and claimed to be written by boarding school students and graduates, were full of praise for the schools and the new lifestyles their students learned. However, there are instances where later these same people gave interviews or behaved in ways indicating that these accounts were less than honest. An interesting example of a book of this type reported the struggle of a Pueblo girl returning home from Carlisle to live in the way she was taught at school. She sees her culture as wicked and dirty and tries to get her family, whose ways make her ashamed of them, to change.²⁷ Daryl Morrison analyzes Stiya's situation as an "indictment against the Indian schools that did not teach their pupils to accept the best of both worlds."²⁸

Yet today graduates of these schools and their children and grandchildren can celebrate a child's graduation from a white man's college with a "giveaway".²⁹ Some Carlisle graduates later taught in other government boarding schools. The Lakota now control and support their own schools and colleges where students study a curriculum where the methods

and materials used are a blend of the Native American with the European-American. It is certain, however, the Dakota Lakota did not as a result of Pratt's efforts, live "happily ever after," as did Harold Hill, Marian the librarian, and the Boys Band of River City.

ENDNOTES

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3. David Ewen, *The Story of America's Musical Theater* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1968), p. 19.
4. Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, p. 14.
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6. Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and to Serve American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923* (Virginia Beach: The Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, 1989), p. 17.
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9. Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, p. 16.
10. Willson, p. 55.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
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RECONCILING THE PRAGMATISM OF W.E.B. DUBOIS AND CORNEL WEST

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In order to understand the differences between the pragmatism of W.E.B. DuBois and Cornel West it is first necessary to locate them as individuals within the historical context of the African-American struggle for freedom. Additionally, it is particularly important to understand the dynamic tensions within this tradition of struggle beginning initially during the period of slavery and continuing right up to today.

EARLY LEADERSHIP DEMONSTRATED

It is safe to say that DuBois (1868-1963) was the leading African American intellectual of his day, and that West (1953-) is among the leading African American intellectuals today. Both of these men were Harvard educated, DuBois having received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1895, and West his B.A. degree from Harvard in 1973. There are many other similarities between DuBois and West especially insofar as demonstration of early leadership abilities is concerned. DuBois was co-editor of his high school newspaper in Great Barrington, Massachusetts and also was named local correspondent for the African American weekly newspaper, *The Globe*, during his high school years. Additionally, during this period of his life, according to Marable, DuBois organized a literary and social improvement club, the Sons of Freedom, which was dedicated to the advancement of the colored race. The Sons of Freedom held debates, scheduled lectures, and studied the history of the United States (Marable, 1986, p.6).

Cornel West also demonstrated early leadership abilities. In a forward to one of his books, his parents write, "There is one trophy among many that grace the bookshelves in our family room. This one was presented to an eleven year old seventh grader in 1964 for being the most inspirational member of the football team at Will C. Wood Jr. High School in Sacramento." "... At the tender age of sixteen he had been accepted at Harvard after having served as student body president of both his junior high school... and his senior high school (class)... first chair Violinist in the school orchestra ... outspoken president of the Black Student Union, first place winner in the two mile track event of the All-City meet, second base(man) in the Baseball State Championship Game, (and) officer in the California Scholarship Federations ... All these (things) were accomplished while simultaneously Serving as an active

member of Shiloh Baptist Church and (in the) Sacramento chapter of Jack & Jill (clubs) of America (West, 1993, v.I, vii-viii).

Both DuBois and West were educated in Integrated public school environments and both excelled in those environments. Later they would become outspoken critics of the limitations of those environments and of the racism that had shaped and influenced both them and the environments they grew up in. They also would become harsh critics of an America they viewed as having, in West's terms, a "great but flawed" democracy that continued and continues to oppress blacks and other people of color, as well as women and poor people. Both DuBois and West can be situated within a long tradition of struggle for freedom in America by African Americans. Additionally, they can both be situated within a larger struggle against oppression around the world. Insofar as their philosophies are concerned, for most of his later years, starting in the 1930s, DuBois considered himself to be a Marxist, organizing one of the first university courses on Marxism to be taught to African Americans at Atlanta University. West, on the other hand, sees himself as a democratic socialist and a prophetic pragmatist influenced strongly by the Christian tradition. They both represent what I would call a split within the left wing reformist-to-radical tradition of intellectual struggle within the black community.

ORIGINS OF TENSIONS WITHIN THE BLACK STRUGGLE

To understand the origins of this struggle and the tensions within it, it is necessary to understand the legacy of slavery. Slave rebellions occurred long before the first enslaved Africans arrived on the North American shores of Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. To protest their capture many slaves jumped overboard and committed suicide during the middle passage and many others threw their children overboard rather than allow them to remain Captives and to grow up as slaves. Blassingame says that, "Often they committed suicide (especially while still on the African coast) by drowning or refusing food or medicine, rather than accept enslavement ... Many of the Africans resisted enslavement at every step in their forced emigration. Conscious of the wrongs they suffered, they began trying to escape on the long march to the coast."

(Blassingame, 1972, p. 7)

Once they reached North America, the institution of slavery created a new form of division among them based on the work they were required to perform as well as the context in which they were required to perform it. Those that worked in the house came to be known as "house slaves" or servants, and those that worked in the field came to be known as "field slaves" or field hands. What is important is that these divisions, which were initially work related, eventually became psychological and were subsequently exploited for political reasons.

The psychological conditions eventually created constructs which over many generations became ingrained in the collective psyche of the black Community and, for the most part, still remain there today. They have functioned in a dialectical way to inhibit black progress by sabotaging unity and fostering with it the spread of distrust.

During slavery the conservative elements within the community (which came to be identified with the house slaves) embraced concepts (especially in their behavior) such as accommodation, adjustment and obedience along with a "don't-rock-the-boat" attitude. On the other hand the more radical elements (which came to be identified with the field slaves) embraced concepts such as rebellion, revolt and sullenness. It was considered extremely radical, for example, to attempt to identify with your African heritage, and those that did were harshly punished. This split occurred because whites tended to favor house slaves and use them as models of piety (Blassingame, 1972, p. 161). An additional factor that figured into this equation was skin color. Because miscegenation was so wide-spread, it has been argued, slave masters and plantation owners must have had, on some deep psychological level an affinity toward light-skinned slaves (Franklin, 1988, pp. 128-129). Eventually, the slaves themselves took on this inferiority-superiority complex and came to use skin-color (white) as a reference point for judging the worth of each other. Blassingame goes on to say that "As a result, some blacks wished passionately that they were white." (p. 199) James Watkins was a case in point. As a result of continued harsh treatment during slavery he said, "I felt as though I had been unfortunate in being born black, and wished that I could by any means change my skin to a white one, feeling certain that I should then be free." (Cited in Blassingame, 1972, p. 199)

As a result of this history, definitions of conservative and radical within the black community began to take on a somewhat different meaning than they had in the white community. To be a conservative in the black community was to embrace whiteness and white values

at the expense black culture and the black self. To be radical was to attempt to claim or reclaim one's historical/cultural identity and sense of self. This was especially true during slavery, and, although, over time, the definitions of conservative and radical began to shift, particularly after emancipation in 1863, there is still a strong undercurrent of the original definitions. Thus, for example, to be called an "uncle tom" in the black community is still a very pejorative epithet.

Both DuBois and West would be considered "field slaves," or in Robert Bly's terms "wild men" attempting to tame a savage world. Both are "race men" and neither would embrace the conservative views of Clarence Thomas or Anita Hill (with the possible exception of her views on feminism). They are highly critical of Capitalism and what it has done to blacks, women, people of color, and poor people in general; and, both would be considered Jamesian organic intellectual pragmatists. Cornel West, however, has been much more highly influenced by Antonio Gramsci than William James, though he also shows evidence of having been influenced by Emerson, Dewey, Mills, Marx as well as the later DuBois. DuBois, on the other hand, was primarily influenced by William James and later Karl Marx, although James himself was influenced by Emerson and Peirce, and to a great extent by his father's attachment to the metaphysical mystic Emanuel Swedenborg.

THE IMPORTANCE OF WILLIAM JAMES

An understanding of William James, however, is central for understanding both these men. DuBois studied under James as an undergraduate at Harvard and says that James was both his teacher and mentor. In his autobiography *Dusk of Dawn* he says, ". . . I became a devoted follower of James at the time he was developing his pragmatic philosophy. . . My salvation was the type of teacher I met (at Harvard) rather than the content of the courses. William James guided me out of the sterilities of scholastic philosophy to realist pragmatism (DuBois, 1968, p. 133).

West, on the other hand, is more circumspect about James' influence upon him, however, his prophetic pragmatism does seem to be heavily influenced by James as well as the Christian old testament propheticism.

James' focus, for example, on heroic energies and moral heroism seems to be the motive forces of both men -- the glue that, simultaneously holds together the essence of their beings and, motivates them to action. West may even have gotten his notion of prophetic pragmatism from James. In an essay entitled, "The Will To Believe," published in 1896, and given earlier as an

address to the Philosophical Clubs of Yale and Brown Universities, James says:

If religion be true and the evidence for it be still insufficient, I do not wish, by putting your extinguisher upon my nature (which feels to me as if it had after all some business in this matter), to forfeit my sole chance in life of getting on the winning side --- that chance depending, of course, on my willingness to run the risk of *acting* as if my passionate need of taking the world religiously might be *prophetic* and right (italics mine) (James, 1992, p. 476).

Still later in this same essay James says:

All this is on the Supposition that it really may be *prophetic* and right, and that, even to us who are discussing the matter, religion is a live hypothesis which may be true. Now to most of us religion comes in a still farther way that makes a veto on our active faith even more illogical. The more perfect and more eternal aspect of the universe is represented in our religions as having personal form. The universe is no longer a mere *It* to us, but a *Thou* if we are religious; and any relation that may be possible from person to person might be possible here. For instance, although in one sense we are passive portions of the universe, in another we show a curious autonomy, as if we were small active centres on our own account. We feel, too, as if the appeal of religion to us were made to our own active good-will, as if evidence might be forever withheld from us unless we met the hypothesis half-way (James, 1992, p. 476).

This is James' clarion call to action: a call which both DuBois and West heard loud and clear. In fact in a footnote in *The Will To Believe* James says: "The whole defence of religious faith hinges upon action." (James, 1992, p. 477)

While it is clear that West would have no problem with this statement because of the 'prophetic' in his pragmatism, it is less clear how to reconcile DuBois' acceptance of it, particularly given his statement in 1940 in his second autobiography, *Dusk of Dawn*. He wrote: "I became critical of religion and resentful of its practice for two reasons: first the heresy trials, particularly the one which expelled Briggs from the Presbyterian Church; and especially the insistence of the local church at Fisk University that dancing was a "sin." I was astonished to find that anybody could possibly think this ... I searched my soul with the Pauline text: "If meat maketh my brother to offend," etc. I have never had much respect for Paul since," (DuBois, 1968, p. 33)

A key to the answer might be found in DuBois' earlier autobiographical work *Darkwater* (1920). Rampersad (1990) says that here we find the spiritual DuBois. The DuBois that embraces a Hegelian concept of the divine and an evolving optimism rooted in a benevolent World

Spirit. It is a DuBois that sees evil in the world and does not despair, because with Alexander Crummell he has conquered the threefold evils of despair, hate and doubt.

Also, we learn that DuBois as well sees himself in a prophetic role (another possible source of West's propheticism). Rampersad (1990) says that to read DuBois self-portrait as mere egotism is to misread the nature of his prophetic conviction. "Such an accounting ignores DuBois' deliberate attribution of the heroic elements in his life to powerful outside forces guiding him. Free will is subject in this narrative to a primal force no longer explicable by the orthodox religion of Congregationalism ... Out of the days of disillusion and discipline had eventually come a sense of himself as an instrument of an all-powerful force, and of his main task as one of prophecy ..." (Rampersad, 1990, p. 172)

THE INFLUENCE OF KARL MARX

The influence of Marx centers around Marx's monumental and insightful critique of Capitalism which both DuBois and West embrace. Marx had argued that Capitalism had emerged from feudalism which in turn had emerged from a crude form of communism defined by slavery. Man is determined (literally defined) by his mode of earning a living, according to Marx, and to the extent that we can understand the way man earns his living it is to that extent that we can understand who man is. Under capitalism, Marx says, man (humans) experiences commodification and through commodification ultimately alienation. Conditions of freedom must be created in society, according to Marx if humans are to achieve their maximum self-actualized potential of creativity.

Capital then becomes the real source of value in society, and society, in turn becomes market driven. Oppressed people, according to Marx, will continue to suffer under capitalism because the market driven values of society have created the prevalence of an *I-it* (Buber's term) relationship between all who exist within it. Only socialism, and eventually advanced communism can bring about an equalitarian society according to Marx, because at that stage of economic development wealth will be redistributed throughout society. The real disease of society, according to Marx, is a spiritual disease in which man has become alienated from himself and his environment. (Fromm, 1974)

In a particularly perceptive piece on West and his impact on the philosophical community, Jervis Anderson says of West's book *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought* that "West attempts a restorative reappraisal of the Marxist social critique, particularly in the light of the hard times it has been falling upon

around the world." His aim, "...is to defend the relevance of Marxist thought, including its ethical dimensions, after the Cold War." (The New Yorker, 1994, p.40) In the 1800s Marx had written in The Communist Manifesto that philosophers here-to-fore have only philosophized about the world. The point is to change it. DuBois and West, therefore, would see in Marx another clarion call to action. Marxism could not only be used as a sophisticated mechanism for analyzing bourgeois society, but also a guide to how and why it must be changed, as well as a blueprint for what it could be changed to.

In the final analysis, there are many points of convergence between DuBois and West. They share the same historical roots as well as many of the same intellectual influences. Driven by unseen heroic energies and moral forces, they came to view their roles as agents for change. DuBois became wedded to the creation of a communistic society and West to a democratic socialist society. On the other hand, their most significant point of divergence, I believe, is on the question of Africa and African culture. DuBois is seen as one of the people who clearly helped to lay the intellectual foundation for today's Afrocentric movement, while West is generally antagonistic to Afrocentrism. In a 1994 exchange with Molefi Asante, the scholar who is generally acknowledged to be the foremost proponent of Afrocentrism, West says that:

At a very deep level Asante and I have clashing intellectual temperaments ... for him, notions of a solid and centered identity are positive. I revel in fluidity, in Improvisation in the highly complicated and paradoxical. Asante and I agree in our critiques of white supremacy; we agree in speaking to issues of self-love and self-respect among people of African descent. We end there. He advocates a conception of self that is grounded in a unified field of African culture. But that way of framing the question is alien to me. I'm not for a solid anything. I begin with radical cultural hybridity, an Improvisational New World sensibility. I always think that we are in process making and remaking ourselves along the way ...

He then goes on to say:

I would point out to Asante that there is nothing wrong with affirming African humanity if we recognize that African civilizations like European Civilizations have an ambiguous legacy --- barbarism on the one hand and humanism on the other. I think this experiment called America does have a distinctiveness. There are some wonderful things about it ... (The New Yorker 1994 P. 46)

Near the end of his life DuBois became disenchanted with America. In 1961, at the age of ninety-three he

joined the communist party and then moved to Ghana in West Africa at the invitation of Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah. He died there two years later on August 27th at the age of ninety-five. His life indeed had been prophetic. It showed an increasing identification with Africa starting in 1896 with his doctoral dissertation at Harvard "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870," and then moving to his attendance at the first Pan-African Conference held in London in 1900. He was the organizer of the First Pan-African Congress in 1919 in Paris, as well as one of the organizers for the subsequent Congresses in 1921 and 1923 in London, Brussels and Paris; in 1927 in New York city; and in Manchester England in 1945. DuBois was not Afrocentric in the strict sense of the way that term is used today, and yet he was a prime mover in attempting to develop a respect for Africa and African culture among American blacks and all people of good will. Were he alive today there is little doubt in my mind that he would be a supporter if not a leader in the Afrocentric movement. His message to Cornel West, I believe, would be that "America has much to learn from Africa, just as Africa has much to learn from America."

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THE BELL CURVE, IQ, RACE, CLASS, AND PLACE: THE BOOK THAT SHOOK AMERICA

Franklin Parker and Betty J. Parker

Abstract

Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve*, 1994, ignited a fierce academic debate with its controversial themes on IQ and race; specifically: 1-that intelligence as measured by IQ tests has replaced family wealth and status in determining jobs, income, class, and place in American life; 2-that white IQs average 15 points higher than black IQs; 3-that high IQ ruling whites, with fewer children than the low IQ nonwhite majority, are increasingly restricting nonwhites in ghettos in fear of the latter's rising crime, drug use, and illegitimate births.

This article: 1-sets the book's controversial themes in the context of a brief history of IQ and testing; 2-cites, from over 150 reviews, both admirers' views and critics' charges of faulty research and bias against blacks, welfare, and affirmative action; 3-examines five critics' charges in depth; 4-gives author Murray's reply to these charges; 5-places the book's controversial issues in perspective as a clash over American values; 6-relates the book to 1980s-90s U.S. conservative socio-economic-political trends; and 6-concludes by relating IQ and race to America's ideal of equality of opportunity.

Controversial Book on IQ, Race, and Place in the U.S.

Rarely does an 845-page academic book (with 93 graphs, 49 tables, seven appendices, 108 pages of end notes, and a 57-page bibliography) stay on the New York Times bestseller list for 15 weeks. Seldom is such a book so widely and critically reviewed, including journal cover stories (Cose, Cowley) and entire journal issues. (*Black Scholar*, *National Review*; *New Republic*, *School Psychology Review*) This happened to Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles A. Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), because the book touched a raw nerve about race, class, jobs, income, and relations between rich and poor, black and white, and haves and have nots.

Why Critique *The Bell Curve* ?

Most reviewers of *The Bell Curve* (over 150 reviews examined) criticized its controversial themes, especially: 1-that fixed IQ has replaced traditional family status and wealth in determining one's place in life; and 2-that strife over race and class is inevitable as rich high IQ whites increasingly act to curb welfare, crime, drug use, and illegitimacy excesses of the low IQ poor of all races. (Herrnstein and Murray)

Liberals see the book as a conservative effort to reverse equality of opportunity gains made since World War II. The book uses current antagonism toward welfare and crime to urge more gifted education while cutting low IQers' education, welfare, and remedial programs. (Herrnstein and Murray)

The Bell Curve's Main Points

The preface begins, "This book is about differences in intellectual capacity among people and groups and what those differences mean for America's future." (Herrnstein and Murray, p. xxi; Gould 1994, 1995) The book's five controversial inferences follow.

1-Intelligence (as measured by IQ tests) has replaced family wealth and prestige in determining one's job, income, social class, and future, and that of one's children. Any small IQ gain made by enriched education for low IQ children is soon lost.

2-Normal bell curve distribution of IQ (5 percent high, 125+; 20 percent bright, 110-125; 50 percent average, 90-110; 20 percent dull, 75-90; and 5 percent very dull, 50-75) is skewed by IQ racial differences found to be constant since 1900: East Asians, 3 points higher than whites; whites 15 points higher than blacks.

3-High IQ ruling whites have had generations of better home nurture with good books and table talk and longer education in better schools and universities, advantages passed on to their children, who largely intermarry.

4-With fewer children than the lower IQ majority, ruling whites feel more threatened over race, class, jobs, income, violence, crime, drugs, and illegitimacy.

5-The worst prospect is that ruling elites will increasingly restrict low IQers in ghettos in fear of growing underclass violence, crime, drug abuse, and illegitimacy.

In Authors' Own Words

On cognitive elites' becoming increasingly isolated from the lower IQ majority, the authors wrote: There is "a deteriorating quality of life for people at the bottom end of the cognitive ability distribution." (Herrnstein and Murray, p. 509)

On why *The Bell Curve* book was written (to explore inevitable explosions as the U.S. increasingly splits into high IQ rich whites and low IQ non-white poor): "Inequality of endowments, including intelligence, is a reality. Trying to pretend that inequality does not really exist has led to disaster." (Herrnstein and Murray, p. 551)

On the futility of welfare and affirmative action:

"Trying to eradicate inequality with artificially manufactured outcomes has led to disaster. It is time for America once again to try living with inequality, as life is lived."(Herrnstein and Murray, p. 551)

The authors' careers and writings offer insights into *Bell Curve* policy recommendations.

Author Richard J. Herrnstein

Richard J. Herrnstein, Harvard psychologist, died of lung cancer September 13, 1994, a month before publication of *The Bell Curve*. Born to Hungarian immigrants in New York City, he graduated from City College of New York. At Harvard he studied under behaviorist B.F. Skinner (1904-90), chaired Harvard's psychology department, and was a nationally known researcher on IQ and genetics. His September 1971 *Atlantic Monthly* article on intelligence held that IQ, being genetic, made inequality inevitable in jobs, class, and income. His affirmation of the genetic nature of IQ and the unworkability of affirmative action and welfare led to physical harassment by 1970s student protesters.(Herrnstein 1971, Brimelow)

Co-Author Charles A. Murray

Political scientist Charles Alan Murray is Bradley Foundation Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, said to be "one of the most conservative social policy think tanks in the country."(Haynes) This Iowa-born son of a Maytag executive earned a Harvard B.A. degree (1965) and worked in Thailand as a Peace Corps volunteer in rural health. His political science Ph.D. degree from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1974) led to work at the American Institute for Research (1974-81), Washington, D.C. There, evaluating federal welfare, he found that poverty levels varied with the national economy, regardless of remedial programs, and that remedial programs, including President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs, had little lasting effect and wasted taxpayer money.

Murray believed in the trickle-down theory: that tax breaks for industry stimulate production, with benefits trickling down to ordinary workers. Subsidized by conservative think tanks, including the conservative Heritage Foundation, he published in 1985 *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980*,(Murray 1985) citing the failure and waste of government anti-poverty programs. Murray's *Losing Ground*, favored by the Reagan administration, anticipated many *Bell Curve* findings.(Murray 1985)

Murray's Anti-Welfare Findings

U.S. policy on welfare changed, Murray found, from limited temporary aid for the needy to near permanent government handouts expected as a right by have nots.

That change, Murray found, came from the mid-1960s-70s anti-Vietnam, anti-big business, anti-government student protesters; from President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs; and from civil rights movement demands. This misguided concern about the poor led to unwise expansion of federal welfare, compensatory education, and affirmative action programs.

Murray's *Losing Ground*, 1985.

Murray's *Losing Ground* described "Harold and Phyllis," a needy couple expecting their first child. Before the mid-1960s, they would have married, sought any kind of job, and received minimum government aid until they found work. After the mid-1960s the couple's welfare payments increased if they were unmarried, had illegitimate children, and if Harold became an absentee father. This shift of welfare from temporary aid to an expected right, often generational, Murray labeled as "a domestic Vietnam." He lamented that this erroneous mindset had made welfare more attractive and rewarding than the work ethic.

Liberals assailed *Losing Ground* for advocating an end to welfare and affirmative action. But growing anti-welfare sentiment led to its 1995 republication.(Brimelow)

Murray and the Bradley Foundation

Barbara Miner, managing editor of the Milwaukee-based education journal, *Rethinking Schools*, wrote that the Milwaukee-based Bradley Foundation (\$425 million in assets) paid Murray and Herrnstein to write *The Bell Curve* because it fitted that foundation's conservative agenda. It funded Murray's research when he worked at the Manhattan Institute and continued his \$100,000 annual grant at his new American Enterprise Institute post. The Bradley Foundation's role in subsidizing *The Bell Curve* became public when *The Milwaukee Journal* on October 23, 1994, reported that the foundation paid the authors to write the book and funded a pre-publication conference on the book's findings to which only selected favorable reviewers of the book were invited. The Bradley Foundation's motive and its top priority is to promote vouchers for school choice, including public funds for private and religious schools. Vouchers have made more gains in Milwaukee than elsewhere in the U.S. Opponents charge that Bradley Foundation-backed vouchers are meant to dismantle public schools by using tax dollars to fund elitist private schools, ultimately nationwide.(Miner)

Brief History of IQ and Testing

The Bell Curve authors' motives and the book's controversial nature can best be understood in the

perspective of a brief history of IQ and testing.

China

An overview history of IQ, testing, and race begins with ancient China's civil service. Examinations based on Chinese classics, then thought to hold essential wisdom, selected the best minds to administer that vast society. Most modern countries have adopted and modified China's competitive test-based civil service system.

Plato's Republic

Plato's influential classic, *The Republic*, described a utopia ruled by philosopher kings selected through continuous testing to find the brightest and best minds. Schooling and testing from ages six to 20 selected the brightest for higher learning from about 20 to 30. The brightest of these were again test-selected for special schooling from about 30 to 35. The best became key administrators, ages 35 to 50, and the most successful of these became ruling philosopher kings--the Einsteins, Gandhis, and Shakespeares of their time.

Below the few best top rulers were administrators at various levels. At the bottom were the laboring majority with limited civil rights. Girls as well as boys from any class could, by ability, rise to the top or drop to the bottom. Platonists have since favored selective education according to ability because it makes for social order and efficiency. Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve* is in this tradition of rule by elites on the basis of intellect or IQ.

Intelligence and IQ

Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, 1859, with its survival of the fittest theme, stimulated interest in measuring human intelligence. Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton's (1822-1911) *Hereditary Genius*, 1869, stated that "Ability goes by descent." He favored eugenics, or selective breeding, to benefit mankind. (Measuring)

James McKeen Cattell studied at Wilhelm Wundt's psychological laboratory, University of Leipzig, Germany, and later studied individual differences with Galton in England. At the University of Pennsylvania, Cattell established the first U.S. university psychological laboratory to measure individual differences. He taught at Columbia University and in 1890 coined the term "mental tests."

Alfred Binet (1857-1911)

In 1904 the French Minister of Public Education asked psychologist Alfred Binet to devise tests to identify children with learning difficulties. Large classes and inflexible curricula in French public schools gave teachers little time to find and help slow students. Binet

prepared intelligence tests to identify normal and subnormal Paris school children ages 3 to 11. The Binet-Simon age-graded tests of 1905, improved in 1908, proved reliable and useful.

Binet's tests to identify students needing help were not meant to measure intelligence, which he believed was complex. Though not himself a genetic hereditarian, his tests were used to serve hereditarian views.

Stern, Goddard, Terman

German psychologist William Stern in 1911 introduced the "mental quotient" concept, dividing a child's mental age by chronological age which, when multiplied by 100, is today's IQ.

H.H. Goddard translated the Simon-Binet scale into English in 1910 and verified its reliability in Vineland, New Jersey, schools. Goddard held a hereditarian view and saw intelligence as a single unit.

Clark University graduate Lewis Terman improved the Binet-Simon tests when he became Stanford University psychology professor. This 1916 Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon tests became the standard intelligence test. Goddard, Terman, and others turned Binet's tests--originally to identify and help the learning disabled--into tests believed to measure inherited intelligence. (Gould 1995)

World War I Army Tests

In 1917 Harvard's Robert Yerkes and his committee of psychologists developed and administered World War I Army Alpha tests (using arithmetical reasoning, number series completion, and analogies) to nearly two million recruits. The Army Beta tests had similar pictorial questions for illiterate recruits.

Army Alpha and Beta test results showed that immigrant recruits on average scored lower than American-born recruits, that more recent southern and eastern European immigrants scored lower than western European immigrants, that black recruits scored lowest of all, and that the average Army recruit had a mental age of 13.

Despite doubts about the validity of the Army Alpha and Beta tests, intelligence testing increased as immigration and industrialization grew. Such tests were used in public schools for tracking bright, average, and slow students, and in industry for efficient job placement.

Racism and Elitism in Testing

Mental testing influenced politicians to favor immigration of apparently brighter northern Europeans and to limit lower ability immigrants from other areas. Journalist Walter Lippmann warned that racism and elitism are inherent in intelligence tests. In his 1923 *New Republic* article he wrote that we "cannot measure

intelligence when we have never defined it."(Seligman 1992; Question, p. 52) Scientists Leon Kamin, Stephen Jay Gould, and others have since also warned that IQ tests are elitist, unscientific, and racist.(Kamin 1974; Gould 1981)

Eugenics, U. S., and Nazi Germany

Intelligence testing declined in reaction to eugenics practiced in parts of the U.S. during the 1920s-30s. Some low IQers, in and out of state institutions, thought to be feeble-minded, were lobotomized and sterilized, often without their consent. The horrors of Nazi Germany's race policy (1933-45) also increased unease about intelligence testing.

World War II and After

The new test makers were careful not to call their tests intelligence tests. Over nine million World War II recruits took the Army General Classification Test. Testing grew with the popularity of Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget's theory of stages of human development and was further encouraged by those wanting to measure gains made in Project Head Start and other early childhood education enrichment intervention programs.

Anti-testing sentiment came in the mid-1960s-70s from student protesters and liberal educators and politicians who saw IQ tests as racist, undemocratic, and unreliable. Conservatives reacted by tying anti-IQ testers to the communist threat. The USSR disavowed IQ tests, determined as communists to remake human nature and not believing (in theory) in giving anyone special advantage. Arthur Jensen's 1969 article reopened and widened the IQ controversy.

Arthur R. Jensen and Other Geneticists

Psychologist Arthur R. Jensen, son of a San Diego businessman, earned degrees in psychology at the University of California-Berkeley, San Diego State University, and Columbia University. After working with British psychologist H.J. Eysenck at the University of London, he became educational psychologist at the University of California-Berkeley. His 1969 *Harvard Educational Review* article, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?," stated: "Compensatory education has been tried and it apparently has failed."

Emphasizing the fixed genetic nature of intelligence, Jensen wrote that enrichment programs do not boost the IQs of deprived children. Because up to 80 percent of IQ is genetic and any educational enrichment is soon lost, compensatory programs fail and are wasteful. Jensen, like Herrnstein later, was physically threatened by student radicals and forced to have bodyguards on

and off the campus.(Jensen, 1969)

Echoing Jensen's view of IQ as genetic and fixed was Stanford University physicist William Shockley, Nobel Prize winner as co-inventor of the transistor. Shockley's advocacy of eugenics provoked even fiercer liberal opposition.(Seligman 1994, *Trashing*; Samuelson 1994)

The 1994 *Bell Curve*, with its racial overtones, dramatically revived the controversy over IQ and race which Jensen, Shockley, and others aroused after 1969.

Praising The *Bell Curve*

The fierce debate over *The Bell Curve* can be seen in the following praise from reviewers who liked the book and the more numerous quotes from reviewers who condemned the book. First, some quotes praising the book.

I'm a strong defender of *The Bell Curve*. I think *The Bell Curve* has been subjected to the most vicious lynching of any book since *Making It* [Norman Podhoretz's 1968 memoir. He is past editor, *Commentary*.](Norman Podhoretz 1995)

Murray and Herrnstein were right about one thing: it pays to choose your parents carefully.(Adler, 1994)

The Bell Curve is not an argument for racial discrimination. It is an argument against racial discrimination...sanctioned by university and media and government and corporate elites; [and against] racial preferences and quotas.(Barone)

Herrnstein and Murray are right in saying that there is no proven way to raise IQs on a consistent basis.(Besharov)

"*The Bell Curve* makes a strong case that America's population is becoming dangerously polarized between a smart, rich, educated elite and a population of unintelligent, poor and uneducated people.(Browne)

To those determined to use the coercive power of government to achieve equality of results, in education, social standing, income, etc., ...Herrnstein and Murray are saying they are hopeless Utopians...certain to end in failure and frustration. *The Bell Curve* is a bullet right through the heart of socialism.(Buchanan)

The Bell Curve has much to offer. Its excellent analysis of the transformation of the American elite deserves high praise...as do its cautious and modest proposals for reforms.(Genovese)

Criticizing The *Bell Curve*

Now, short quotes from more numerous critical reviewers follow:

The Bell Curve...is scientifically flawed [reported a panel of experts at Howard University, a traditionally African American university in Washington, D.C.]. ...The book uses data selectively and then ignores any

data that c-baked opinions, the consensus among scholars is that Murray and Herrnstein are wrong. ...The fact that most African-Americans have descended from people who endured more than 300 years of bondage and discrimination seems to have been of little significance to Murray and Herrnstein.(Boyd)

Unsure whether they are addressing ordinary...readers or professional scholars [*Bell Curve* authors] offer either too little or too much information.(Browne)

There are other kinds of "intelligence" that are crucial to determining a person's performance in life....[including] common sense, experience, intuition, creativity and...social intelligence. ...In any field such as art, technology, teaching and science, creativity is at least as important as IQ....The book is an exercise in rhetorical brinkmanship.(Allman)

A tendentious tone abuses science to promote far-right policies. ...As the country lurches to the right, many people will be seduced by the text's academic trappings and scientific tone into believing its arguments and political inferences well supported. Those readers should think again. ...The work is a string of half-truths. ...The arguments stem from the same tradition of biological determinism that led, not so long ago, to compulsory sterilizations in the U.S. and genocide elsewhere. ...The *Bell Curve* plays fast and loose with statistics in several ways. ...The book exaggerates the ability of IQ to predict job performance.(Beardsley)

It offers a conservative attack on the liberal egalitarianism of the 1960s. ...The *Bell Curve*...comes from a cold and dark place in American thought. ...If you take this [book] seriously, eugenics is just around the corner.(Bellicose)

What if racial differences in IQ are the result of over 200 years of slavery and more than 100 more years of discrimination and oppression?(Besharov)

Clever Arguments, Atrocious Science.... The *Bell Curve* is a house of cards constructed to push a political agenda--an attack on affirmative action, the welfare system, and schools that fail the gifted.... To couch their opinions as scientific truth is downright dangerous. The *Bell Curve* could trigger insidious discrimination.... Now, the slamming [of doors of opportunity] will be justified on the grounds of lower intelligence. That's not the kind of America we want.(Carey)

Christian affirmations of the intrinsic and equal value of each individual as created and beloved by God find little support in The *Bell Curve*'s totally secular worldview. Here cognitive elites...need not recognize any...obligations to share with their neighbors or worry about a just society.... The whole book seems morally and spiritually tone-deaf.(Callahan)

The *Bell Curve* will undoubtedly give encouragement to both the crudest and the most subtle form of racism.(Fischel)

For black children who need a load lifted from their backs, Murray and Herrnstein just add more baggage, delivering a gloomy message of predestination and a racial caste.... [Does] Charles Murray [have] the IQ to understand why one sentence from Einstein is worth more than everything in The *Bell Curve* ("Genius is 90 percent sweat").(Reiland 1994, 1995)

The *Bell Curve* is not only sleazy; it is, intellectually, a mess.(Ryan)

Views of Five Critics

Now, perceptive views in depth of five *Bell Curve* critics.

I-Howard Gardner Believes in Many Kinds of Intelligence

Harvard educational psychologist Howard Gardner disliked Herrnstein and Murray's "academic brinkmanship." They almost embrace, then do not fully endorse, intelligence tied to genes. They want to abandon affirmative action and limit low IQers' childbearing and immigration. Gardner fears class warfare as *Bell Curve* readers are persuaded to identify with high IQers and distance themselves from low IQers.

Gardner questioned The *Bell Curve*'s assertion that genes explain social class. Longer schooling may raise IQ. Also, IQ and school success are affected by nutrition, individual motivation, and parental attention. Many factors besides IQ, including luck, account for one's socio-economic status.

Herrnstein and Murray mention, wrote Gardner, but do not credit findings that IQ has risen worldwide in this century, an increase that cannot be explained by genes alone; that IQs rise among African Americans who move from the rural south to the urban north; and that when poor black children are adopted into higher socio-economic status families, their aptitude and achievement improve.

Psychometricians, Gardner noted, are "intoxicated with the IQ test." He doubted the notion of a single measured intelligence, believing in many kinds of intelligence along with the linguistic and logical skills measured in IQ tests. Training and inborn talent, he wrote, account for chess and musical experts, whose skill depends as much on practice as on native ability. Genes may regulate human behavior, but learning alters the way genes function. Intelligence is learned as much as it is inborn. Expectations of parents and teachers are important and do affect IQ.

Gardner cited Harold W. Stevenson and James W. Stigler, *The Learning Gap: Why Our Schools are Failing and What We Can Learn from Japanese and Chinese Education*. Chinese, Japanese, and American students tested had about equal IQ scores. East Asians learn more, not because they have higher IQs, but because they attend school more days, study harder in school and at home, have better prepared teachers, and have parents who prod and coach them. (Stevenson)

Herrnstein, Murray, and most Americans believe that lack of ability causes failure. But East Asians believe that lack of effort causes failure. Success or failure depends, not on our genes, but on demands we make on ourselves, wrote Gardner.

Gardner called Herrnstein and Murray dangerously confrontational in setting up an us-against-them mentality (high IQers vs. low IQers). He criticized the authors for ignoring successful social and educational intervention programs with deprived children, as described in Lisbeth B. Schorr's 1988 *Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage*, (Schorr) written in part to counter Murray's anti-welfare *Losing Ground*. (Murray 1985) The proven success of some intervention programs casts doubt on The *Bell Curve*'s gloomy message that aiding the poor is futile. It is callous to write The *Bell Curve* and omit studies of workable intervention programs for the poor, wrote Gardner. (Gardner)

2-Alan Ryan: Authors' Obsessed with IQ and Welfare Waste

Critic Alan Ryan thinks Herrnstein is obsessed with the genetic heritability of intelligence and Murray is obsessed with wasteful welfare programs. The resulting politics in their book, Ryan added, is "at best slightly mad and at worst plain ugly." (Ryan)

Herrnstein began as a disciple of behaviorist B.F. Skinner, who believed that a controlled environment shaped behavior. But Herrnstein was later captivated with Charles Spearman's g factor in tests, which supposedly correlated with intelligence. Skeptics say g explains nothing. Herrnstein's acceptance of g only matters, wrote Ryan, because it "reinforced his [Herrnstein's] fascination with ethnicity." Wrote Ryan: once you find that criminals' average IQ is 93, then you increasingly believe that lower IQers are doomed social misfits.

Murray saw the widening gap between rich and poor as leading to an American "Custodial State," wrote Ryan. High IQers live in walled-off and well policed enclaves with decent schools. Poor low IQers live in squalor in shut-off urban slums. Ryan wrote that Herrnstein believed that the bottom 10 percent of low IQ

whites is heading for the same degradation as the black underclass.

Ryan's interpretation is that Herrnstein's mysterious g in intelligence, combined with Murray's view of a cast-ridden America, led them to write "what people already think in their heart of hearts:"...that blacks and white trash are born irremediably dumb, that African Americans have been over promoted and given unfair advantage, and that federal affirmative action has displaced smarter whites with incompetent blacks. These negative themes in The *Bell Curve*, Ryan believed, come from Herrnstein's gloomy prediction of America's declining intelligence combined with Murray's prediction of pending fascism.

3-Nancy Cole: The Bell Curve Slights the Power of Education

Nancy Cole is president of the Educational Testing Service and was education dean at the Universities of Pittsburgh and Illinois. The *Bell Curve*, she wrote, slights the role of education. If IQ alone determines one's place in life, then little is left for school, learning, education, teachers, and teacher education. Vast public and private schools and the education industry are all wasted efforts. This is simply not true, she declared.

The *Bell Curve* authors, she charged, would educate only the high IQers and neglect the rest. "I find that a dangerous...social policy.... The influence of this book is almost totally negative," she wrote. (Cole 1994, 1995)

Cole would never hire Herrnstein and Murray as teachers because their "beliefs in inherited immutable capabilities...are contrary to the basic role of the teacher." The *Bell Curve*, she wrote, makes leaps of unproved inference not substantiated from its selective data.

"I am [sorry] the book is out there," she wrote. It hardens the views of those already negative about human possibilities. It justifies those who do not want to provide learning opportunities for all children. "The most dangerous thing about this book is that the authors attempt to absolve us from dealing with the fundamental issues of race, class, and poverty." We must do more, not less, to improve learning for all children.

She concluded that the book does a disservice in implying that race and class opportunities are dictated by a fixed IQ score. The book is negative and harmful regarding social and educational policies. Its appearance was timed politically to support conservatives wanting to restrict immigration of low IQers and cut public education costs. (Cole 1994, 1995)

4-Charles Lane Finds The Bell Curve Racist and Divisive

Critic Charles Lane detected sympathy for, but no specific endorsement of, eugenics in *The Bell Curve*. He did find racial bias in the book's sources. The book cited five articles from *Mankind Quarterly*, a reputedly pro-white and anti-black anthropological journal founded in Edinburgh, Scotland, 1960. Seventeen researchers cited in *The Bell Curve* also contributed to *Mankind Quarterly*, ten of them present and past editors or on its editorial board. (Lane, Mercer, Rosen and Lane)

Mankind Quarterly's founding purpose was to counter "communist" and "egalitarian" influences. One *Mankind Quarterly* founder championed South African apartheid. Another, active in U.S. White Citizens' Councils, had testified before the U.S. Supreme Court against the 1954 Brown desegregation decision.

Some *Mankind Quarterly* authors were pro-Nazi scientists. One editorial board member was academic mentor to Dr. Josef Mengele, Nazi experimenter on concentration camp inmates. The quarterly is financed by the Pioneer Fund, founded in 1937, a New York foundation allegedly pro-Nazi, pro-eugenics, and white supremacist. (Reed 1994, *Progressive*; Reed 1994, *Nation*)

A Pioneer Fund letter in 1989 proposed that the U.S. abandon integration because "raising the intelligence of blacks...still remains beyond our capabilities." Pioneer Fund President Harry F. Weyher has denied that the fund ever supported eugenics research, despite the interest in eugenics of its founders and early directors. (Mercer)

The Bell Curve cited studies by thirteen scholars who received over \$4 million in Pioneer Fund research grants. These included Arthur R. Jensen and psychology professor Richard Lynn, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, and a *Mankind Quarterly* associate editor.

Richard Lynn's research in South Africa and the former Belgian Congo compared black African lower IQs to higher black American IQs. He attributed the higher black American IQs to their admixture of white genes. Lynn is also a source for stating that East Asian IQs average a few points higher than white IQs, a finding which is disputed.

Critic Lane wrote that "Herrnstein and Murray aren't answerable for every belief of every member of the racist crowd they rely on for so much of their data." But he faulted the authors for not disclosing the racist views of their sources and for re-introducing eugenics thinking.

5-Robert J. Samuelson: In Our Meritocracy, Ability Counts

Newsweek writer Robert J. Samuelson challenged *The Bell Curve's* concept of a cognitive elite. "If the

Founding Fathers ever envisioned an ideal social order, it was surely a meritocracy: a system under which people succeed mainly on the basis of ability and effort." (Samuelson 1994, 1995)

"And yet, [our] meritocracy is now under furious intellectual assault" in books like *The Bell Curve*, whose thesis is simply not true. Instead of cognitive elites ruling a caste society, Samuelson pointed out, consider the vast increase of U.S. managers and professionals. Between 1940-93, when the labor force slightly more than doubled, managers quadrupled from 3.8 million to 15.4 million, engineers quintupled from 300,000 to 1.7 million, lawyers increased from 182,000 to 777,000, and physicians from 168,000 to 605,000. (Samuelson 1994, 1995)

"We don't live in a classless society," wrote Samuelson, "(and never will), but we do live in an enormously fluid one....[This] is the central point that [Herrnstein and Murray] miss or minimize."

Samuelson added that "the success of the people at the top does not cause the poverty of the people at the bottom." Of 2,729 top executives at 208 major corporations in the mid-1980s, 17 percent did not go to college or were college dropouts, and 28 percent had bachelor's degrees from nonprestigious colleges.

"The image of a pampered elite that can easily program its own future is vastly overdrawn," wrote Samuelson. "...Whatever its defects, [our] meritocracy is a huge advance over the preceding barriers of race, sex, religion, and ethnicity. Life is unfair...[and] always will be--but it is not rigged, at least not in America." (Samuelson 1994, 1995)

The Bell Curve Defended Murray Answered Critics

Murray's answer to these and other critics is that *The Bell Curve* is moderate in its language, claims, and science and that its statistical analysis is standard and straightforward. Yet hostile critics call him and Herrnstein pseudo-scientist racists drawing wrong conclusions from faulty research methods. Critics were mistaken, he protested, when they charged that his and Herrnstein's motive was to eliminate federal welfare programs. (Vangelis, Murray 1995)

Critics' hysterical opposition to *The Bell Curve*, Murray wrote, comes from our national obsession with race, which dominates all U.S. social policy discussion. He quoted reviewer Michael Novak's explanation for the extreme attacks on the book: "The sin attributed to Herrnstein and Murray is theological: they destroy hope," hope that government can solve problems of race, poverty, and crime.

Murray said that critics unfairly exaggerate what *The*

Bell Curve contains about race. This exaggeration Murray attributed to the liberal left's own "psychological projection onto our text." The left believes that society caused racism, poverty, and crime and that the only remedy is government welfare and compensation. Hope is all the left has to believe in, wrote Murray. (Murray 1995, Novak)

Attacks on *The Bell Curve*, Murray believes, are really attacks "against the psychometric tradition on which it is based"; that is, on Charles Spearman's g factor of cognitive ability. Biologist Stephen Jay Gould's book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, and his *New Yorker* article rejected psychometrics as a false science. But Gould's denial of Spearman's "g" factor, Murray asserted, "has been thoroughly discredited among scholars." (Murray 1995)

Murray stated that what he and Herrnstein actually wrote about genes, IQ, and race is that both genetic and environmental factors determine the average 15 points higher white over black IQ score. He and Herrnstein, he wrote, did not make as aggressive a case for genetic differences as the evidence suggested.

Despite *The Bell Curve's* over 1,000 sources, critics picked a dozen so-called tainted racist sources, all published, incidentally, Murray pointed out, in respected and refereed journals. Critics label *Mankind Quarterly* and the *Pioneer Fund* as racist. Yet their present management is racially fair, even if some called their founders racist.

Murray thus countered with seeming logic *Bell Curve* critics' charges that the book is racist, that it confused correlation with causation, that it neglected enriched remedial education programs, and other charges. Charge and counter-charge continue.

When the controversy over *The Bell Curve* wanes, Murray concluded, its findings will stand the test of time. Critical attacks have made the book more widely read, he noted, and thus more influential in the current national reexamination of welfare policy.

Why the Resurgence of IQ Studies? Behind the Recent Resurgence of IQ Studies

After Nazi horrors cast a pall on genetic studies on race, many scholars focused more on education-acquired skills (nurture) than on genetic studies (nature). Large post-World War II changes--the founding of the United Nations, the independence of former colonies, and post-war economic growth--encouraged western nations to try to reduce world-wide socio-economic problems. In this attempt to improve society, social scientists turned to planning and remediation. Nature-oriented geneticists turned from studying human subjects to studying less controversial fruit flies, ants, and honey bees.

But disillusion with social planning climaxed in the 1980s-90s as many realized that post-World War II liberal social policies had failed to solve socio-economic problems. As more was learned about how genes work, genetic scholars gained more acceptance in American universities. New studies suggested that the brain structure of girls differed from that of boys in mastering science and mathematics, and offered other genetic explanations for human differences and difficulties.

In this climate of acceptance of genetic studies, Arthur Jensen, Richard Herrnstein, and others boldly declared that IQ determined class, place, and income, and also accounted for national strengths and weaknesses. That climate of acceptance was accompanied by a national economic slowdown, growing inner city crime and drug problems, rising welfare costs, and anguish over the mounting national debt. Charles Murray's assertion that welfare was a waste and affirmative action a mistake gained acceptance. In suggesting that biology is destiny, *The Bell Curve* authors urged that government policy change in favor of the gifted while cutting low IQers' benefits, or else America and western civilization will decline. (Old)

The Bell Curve Controversy in Context The Bell Curve and the Clash over American Values

Some see the furor over *The Bell Curve* as part of a conservative-versus-liberal clash over American values. The Founding Fathers embraced hard work, free enterprise, free markets, and laissez faire government. Elite Calvinists promoted big business, international corporations, profits, and--recently--testing and IQ for economic efficiency. This business ethic was challenged in the mid-1960s-70s by new liberal baby boomers whose mindset came from affluent suburban rearing, greater educational opportunities, and mid-1960s-70s anti-Vietnam, pro-civil rights activism. It was these better educated younger Americans, removed and alienated from the Puritan ethic, who formed the mindset of mid-1960s-70s student protesters.

The dramatic increase in levels of education in this past half century enlarged the U.S. leadership pool. The percentage over age 25 with four or more years of college rose from 5 percent in 1940 (3.4 million) to 20 percent by 1985 (27 million). Fifty percent of high school graduates now enter some kind of college; about 25 percent graduate from college. Professionals in the work force rose from 4 million, 1950, to 16 million, 1980. U.S. doctoral degrees granted rose from 382 in 1899-1900 to 33,000 in 1976-77. In 1982 about 750,000 Americans held doctoral degrees. (Snyderman, p. 252)

Better educated younger Americans of the mid-1960s-70s developed a concern for social justice, particularly for have-not minorities. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, and Martin Luther King, Jr., sensitized the new concerned liberals. The civil rights movement radicalized them. Anti-Vietnam War and anti-big business views galvanized them into rebellion. They opposed IQ and testing as racist and unfair. They favored affirmative action and compensatory education to level the playing field and give have-nots a long denied advantage.

The 1994 *Bell Curve* revived the clash between the Puritan ethic and concerned liberals, between nature and nurture, between IQ testers and compensatory education advocates, between haves and have-nots, and between political advocates of wealthy high IQers and poor low IQers. This clash surfaced nationally with Jensen from 1969 and with *The Bell Curve* from 1994.

Race Relations Confrontations

Recently, Americans were horrified at Rodney King's brutal beating by Los Angeles police, mesmerized by the O.J. Simpson murder trial, and shocked at the racial division uncovered by that jury's not guilty verdict. Americans await with concern the consequences on race relations of the October 16, 1995, Million Man March in Washington, D.C.

The *Bell Curve* appeared just before and heralded the conservative Republican Party victory in the November 1994 elections. Republicans dominate Congress on the eve of an historic 1996 national election. Recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions have been right of center. A new American conservatism bids fair to influence the early twenty-first century, when efficiency will be increasingly important in an information-based society. The *Bell Curve's* final influence awaits the consequences of these trends and the unfolding of race relations.

The Crucial Role of Education

Critic Nancy Cole and others fault *The Bell Curve* for neglecting the role of education. In contrast, the theme of George Bernard Shaw's play, *Pygmalion*, and its musical stage and film versions, *My Fair Lady*, exalted the power of education to improve the human condition. Speech teacher Professor Henry Higgins bets his friend, Colonel Pickering, that he, Higgins, can make a lady out of a London Cockney flower girl. He teaches her good speech and better manners. Through the magic of education, he succeeds in making her into a regal lady.

Conclusion: Will Equality of Opportunity Prevail?

Most *Bell Curve* critics agree that using IQ and

testing for diagnosis and improvement is helpful. But using IQ and testing to categorize people is unfair and undemocratic. We are not trapped by an iron law of nature. We came into the world unfinished. We can and do improve ourselves and our children. Education, perhaps more than IQ, has the power to improve, uplift, and ennoble.

The *Bell Curve* increased fears about, rather than helped ease, race and class conflicts. Its critics see it as a threat to equality of educational opportunity. Their cry against the book affirms the belief that all people deserve

an equal chance.

Resolving race and class tensions requires tolerance, good will, and enlarging rather than limiting the American ideal of equality of opportunity.

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ARKANSAS' NEW FINANCE LAW OR HOW TO LOOSE YOUR CAKE AND NOT EAT IT EITHER

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The past history of school funding in Arkansas is something of a predictor as well as a presequor of the current situation. The state over the years has done almost anything to avoid supporting public schools equitably. In the early days of statehood the legislature refused to pass laws requiring school taxes. Albert Pike attempted to get a statewide school tax prior to the Civil War but was unsuccessful.

It was not until the Reconstruction Constitution in 1865 that school taxes were required. In succeeding decades they were kept low gradually rising from 3 mills in 1874 to 18 in 1941. Schools were starved. Some 4,000 school districts existed but many only provided instruction for 3 months of the year. Teachers would teach in several districts during the year.

Compulsory education was made a law in 1911, but was not enforced especially for minorities. They were to learn only their second class poor status. Finally in 1948, *Amendment 40* and *Initiated Act One* were accepted by the electorate. These removed the ceiling on school millage funding allowing a district to tax without limit but the funds could only be spent for education within that district. They also cut the number of school districts to 400. Some districts raised their millages to get better schools. Others were still in favor of low taxes.

In 1951, the state attempted to achieve equity. It employed Dr. R. L. Johns and Dr. Edgar Morphet, who had invented Minimum Foundation programs to set one up in Arkansas. All children were to be assured of a minimum investment in the future. The law passed. However, Governor Orval Faubus refused to attempt to raise the sales tax to pay for the state share and the situation limped along. By 1963, the law was repealed and a system of flat grants replaced it.

In 1971, Governor Dale Bumpers sponsored a return to Minimum Foundree which was finally decided in 1983.

That suit was originally filed in 1978 and heard by a Chancery Court in 1980. The state supreme court made its decision three years later. The decision declared the school finance system to be unconstitutional as it did not provide equity.

The legislature met in special session and passed *Act 34* to correct the situation. That law was quite similar to the one the court had struck down but the plaintiff could not reopen the case as the original trial judge who had

claimed jurisdiction had died. Thus, the situation continued for ten more years.

Finally in 1994, a small poor east Arkansas school district, Lake View, brought another suit. It was heard in September 1994 and the court made its decision in November. Rather succinctly the court stated,

The Arkansas school funding system violates Article 14, Section 1 of the Arkansas Constitution by failing to provide a "general, suitable and efficient system of free public schools." See *Dupree v. Alma School DST.* No. 30, 279 ARK. 340 (1983).

Once again, the state was told its law was unconstitutional.

Difficulty of the Search Economics

The economic situation of Arkansas is easily explained. The service center of the economy has historically been Little Rock. It is the financial and business center of the state. Hence, it has been the major decision point of the state.

In recent years, three separate economies have emerged. One is the Delta. This is the old plantation eastern section of the state which still depends on cotton, soy beans, and rice. As more machinery has been employed, fewer workers are needed. Hence, there has been both unemployment and migration out of the area whose finances are controlled either in Little Rock or Memphis. There is little care for schools.

The second region is south Arkansas. This is timber country. Georgia Pacific, Weyerhaeuser and other wood and paper companies control it. Western and northwestern Arkansas has in recent years experienced booming times. The growth of the food processing industry especially of chickens and the growth of Wal-Mart have caused an immense labor shortage. People are being directly imported from Old Mexico. Schools are well supported and growing. This area of the state is now competing with Little Rock for leadership.

The major structure which has helped determine the situation has been tax policy. Taxes are generally kept low. One reason is an oddity of the Constitution. It was amended in the 1930's at the height of the depression to read that to raise an existing tax a two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature was required. The sales tax did not exist at the time. Hence, sale tax increases may be made by a simple majority. Therefore, the

tendency to raise the sales tax rather than income or any other is easily explained. Other taxes are low because a small group of legislators can block an increase.

Probably the major political structure which dominates the scene is the fact that historically the power structure of the state has lived in Little Rock. Only recently have other parts of the state produced powerful people like Sam Walton. Hence, if Little Rock was doing well, there was little concern for the rest of the state. Little Rock also has a comparatively large delegation in the legislature. To attract their votes, legislation must not harm Little Rock. Equity, except for themselves, has not been a major item for them. If legislators expect to be reelected they must vote the interest of their constituents. As Harry Truman once put it, "A statesman is a dead politician." To a live politician, statesmanship is a luxury few can afford.

The power structure is usually the major contributor to campaign funds and as the old Scottish saying goes, "He who pays the piper calls the tune." Members of the legislature therefore owe the power structure allegiance and vote their way.

Finally, there are the lobbyists. These are paid agents of the large investment agencies like power companies and organizations which are pressure groups like the Farm Bureau. Usually such persons are better informed about pending legislation, especially that which affects them, than are legislators. They act as information sources for the political community. Of course, the information is usually slanted to their side or opinion. But many times serve as the basis for discussion made in the lawmaking body. Their function is not without its positive benefits. When another interest is at stake, they can become quite statesmanlike but their influence is telling.

Relationships

Arkansas is a small state. Sometimes it seems that everyone is somehow related. Kinship has a high value. Family reunions are special events. In the southern part of the state, black and white ends of a family are known to meet together. This is somehow strange when poor race relations have often been the hallmark of the state. A long standing black eye was pinned on the state after Central High School in Little Rock in 1957. Then federal troops had to be called in to force desegregation of that institution.

The other relationship which has affected school finance is the fact that Arkansas population is a bimodal curve. The state has proportionally a greater amount of children and persons over 65 years of age than it should if there were an even distribution. Instead the state has the lowest percentage of college graduates in its

population than any other state in the union. On the opposite end of the spectrum, its population of persons of retirement age is proportionally second only to Florida in the nation.

Children cannot vote. The non-college educated persons do not value education and the elderly are more interested in hospitals, medical care, police and other services which affect them.

An Arkansas youth, when [s]he graduates from college must emigrate to a large extent to find a good job in his or her chosen field. Then at retirement they tend to return. However, during their productive lives they pay taxes elsewhere, not to Arkansas. This social oddity greatly affects school support.

Cultural Structures

Arkansas does not have a cultural tradition of support for education or almost anything else. A good example is the banks of the Mississippi River. On the east side we find the old magnificent plantation houses and towns like Natchez where the "Old South" and its culture are still revered. On the west, the Arkansas side, there is none of this. There are no signs of early permanency. For eastern Arkansas was originally settled by plantation owners from Georgia and Alabama who had burnt out the land growing cotton and were looking for fresh property. They raised their crops here but still regarded Alabama and Georgia as home, to which they would return having made their fortune. It was not until later years that permanency of settlement became popular.

Institutions have also suffered from lack of permanence. There are very few private schools in the state and only a handful of small private colleges. This is far different from Texas or Louisiana or Missouri, its neighbors. Arkansans have been loth to set up many permanent institutions for a wide number of reasons. A good example was Little Rock University set up by the Methodist Church in the 1880's. It was a complete university for its day each including a College of Engineering. It needed funds to continue. But citizens of the state, discovering that the school was supported by the Northern Methodist Church while they were Southern Methodist, sent their money to Dallas and Southern Methodist University.

There is a lack of strong social institutions in Arkansas. Religion is mainly fundamentalist. Such churches do not build great cathedrals but rather split apart like amoebas. Permanency is still not a great role for social relationships.

Key Values

Probably the meager key value which affect school

finance is the blind faith in low taxes. Heaven help the politician who suggests a tax increase. In election years the candidates all sound like a chorus of George Bushes promising "no new taxes."

Low tax rates are looked upon as positive advertising for the state. To lure retirees to Arkansas it is pointed out in pamphlets that it has the lowest taxes of any retirement area. Lower than Florida, lower than Arizona.

On the other side of the coin, there is also a feeling of not depending on the government. Thousands of Arkansas families refuse to apply for food stamps, have reduced or free school lunches for their children, and other poverty programs to which they are entitled. Self-reliance is still a virtue. A few years ago we had a large federal grant to help poor high risk students in school. We needed parent advisory committees. We could not recruit them. No one wanted to admit that they were poor. Our committee was largely teachers and teachers spouses. This sense of self-reliance tends to undermine the sense of community.

What further undermines the sense of community is the existence of a far-right fringe. Arkansas is headquarters for one of the branches of the Ku Klux Klan. Just a few years ago, in a different county, there was a shoot-out between the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) and a group calling themselves "The Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord." The far-right and those listening to them are not liable to be community conscious or caring. This sort of anti-tax, anti-government value is pervading.

Future Directions

If the present situation were permitted to continue, not much would be done. But it cannot. There is the matter of the court order. The situation must change. Solutions

Prior to the court order, the legislature had created a commission to study school finance. It met at various places in the state and made its recommendations in December of 1994. These were given to the full legislature in January. At this point, the governor dismissed the commission and announced his own plan which changed almost weekly. Debate raged on in January, February, and March. Finally in April, the Speaker of the House took the bull by the horns and announced that no appropriation bills would be considered until the school funding issue was settled.

Such a draconian move proved effective. Adherents of the various programs met and agreed to what was largely the governors plan.

Confusion

The plan is quite confusing. It lists no fewer than 17

funding varieties not including local taxes. It requires a 25 mill levy to be made by all school districts. The current average millage is 28.84 but the 25 is to be totally devoted to maintenance and operations, whereas such current millage goes to debt service. Districts not levying 25 mills will be penalized by all residents of these districts paying a 10 percent surcharge on their state income tax. The problem with that is that 132 districts are not taxing at 25 mills. One is as low as 17 mills. The surcharge will not make up the funds lost by a shortage of 8 mills.

There is no Special Education funding. Rather there is a formula to tell districts how much to spend in Special Education. Conceivably this could be in violation of PL 94-142 as all it does is "rob Peter to pay Paul."

If the program is fully funded, all districts will have their expenditures per ADM raised to that of the wealthiest district. If it is not fully funded then the district will be equalized at 80 percent of the district at the 95th percentile. This district is Little Rock and it is not part of the program as it is under a Federal Court Order.

In a survey of superintendents of schools, most believed that not all districts would levy 25 mills and that the program would never be fully funded.

The only change for the latter situation would be the passage of a Constitutional amendment in 1996 which would require a 25 mill levy and place the state in charge of the funds. However in that case, if the state holds all of the funds, ranking becomes a spurious exercise as there will be nothing to rank except for Little Rock. The chances for the passage of the amendment seems at best 50-50.

Percentages can be juggled. The state will increase the funds per ADM by piling onto local districts payments which have been made in the past by the state but now must be paid by local districts. This includes teacher retirement and health insurance. This will increase a low expenditure per ADM and make the situation look more equitable but really nothing has happened. The same is true of transportation aid which will now be considered part of general rather than categorical. Transportation aid has not been fully funded and hence acts as a disequalizer by requiring many districts to take money for instruction and spend it on transportation.

Thus, with an increase in local some local taxes and some bookkeeping tricks, Arkansas is trying to lay claim to equity. The ploy seems its answer rather than increased state support. Hence, Arkansas won't get its cake or eat it either.

CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION DEBATE: DEWEY AND THORNDIKE REVISITED - THE THORNDIKE SIDE

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The historically touted Dewey-Thorndike debate has really never died despite the demise of its progenitors and of a philosophical focus in education and educational practice. The point is that "intelligent inquiry" in educational practice has been largely removed as a factor in successful teaching and administration of schools. Teachers are "assisted" by book companies who provide not only the questions but also the answers to them so that little effort is required in instructing students. They, and their students are faced with assessments, standardized in nature and adopted by the state, which mandate the teaching of specified skills and concepts. Educational practice has become mechanistic in many respects and is in large part more focused on the learning than on the learner.

Administrators, too, are victims of the temper of the times as they deal with crises rather than learning. Even the focus on inquiry in educational administration has changed from "instructional" to "symbolic" leadership. In administration, the last vestiges of Dewey's influence may be found in reflective practice as espoused by Schon and Sergiovanni.

While Dewey, as a progressive, saw education as largely experimental in nature and teacher and child-centered, education today is not experimental. Unruly children are no longer appreciated in the classroom for their energy and creativity, but rather are seen as disruptive forces, needing to be removed and placed in alternative settings where "their kind" can be dealt with more effectively. Teachers may be the focus in some settings, but in many school districts, instruction is not the overriding concern, finances or discipline may be. Perhaps these behaviors are predicated on a misunderstanding of Dewey. More likely, they are predicated on an acceptance of interpretations of the tenets proposed by Edward Thorndike as part of his theoretical position in the progressive educational movement of the late 1800's. Edward Lee Thorndike, at the opposite end of the continuum from Dewey, considered a sort of mass education predicated on efficiency in large and bureaucratic school districts to be valuable. (It was in fact in the 1830's that the first superintendents were appointed in Buffalo, New York and Louisville, Kentucky, thereby marking the beginning of the administrative complexity and the mass educational process which is inherent in American public education.)

While Dewey suggested that children should not be isolated from the world, we find ourselves faced with an educational system which prepares students for college, when in fact about "75% of those students will not attend college or will not complete a college degree (and) 70% of the jobs which these students will hold do not require a college degree." (Smith, 1995). Such a system and such beliefs clearly are not focused on individual reality or future needs so much as they are predicated on authoritarian, made in isolation for the needs of the individual child. These are decisions with regard to that which will be most beneficial to society and therefore by implication for the student.

Dewey stressed interaction for students. In most of our schools students are still passive participants in frontal lecture classes with occasional forays into cooperative learning. Teachers too are isolated and must learn how to utilize interdisciplinary, team and co-teaching. This teaching reflects the tradition of teacher education during the past four decades, namely, stimulus-response, reinforcement based teaching which is measured by a system of testing for outcomes.

Dewey wrote that "all educational aims must be founded upon intrinsic activities." Further, it was his contention that "the source of whatever is dead, mechanical and formal in schools is found in the subordination of the belief and experience of the child in the curriculum" (Ulich, 1965, p 103.). Such a position is basic to self-motivated learning, a concept which is discussed in contemporary educational literature but which is not the general tenor of classroom instruction, national goals and state mandated standardized testing.

For Edward Thorndike, the basis for education is psychology rather than philosophy. Assessment of productivity is precisely that, assessment, testing, psychometry. It was Thorndike's belief that pedagogy comes from psychology and that therefore education and psychology are closely linked. "Psychology form(ed) the foundation for the science of education." (Pulliam, 1991, 133). Therefore, while schools may furnish provide a curriculum to students, they also furnish data sources and students to psychologists for research. A highly statistical and mechanical approach, called Associationism has become basic to trends in current educational practice and indeed has been the main focus of educational effort at least since the launching of the Sputnik in 1957. While Dewey had a deep resentment

against standardization of all sorts, Thorndike with his regard for testing, liked the concept of standardization in educational practice. (Gutek, 1972) In fact, Thorndike worked with testing, conditioning, and early behavioristic theories of stimulus/response and reinforcement rather than problem solving which was a major focus of Dewey.

Thorndike referred to his learning theory as a theory of connectionism which defined learning as the formation of connections or bonds between stimuli and responses (LeFrancois, 1988, p. 27). In fact, for Thorndike, it was the simultaneous occurrence of stimulus or response events which brought about learning. This reasoning may be referred to as a contiguity explanation. The reinforcement approach lends itself to the belief that testing and test results are not only appropriate but are also fundamental to learning. Dewey, on the other hand, "had a deep resentment against standardization of all sorts". (Smith & Smith, 1994, p. 281).

Conditioning is by its very nature more authoritarian and teacher directed than are problem solving and self-growth. In fact, in its worst scenario, it might portend not "transfer of learning" but rather "transfer of specific responses"(Smith & Smith, p. 281). Thorndike's greatest contributions to education are believed to be the tests he devised to measure children's intelligence and their ability or aptitude to learn.

Even forgetting is spoken of in conditioning terminology by Thorndike as he speaks of "stamping out" stimulus response bonds. Following his theory allows the reader to see that Thorndike specifically deals with the conditions which lead to the stamping in or out of bonds, i.e. learning relationships. (LeFrancois, 28) "The formation of mental connections by varied reaction and the strengthening of one of the variants (the so-called animal learning by "trail and error" or "trial and success") has been found at the base of much human learning. (Thorndike, 1942, p.3). From these and other observations, Thorndike derived two conclusions about learning, the so-called law of effect and the law of multiple responses. The law of effect posits that responses that occur just in contiguity to a satisfying state of affairs tend to be stamped in or learned and those events that happen prior to or in association with a dismaying or annoying state of affairs tend to be stamped out or, in Skinner's terms, to become extinct.

The implications of the law of effect are that learning is a function of the consequences of behavior. As would be reported later by Tom Harris and Muriel James in their theory of Transactional Analysis, pleasure is more potent for causing learning than is pain for stamping out responses. In transactional analysis, this concept is

transformed into the idea of "okayness". Persons confronted with uncomfortable or difficult situations will invariably seek solutions until they find the solution which is most satisfying to them. William Glasser would use a similar concept in the development of control theory and in his proposed address to the needs of students. That is, students who are not comfortable will act in ways to make sure that their needs are met, for control, freedom, diversity or belonging. Often that search for satisfaction is unproductive. The role of the teacher is to provide productive ways for students to meet their needs while still being able to provide education within the classroom. In fact, the satisfaction of needs will be the very source of learning, student participation and student comfort.

These multiple responses provide a sort of trial and error basis for learning. Additional laws posited by Thorndike include the law of exercise which is a sort of declaration of practice making perfect. That is to say that repetition of a stimulus-response situation strengthens the response and helps to ensure that what is learned will not be forgotten. Consequently, the place of rote, drill and repetition, still used by some teachers, may be derived from the work of Edward Thorndike. In fact, clinical supervision, as posited by Madelyn Hunter, provides the basis for a sort of repetitive practice of lesson delivery within the classroom. While this may be variable and creative for many teachers, some teachers are in effect clones of their cooperating teachers and repeaters of activities which were successful in one class or in one year regardless of the fact that students and the needs of the students have changed.

Thorndike's law of readiness holds that some responses are more likely than others to be learned while still others are less likely to be learned. The basis for this is the readiness level of the learner. Of course, those who deal with educational and management theory will recognize readiness levels as a point of discussion in the work of Hersey and Blanchard. Approaches to learning and to working successfully with others is, in their theory, predicated on the readiness or maturity level of the learner/worker. Not only is maturation involved in this learning, but previous learning is also involved. That learning determines whether the new learning will be difficult or easy to master. Easily learned material or easily gained knowledge is generally more pleasurable to the learner than is the struggle to master difficult learning for which one is basically unprepared. Mastery learning appears to be predicated upon this theory.

Basic to the law of readiness are the concepts of reward and punishment according to Thorndike. Of course, much of the discipline used in schools today is still predicated on reward and punishment although

individual educators such as Linda Albert have called for cooperative discipline predicated on consequences and incentives in lieu of rewards or punishments. The pleasantness of a successful learning experience is an incentive to continue in the learning process while the unpleasantness of an unsuccessful learning experience may be punishment or may be a consequence of inappropriate behaviors. (Thorndike, 1935, p. 19.) That unpleasantness may also stem from situations in which students are ready to learn but are not able to do so. Without appropriate teaching or assistance, students seek alternative ways to have their needs met or to participate in activities for which they are ready, i.e. willing and able to learn successfully. On the other hand, there are often negative incentives to gifted students whose needs are not met and who find that they are not allowed to extend themselves and to learn when they are ready. This is as counterproductive as trying to force an average student to learn something when he or she is not ready. Readiness enhances the probability that the student will profit from the specific learning experience. "Rewards and punishments alike will teach by virtue of the conditions and activities which they produce..." (Thorndike in Elliott, 1949, p. 38).

Subsidiary laws which are important in educational practice and which are derived from the work of Thorndike are the law of set or attitude, the law of prepotency of elements, the law of response by analogy, and the law of associative shifting.

The law of set or attitude infers that people respond to situations in terms of the attitudes which they have brought with them. Such a theory goes to the current educational theory that "set" should draw the student into the learning by creating a relationship to previous learning and to the experiences of the learner. This is true with students of all ages, including adults, which is the basis for developmental supervision as posited and presented by Glickman. This ties into the one issue in the Coleman Report that has stood the test of time and research, namely that students, and indeed all of us are impacted by the culture from which we come. Such culture is construed to be socio-economic status. Disadvantaged students may behave in negative ways in order to protect themselves from criticism predicated on their seeming lack of ability. Unfortunately, these laws also lend themselves to a sorting and slotting practice in education which has led to the practice of tracking of students, a practice which has come under much justifiable criticism in current education.

Thorndike's theory of readiness implies a sort of "on your mark-get-set-go type of phenomenon." (Travers, 1965, p. 159). This does not remove the role of choice in the individual's psychological makeup, however.

Thorndike gave educators a practical and measureable theory of learning, for students who are ready can perform and using reward (incentive) appropriately, these students can be made to learn. While the criticism has been raised that the associational method proposed by Thorndike ignored understanding and problem-solving (Travers, p. 161), the alternative position may also be taken, namely that Thorndike's associationism provided the basis for measuring learning accurately and familiarized educators with such fundamental concepts as transfer of learning. Additionally, his theory has provided for the establishment of patterns of instruction as they are employed in many schools and classrooms.

Certainly the culture of the school will impact the readiness of students to learn and of staff to perform the necessary tasks for the educational process. This is in alignment with the concept of set or attitude and is reflected in the effective school movement and in management theory in the work of Terrance Deal in his book *Corporate Culture*. Culture is defined as the rites, traditions, rituals of the organization. These are the ways the organization and its stakeholders have always done things. Awareness of the culture and expectations has always been the basis for set as students enter a school. Positive attitude and perceptions of what is to take place within the school will carry the students and the organization for sometime even when the culture is not really positive. Negative set or attitudes may not be easily overcome even in a situation in which the culture has changed to one that is more positive.

The law of prepotency of elements posits that students, and indeed people in general, respond to the components of a situation which are most stimulating or striking, and not necessarily to the full situation. The student will respond then to that which is most intriguing to him or her. Consequently, the lessons for education are not only that students must find interest in the learning, as suggested by Madeline Hunter, but also that absent interest in the learning, student will selectively attend to that which interests them most. Sometimes, of course, this translates into distractions and distractability.

The law of analogy, which may be referred to as stimulus generalization, involves learning in the sense of positive or negative transfer, a principal of learning, depending on whether the previous learning inhibits or enhances the new learning. Finally, the law of associative shifting relates to a practice used in the training of animals and also in human learning, that is successive approximation. Mastery of some tasks may be accomplished by means of working closer and closer to the accomplishment of the full task or mastery of the entire learning sequence. Skills are built one on the

other.

And so the debate between Dewey and Thorndike encompasses schooling and the focus of that schooling. According to Levin (1991), this is a struggle between the "values of social efficiency versus . 66). Additionally, Dewey's interest seemed to be in a curriculum which valued skills, whether artistic, manual or domestic as tools for greater mastery of the curriculum. Thorndike, on the other hand, valued work in terms of the productivity of the child as a future wage earner and contributor to society from that frame of reference. According to Tyler in a 1987 article in *Educational Leadership*, it was the work of Thorndike which led educators to turn away from the so-called traditional curriculum which included Latin, as he demonstrated that students who "completed courses in Latin were no better

in their English composition than students who had not taken Latin." (p. 36) It was he who began to investigate the need for demands and opportunities in the marketplace to be considered in the consideration of what should be the content of contemporary curriculum.

Today we hear educators frequently discussing the need to prepare students to be wage earners who can contribute to the well being of society and also to a social security system which is perceived to be in trouble. In other words, the value of our students as future wage earners is an overriding concern in the new "refocus" on apprenticeship, tech prep and the like.

Thorndike's "thought has been more influential within education than has Dewey's. It has helped to shape public school practice as well as scholarship about education." (Lagermann, in Levin , p. 71) Thorndike too was among the first and major contributors to adult learning theories (Joncich, 1968), which have only come into their own in educational consideration in the past decade. The debate continues today. And if one examines the National Goals and the attendant calls for national standards and assessment, most of us would surely come to the conclusion that Thorndike continues to win.

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REVISITING THE DEWEY-THORNDIKE DEBATE: THE DEWEY SIDE

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Progressivism was a late 19th-early 20th Century movement in America that caused not only the questioning of our economic, political, and social ideologies, but also our educational goals and processes. Such questioning revealed the discontent with "traditional" education practices felt by many educators in the late 1800s. These practices stressed the teacher as the source, transmitter, and evaluator of knowledge as well as a strict disciplinarian; the student as passive learner; and the subject matter as highly sequenced and imparted from the individual who "knew" (the teacher) to the individual who did not (the student). In addition, no attempt was made to unite schooling with social/community issues nor was any attention given to a curriculum incorporating students' personal experiences. Progressive education was to represent the antiauthoritarian and experimental approach to education.

Two of the most important individuals to influence the progressive movement in education were John Dewey (1859-1952) and Edward L. Thorndike (1874-1949). (Hilgard 1987, 698) It is said that Dewey "set Progressive Education in motion" (Hilgard 1987, 65) with the opening of his University of Chicago Elementary School (1896); however, many believe that Thorndike has had the greater influence on 20th Century practice.

Although the majority of discussion concerning Dewey and Thorndike generally touts their differences, in reality there are a number of similarities and, while the goal of this paper is to highlight some major differences, these similarities should not be ignored.

During their professional careers, Dewey and Thorndike greatly influenced psychological thinking although Dewey spent the majority of his career in philosophical endeavors. Both were on the faculty at Columbia University from 1905 to 1930. Each was influenced by Charles Darwin and William James, each was a member of the National Academy of Science, and each served as president of the American Psychological Association. Thorndike saw in education the chance to modify human nature for the better; Dewey--to improve one's relationship with one's environment and, ultimately, to improve humankind. In addition, they accepted the logic of modern science, were interested in a scientific pedagogy, and had a social vision for education that directly related to the methods they

advocated.¹ Both Thorndike and Dewey believed that the "process of learning (psychological) or the process of knowing (philosophical) is a process of reacting to stimuli." (Hilgard 1987, 64)

"Habit" was a favorite word for them (Hilgard 1987); however, the their means for reaching "habit" differed. Thorndike believed that habits were to be **taught** through stimulus-response situations; Dewey believed that habits were to be **realized** and internalized through social experience. Dewey argued that to view behavior as a series of specific reactions to stimuli ignores the importance of the individual's context and perception: stimulation must be seen as a psychological event, not simply as physical energy. (Hothersall 1990) Where Thorndike promoted the concepts of stimulus-response and sensation-idea, Dewey--who had no use for dichotomies--favored the "reflex arc" suggesting the inability for behavior and consciousness to be broken into discrete events. (Hothersall 1990)

The term "connection" was important to both Thorndike and Dewey. For Thorndike, the connection to be made was between stimulus and response (S-R). For Dewey, connection referred to linking the curriculum to the interest (both pleasure and need) of the student. Interest, then, is Dewey's "connection" between the learner and that which must be learned. "To make it interesting by leading one to realize the connection that exists is simply good sense...." (Dewey 1944, 127)

While both Thorndike and Dewey viewed the curriculum as important, their goals for and orientation to learning were somewhat in opposition. Both believed it imperative to investigate the needs and opportunities of society in establishing what should be learned. Thorndike viewed school as a way of preparing the child to become a future wage earner and contributor to society: education was a "technique for matching individuals to existing social and economic roles" (Lagemann 1989, 212). Thus, the information gained from looking to society's needs should set the agenda for schooling, and this information should be scientifically taught to students.

Dewey rejected the doctrine of preparation in believing that school should be related to the child's present life rather than be a preparation for some remote, future life as predetermined by adults. For Dewey, education should lead to more and better shared experience. There should be "no end beyond itself"

(Dewey 1944, 50). Because education is the reconstruction of experience and human knowledge comprises tentative conclusions--warranted assertions rather than continuing truths--Dewey's goal was for students to attain intelligence applicable to the present as well as the future. In contrast to Thorndike's view of "learning to work," Dewey emphasized "working to learn." (Levin 1991)

Whereas Thorndike had a product orientation to education stressing measurable and verifiable information, Dewey believed in a process oriented education. The goal was not to pass on conventional wisdom through rote drill and practice resulting in accomplished knowledge, but to stimulate students "to think, to explore, and thus to learn" (Hothersall 1990, 305) while developing creative intelligence and versatility. The process of education should result in "growth": the "increase of intelligence in the management of life" and "intelligent adaption to an environment." (Dewey 1943, 31)

While Thorndike viewed the curriculum as proven knowledge found important by society, Dewey viewed the curriculum as a reflection of the social life of the child. (Dewey 1897, Article III) The subject matter of education springs from the child's home life and builds upon personal, social experiences so as to offer continuity and meaning to the student's past and present activity and to be continuous with out-of-school experience. Dewey explained that,

to set up any end outside of education, as furnishing it goal and standard, is to deprive the educational process of much of its meaning, and tends to make us rely upon false and external stimuli in dealing with the child. (Dewey 1897, Article III)

For Dewey there exists no "ideal" sequence of studies, subject matter seldom provides the starting point for the educative process, and subject matter is viewed as open-ended and experiential. At times, the relevance of subject matter is determined by present social problems or by the interests of the students.

The content of subject matter is presented in a holistic manner. Subjects are not departmentalized, but are presented like the events of life: overlapping and interrelated. The significance of subject matter is determined by its ability to help students solve problems in their immediate experience, and children learn that knowledge is to be used in the world--not simply mastered for its own sake. The starting point for the curriculum, then, is not based on society's present needs, but rather on the child's personal and social experience and interest. (Dewey 1897, Article III)

With regard to the act of teaching, Thorndike saw it as a science concerned with regulating human behavior

(Spring 1986). The teacher maintains a controlled, structured classroom and emphasizes drill, reward, and measurement. The teacher's power is in controlling stimuli and assisting students with stimulus-response connections.

In contrast, Dewey viewed teachers as social agents directing the course of change in human experience while providing a learning atmosphere of social origin within a framework of usefulness. The teacher supports an integrated curriculum reflecting the experiences of life rather than isolated facts and information. The teacher determines what is important and good about the culture and, then, the way in which this information can be connected to students. This teacher is one who is capable of looking into society and identifying that which is most important for children to learn. This encompasses not only basic skills, but also that which comes from examining great art, music, science, and so on and connecting the resulting information with the inheritance of the student. Pursuant to this, the teacher is an expert in child and adolescent developmental psychology as well as an environmentalist capable of creating an informal environment in which the interest of the students can be aroused, stimulated, and directed.

The teacher's calling combines the "...most perfect and intimate union of science and art conceivable in human experience." (Dewey 1897, Article V) It includes the moral responsibility of selecting, organizing, and directing experiences so that student participation--whether as a group member or independent learner--will result in maximum understanding and knowledge. (Hullfish 1961) It includes not only the ability to organize and direct experience, but also to reflect upon what has occurred during such experience in anticipation of and planning for future experience.

The teacher's primary role is not to control, but rather to guide and facilitate, and a key responsibility lies in motivating rather than in dispensing information. As such, the teacher's primary task is to discover connections between the student and subject matter and to assist the student in recognizing those connections. In order to accomplish this task, the teacher respects both student experience and opinion. Dewey stated:

Only through the continual and sympathetic observation of childhood's interests can the adult enter into the child's life and see what it is ready for, and upon what material it could work most readily and fruitful. (Dewey 1897, Article IV)

Dewey's viewpoint also encompasses the notion that although the teacher is generally richer in experience, he or she is not the sole source of authority. The teacher, in fact, is considered a co-inquirer in the learning process--

a participant in the learning activity. (Dewey 1944)

In examining Thorndike's favored methods of instruction--his fundamental laws of change--one finds a teacher-centered approach and generally "mechanical methods that had been traditional classroom practices" (Spring 1986, 178). In some ways, he has only "justified the traditional by making it sound scientific." (Spring 1986, 178)

Dewey advocated instructional methods that promote active sharing and learning. This methodology supports numerous opportunities for students to learn by direct contact with things, people, and places in conjunction with reading and hearing about them.

One educational goal is to assist students in living well within a democratic community; thus, students are involved in group as well as independent work. Furthermore, they are assisted in gaining the knowledge, skills, and interest needed not only to solve their own problems, but for helping others solve their problems as well. As a result, Dewey believed instruction should include group work, allow for student activity, incorporate student interests, and promote cooperation.

Rejecting the reward/punishment aspect of learning, Dewey posited that the origin of learning comes from within the individual. The learner uses Dewey's complete act of thought--scientific experience--in applying intelligence to real problems emerging from personal and social experience. Progress is made not by completing a sequence of subjects, or establishing specific S-R bonds, but by developing new attitudes toward, new thinking about, and new interests in experience.

According to Thorndike, student progress could be measured through testing the increase of connections (S-R bonds) made by students; eventually his scales for measuring academic achievement developed into a set of standardized achievement tests. (Pulliam & Van Patten 1995, 134) In fact, testing to Thorndike should not only verify the results of teaching, but also should result in the matching of individual talents and abilities with social needs. (Spring 1986)

For Dewey, a goal of education was to teach students "how" rather than "what" to think. Because the learning of problem-solving skills was far more important than the inculcating of subject matter, Dewey was interested in formative evaluation--evaluation that focuses upon on-going process rather than upon measurement of outcomes. The emphasis should not so much be upon what the student has learned, but rather upon what the student still needs to learn.

According to Dewey, tests should be used as a means for determining the "...child's fitness for social life and reveal the place in which he can be of the most service

and where he can receive the most help." (Dewey 1897, Article II) Paper and pencil tests are inadequate for identifying in which areas a student needs assistance, especially since dimensions of nonacademic and nonintellective growth are as important as academic growth. It is the quality of behavior--when one is placed within a situation calling for demonstration of what been learned--that illustrates if one has learned well. The grade awarded, then, reflects the growth of the whole child and "should show how well a student is doing in light of his potential." (Dewey 1944, 432) The grade not only reflects acquisition of factual information and concepts, but also growth in problem-solving skills, physical and emotional development, and citizenship.

While both Dewey and Thorndike recognized the importance of the student as an individual, their views on intelligence and egalitarian education were in opposition. Thorndike supported the view that intelligence is quantifiable, and that through testing, one could measure the amount of S-R bonds. (Hothersall 1990, Spring 1986) The brighter the individual, the larger the number of connections and the greater the chance for increasing the amount of connections. Due to his belief in genetically determined levels of intelligence, Thorndike promoted differing educational experiences and opportunities for students of various abilities. (Hothersall 1990)

Unlike Thorndike, Dewey believed that intelligence is socially built and results from "shared activity in making and using instruments or tools that assist man in personal growth, in fashioning plans of action, and in acting upon hypothesis." (Gutek 1988, 95) For Dewey, intelligence is the "use of experience in solving problems." (Pulliam & Van Patten 1995, 232)

Regarding educational opportunities, Dewey viewed the school as a place for nurturing cooperation and partnership as opposed to competition and personal gain. Because the school should provide a cooperative environment--one that resembles the life of the community--and because of the belief in the importance of promoting collaboration, Dewey saw no need for homogeneous grouping. Separation of students creates class distinctions and compromises the democratic principle of equality found in the American political heritage. (Morris 1961) Moreover, "to dualize or to separate young people from one another at any time is in some degree to destroy the socializing power of the school." (Morris 1961, 369) In Dewey's words:

It is the office of the school environment to balance the various elements in the social environment, and to see to it that each individual gets an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born, and to come into living contact

with a broader environment. (Dewey 1944, 20)

In addition, separation interrupts the sharing proclivities of the students, limits the opportunities for them to learn from one another, and produces undemocratic by-products such as snobbery and condescension that may develop in upper and be directed toward lower groups of students. Dewey believed that we must "fight against (undemocratic) tendencies and protect the educational dignity of those who are not going on to greatness." (Morris 1961, 413) Thus, heterogeneous grouping is one way to ensure that each child has an equal opportunity.

Regarding school administration, Thorndike supported the scientific movement and resulting organizational patterns. Because Dewey had a greater interest in process than in order and system, his administrative framework included a democratic-committee model of organizational structure that encouraged "policy formulation" rather than "policy execution." (Morris 1961) In fact, all school policy and activity were to encompass the sharing of experiences.

Conclusion

Throughout this Century, the pendulum of education has swung back and forth between Thorndike's and Dewey's views as the tenor of our national needs and goals has changed. (Spring 1994) Overall, Dewey has had the "greater influence on the conceptions of education and its aims" while Thorndike has been "more influential on the practices of the traditional schools,

which were always more numerous than the innovative ones." (Hilgard 1987, 678)

Current interest in educational reform appears to promote what many refer to as innovative designs and procedures. The following topics are frequently addressed in today's call for educational improvement:

- team teaching
- flexible scheduling
- student choice
- whole language approaches
- portfolio assessment
- individual motivation and goals
- cooperative learning
- fostering prosocial behavior
- site-based management
- character/ethical education
- opportunity for continuing progress
- home and school cooperative efforts
- problem solving based on personal discovery
- the school-within-a-school community concept
- authentic instruction and meaningful activity
- reflective learners, teachers, and administrators
- multiple intelligences and diverse learning styles
- Socratic, didactic, inquiry, and discovery methods

In perusing the preceding list, one unearths Dewey's influence. In fact, many contemporary suggestions for improving the entire educational framework are reflective of Dewey's recommendations, and current practices mirror many of his ideas. Although it appears that Thorndike **has been** the primary influence on educational organization and practice, when one reads current literature on education, one finds the ideas and influence of Dewey creeping into the foreground.

Notes

1 The preceding information was gleaned from the references: Hilgard, Hothersall, and Spring (1986).

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DEWEY'S LABORATORY SCHOOL REVISITED

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In this school the life of the child [which is essentially social in nature and lived in community with others] becomes the all-controlling aim. All the media necessary to further the growth of the child center there. Learning? certainly, but living primarily, and learning through and in relation to this living. (SSCC, 36)

Interest in the views of John Dewey has experienced a revival in recent years, partially a result of the on-going educational reform movement and partially a result of the similarities between the social challenges of the 1890s and the 1990s in America (Ryan, 1994). In particular, John Goodlad (1991) is interested in Dewey's views on educator preparation and educational reform. Goodlad (1984) is also interested in Dewey's Laboratory School and its role in educational reform, but he does not recommend that the laboratory school movement be revived. Instead, he recommends the establishment of at least two kinds of schools for reforming schooling and educator preparation, namely the key school to "try out unfamiliar practices" and "develop programs and disseminate descriptions and evaluations of practice brought to a level of successful operation" (1984) and the partner school which is "peopled by teachers in this school, professors of education, and professors in the arts and sciences departments all members of the center of pedagogy faculty." (1994) Goodlad's dual emphasis on the role of the key school and the partner school seems to be an attempt to retain many of the emphases of the Laboratory School and the practice school of Dewey's day. In addition, his intent is to add emphases that extend the role of each without overloading either kind of school. Overloading schools from his perspective is a major danger he sees in the current professional development school movement. A Philosophical Context.

To understand the Laboratory School from Dewey's perspective, we must keep in mind his overall philosophical viewpoint or a network of his major conceptions, e.g., education, thinking, experience, community, freedom, authority, democracy, science, curriculum, pedagogy, children theory, practice, and schools. These concepts form an important interpretative scheme for understanding the Laboratory School. Beyond these concepts, another kind of school the practice school is also important to keep in mind if we are to understand Dewey's views. While both of these institutions represent significant ideas in the Deweyan

scheme of things, we must devote the majority of our time to the Laboratory School.

An important point needs to be made before we move on to the Laboratory School. While Dewey was at the University of Chicago from 1894 to 1904 (Dykhuisen, 1973), the School of Education acquired or created a "system of schools" that was described as "Connected Schools." (MW2, 77) The system included the Laboratory School, Elementary School, Secondary School, and the Chicago Manual Training School. Through the influence of these schools, institutions that were viewed as either laboratory schools or practice schools, Dewey's educational thinking was partially shaped, and university students were "brought into contact with problems of educational method, subject-matter, organization, and administration, and ... enabled to test, interpret, criticize, and verify the principles ... [they] learned." (MW2, 78) The important point to glean from these connected schools is the purpose Dewey saw for field experience, for it is the opposite of what we might nowadays expect: the future teacher was to "test, interpret, criticize and verify the principles he had learned [*italics added*]," not imitate, much less criticize, the techniques and principles the regular classroom teacher utilized. The critical evaluation of a theory, if residing with anyone and occurring anywhere, rested with the teacher and in the school, not with the professor and the university unless of course the laboratory and practice schools are a part of the university. Of course, this is only part of the story about theory and practice.

An Experimental School

Although we will return to the idea of the School as a research laboratory, it is important at this juncture to make a few comments on the experimental nature of the school Dewey helped build. While Dewey had few positive remarks to make about the traditional school and many critical comments regarding the progressive school, his declarations concerning the school he established at the University of Chicago were very different. First called the University Primary School by Dewey and later the Laboratory School, Dewey's remarks concerning it were essentially positive even though the school was new and evolving and lasted only from 1896-1903. (HWT, v.) One point that is not debatable is that Dewey saw the Laboratory School as a vital, dynamic institution that was important in bringing

about an ongoing interest in educational reform. In fact, he optimistically asserted in 1898 that if "experiment stations" a term referring to any school experimenting with "the New Education" but also applicable to his view of the experimental function of the Laboratory School (SSCC,93) "which represent the outposts of educational progress" can be supported for "a number of years" and they can be allowed to work "out carefully and definitely *the subject-matter of a new curriculum* ... the problem of the more general educational reform will be immensely simplified and facilitated." (EW5, 269; italics added)

Supporting various experimental schools, including his Laboratory School, then, was not only wise and economical but a means of engaging in systematic educational experimentation that would lay the foundation for and speed up the process of broader educational reform. In one sense, therefore, Dewey thought that those schools which were experimenting on the basis of new beliefs about children, society, and education were the places where educational reform could best be initiated. Yet, his expectations, at least as far as laboratory schools are concerned, have seldom been systematically and substantially realized. Laboratory seen noted for accomplishing great things as experimental stations, much less in teacher preparation and educational reform. (Goodlad, 1990) Although failure to maximize the potential of the laboratory school movement is not a reason for rejecting its potential in a Deweyan scheme of educational reform, Goodlad's advice is probably sound, i.e., develop key schools to experiment with emerging ideas and unsubstantiated ideas. There are, of course, experimental schools today that are not laboratory schools which serve as centers of reform much in keeping with Dewey's wishes, albeit many of these schools do not seem to survive the departure of their founders or principals or turnovers in the central offices of school districts. Yet their inspirational usefulness, as sources of courage, experimentation, and creativity, plays a positive role in local and sometimes national reform agendas. Indeed, there are signs that even laboratory schools are awakening to the responsibility to be experimental and reform agents even if it is too early to determine whether they can establish professional rapport and respectability with other school and university communities. (Klag, 1994, 1-2)

A Community-centered Philosophy

In 1895, a year before the Laboratory School opened, in his initial written comments about the future school, Dewey stated that the University Primary School, as he termed it at the time, was a means of addressing the "ultimate problem of all education," namely the

coordination of the "psychological and social factors" that are relevant to education. (EW5, 225) "The co-ordination demands, therefore," Dewey wrote, "that the child be capable of expressing *himself*, but in such a way as to realize *social ends*" (EW5, 224), implying very early in his career that the community-centered approach, not the child-centered one of many progressivists and Goodlad, was the position he wished to promote. His comments reflected his views regarding the school as a community, indeed students could grow emotionally, socially, and intellectually in a way that has unity and continuity with their prior and current home life. Briefly, Dewey claimed that,

The end of the institution must be such as to enable the child to translate his powers over into terms of their social equivalencies; to see what they mean in terms of what they are capable of accomplishing in social life. This implies: 1. Such interest in others as will secure responsiveness to their real needs consideration, delicacy, etc. 2. Such knowledge of social relationships as to enable one to form social ideas or ends. 3. Such volitional command of one's own powers as to enable one to be an economical social agent. (EW5, 226) In the same essay, Dewey wrote of the Laboratory School: "Attention may again be called to ... having the school represent a genuine community life; and to ... a study of the individual child, with a view of having his activities properly express his capacities, tastes and needs. Attention may again be called to the principle of indirect training, and the consequent necessary emphasis upon initiating the proper process rather than securing any immediate outward product, in the faith that the proper process, once obtained, will determine, in its due season, its own products; while any attempt to force the result apart from first securing the proper psychological process can result only in undue forcing and gradual disintegration of power." (EW5, 232) His confidence in natural child development, indirect training, and the value of proper process was displayed more graphically and dramatically later in 1899:

If we seek the kingdom of heaven, educationally, all other things shall be added unto us--which, being interpreted, is that if we identify ourselves with the real instincts and needs of childhood, and ask only after its fullest assertion and growth, the discipline and information and culture of adult life shall all come in their due season. (MW1, 37)

A Twofold Mission

In June 1896, Dewey clarified the two essential sides of the school's work: "the one for the children, the other for students in the University taking up pedagogical work." (EW5, 244) Negatively, he said the School was not "a school of practice in the ordinary sense; nor is the

main object ... to train teachers." Conversely, the Pedagogical Department and, therefore, the Laboratory School were designed to work with experienced teachers, normal school teachers, administrators, and others. The School, in particular, was to serve a role connected with theory and practice and testing and developing instructional methods, that is to be a genuine laboratory like those in science departments:

the purpose of a focus to keep the theoretical work in touch with the demands of practice, and also makes an experimental station for the testing and developing of methods which, when elaborated, may be safely and strongly recommended to other schools. It is believed that there is nothing which our common schools need more than wise guidance in this respect the presentation of methods which are the offspring of a sound psychology, and have also been worked out in detail under the crucial tests of experience. (EW5, 244)

In September 1896, Dewey said the Laboratory School was a part of the Pedagogical Department's intent to prepare, not "the rank and file of teachers," but "the leaders of our educational systems teachers in normal and training schools, professors of pedagogy, superintendents, principals of schools" who had *already* studied the rudiments of teaching, completed an apprenticeship, and studied educational theory." (EW5, 281) The Laboratory School was also important to the Pedagogical Department's faculty and students who should "devote themselves more directly to the work of pedagogical discovery and experimentation." (EW5, 282) Ideally, Dewey wanted them to study "present practice, to test it scientifically, to work it out into shape for concrete use, and to issue it to the public education system with the imprimatur ... of scientific verification." (EW5, 283)

The School was, in this sense, a place of "practice, experiment and demonstration" (EW5, 285) as well as a place to "test and exhibit in actual working order the results of the theoretical work." (EW5, 288) As such the Laboratory School was based upon the thought that there must be "a continual union of theory and practice" where practice is understood in the university context or "enlarged sense ... [and refers] to the principles which are tested and demonstrated." The university could only be effective in its pedagogical offerings,

in proportion as the theory of the class room is accompanied by actual school work. Only in this way can the student get the real force of what is advanced in the lecture or text-book; only in this way can there be assurance that the teaching of the class room is not vague and impracticable. (EW5, 288)

In an early conceptualization of the Laboratory School for the president of the University of Chicago

(1896), Dewey described it as "a school of demonstration, observation and experiment in connection with the theoretical instruction [and] *is the nerve* [italics added] of the whole [Department of Pedagogy's] scheme." Without a laboratory school, Dewey thought that no pedagogical department was capable of commanding "the confidence of the educational public it is seeking to lay hold of and *direct*; the mere profession of principles without their practical exhibition and testing will not engage the respect of the education profession. Without it, moreover, the theoretical work partakes of the nature of a farce and imposture." (EW5, 434) This thought suggests that he believed one means of reforming education was through the graduate preparation of the leaders of school districts and teacher education programs, a promising idea that has been seldom realized or at least documented. Further, the school was to furnish the impetus for its own ongoing development or reform: "it tends of itself to arouse the interest needed for its own development." (EW5, 434) Not only so, but it was to provide "as nearly as possible an ideal education" for the children who attended the school and "a "model school" (EW5, 434- 435), the latter notion seemingly contradicting other denials.

By October 1896, in an address to the Pedagogical Club of the University of Chicago, two main purposes of the university side of its mission excluding presumably the education of children in the School were clearly distinguished, testing hypotheses and adding to the body of professional knowledge: "(1) to exhibit, test, verify, and criticize *theoretical statements* and principles; (2) to add to the sum of *facts and principles* in its special line." (EW5, 437, italics added) Once again he seemed to feel compelled to clarify what was not within the mission of the Laboratory School, denying that it was focused on immediate practicality and presenting approved "standards and ideals." (EW5, 437)

By contrast, he thus compared the Laboratory School with practice schools that were frequently affiliated with normal school teacher training programs:

It is the function of some schools [practice schools] to provide better teachers according to present standards; it is the function of others to create new standards and ideals and thus to lead to a gradual change in conditions. If it is advisable to have smaller classes, more teachers and a different working hypothesis than is at present the case in the public schools, there should be some institution [experimental or laboratory schools] to show this. This the school in question hopes to do, and while it does not aim to be impractical, it does not aim primarily to be of such character as to be immediately capable of translation into the public school. (EW5,

437)

A Research Laboratory

By 1899, after three years of working with the Laboratory School, Dewey's view of it appears to have come together in a more clear, comprehensive, and coherent fashion, perhaps a result of his evolving philosophy of education and teacher education. The problem of the School, he proclaimed, is to "unify, to organize education, to bring all its various factors together, through putting it as a whole into organic union with everyday life." (SSCC, 92) Thus, the school was to serve as a "model for such unification." (SSCC, 92) More was involved, however, for the school was to serve as a research laboratory in which "the student of education sees theories and ideas demonstrated, tested, criticized, enforced, and the evolution of new truths." (SSCC, 93)

Thus, defending the school against a critic who dismissed the Laboratory School because it was an "experimental school" and working under conditions unlike most public schools, Dewey claimed that an experimental school is deliberately different and is partially special in that it does research experiments so other schools will not have to do them too. (SSCC, 93) The differences were intentionally planned, Dewey maintained, just as are the differences we find in other research laboratories for chemistry, biology, physics, and business:

Laboratories lie back of all the great business enterprises of today, back of every great factory, every railway and steamship system. Yet the laboratory is not a business enterprise; it does not aim to secure for itself the conditions of business life, nor does the commercial undertaking repeat the laboratory. There is a difference between working out and testing a new truth, or a new method, and applying it on a wide scale, making it available for the mass of men, making it commercial. But the first thing is to discover the truth, to afford all necessary facilities, for this is the most practical thing in the world in the long run. We do not expect to have other schools literally imitate what we do. A working model is not something to be copied; it is to afford a demonstration of the feasibility of the principle, and of the methods which make it feasible. So ... we want here to work out the problem of the unity, the organization of the school system in itself, and to do this by relating it so intimately to life as to demonstrate the possibility and necessity of such organization for all education. (SSCC, 94)

He developed this view of the role of laboratory experimentation much later in terms of his conception of research when he discussed factory research and its relationship to business: "laws and facts ... do not yield

rules of practice. Their value for educational practice ... is indirect; it consists in provision of intellectual instrumentalities to be used by the educator." When the public school educator, like the manufacturer, thinks with and applies the scientific research of the laboratory, she should not expect identical results to those in the scientific setting. Instead, she ought to be interested in the "improvement" of practice or partial resolution of problems, not the complete dissolution of impinging problems. The manufacturer and the educator are aware, that factory [or school] conditions involve more variables, and variables harder to control, than are found in the conditions of laboratory experiment. The divergence of actual results from strictly scientific results is, therefore, a direction to him to observe more exactly and, upon a larger scale, all the conditions which affect his result. He notes ... (a)s he discovers ... he modifies his practical procedures. Thus he hopes to better his practice, each step calling attention to the influence of subtler and more obscure conditions which affect results, so that improvement is reasonably progressive. (LW5, 14)

A Curricular and Child Study Focus. In 1899, Dewey explained that when the School started, the staff had "certain ideas in mind" or, better, "questions and problems" to address. (SSCC, 165) The four key questions were: (1) How can the school be brought to a closer relationship with the external life of the child? (2) How can the study of history, science, and art be accomplished so that the inquiry results in worthwhile attainments in knowledge of genuine value and significance for the child? (3) How can an appealing study of reading, writing, and computing be tied into current adult occupations and the everyday experience of the student? and (4) How can the individual child's intellectual interests, physical needs, social development, and overall growth be the center of the school's focus? (SSCC, 166-169) Securing answers to the second question concerning curricular matters appropriate for children, Dewey observed, was *the chief educational interest of the school* and the realm in which he expected the school to make the greatest "contribution to education in general." (SSCC, 168) Answering these and related questions concerning administration were "almost entirely in the hands of the teachers of the school" and were answered gradually by them. (SSCC, 166)

As far as Dewey was concerned, we should think too of the occupational emphasis of the Laboratory expressed in the second question, for he believed:

The great thing to keep in mind, then, regarding the introduction into the school of various forms of active occupation, is that through them the entire spirit of the

school is renewed. It has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habitat, where he learns through directed living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. It gets a chance to be a miniature community, an embryonic society. This is the fundamental fact, and from this continuous and orderly stream of instruction. (SSCC, 18)

By 1915, it was more than clear to Dewey, now a professor at Columbia University, that from the University of Chicago's perspective the number one consideration for the Laboratory School was its scientific emphasis or the accomplishments that were made in "educational thinking" a reference to strengthening the knowledge base of teacher preparation in the areas of child study and curriculum development and thereby the thinking ability of professional educators:

The aim of educating a certain number of children would hardly justify a university in departing from the tradition which limits it to those who have completed their secondary instruction. Only the scientific aim, the conduct of a laboratory, comparable to other scientific laboratories, can furnish a reason for the maintenance by a university of an elementary school. Such a school is a laboratory of applied psychology. That is, it has a place for the study of mind as manifested and developed in the child, and for the search after materials and agencies that seem most likely to fulfill and further the conditions of normal growth. (SSCC, 96)

Again, Dewey evidently felt compelled to make a series of denials about the Laboratory School, e.g., it was not a normal school, a model school, or a demonstration school if by that label is meant an intent to "demonstrate any one special idea or doctrine." (SSCC, 96) Instead, its duty was "the problem of viewing the education of the child in the light of the principles of mental activity and processes of growth made known by modern psychology." (SSCC, 96-97) As Philip Jackson points out, the so-called modern psychology that Dewey admired was neither new nor a specific theoretical orientation that explained scientific research in a narrow sense. Rather, it was a viewpoint that went back to Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel regarding "human nature," including the belief that humans are "driven by natural instincts and interests" as they actively strive "to explore and master their worlds." (SSCC, xxi-xxiii)

A Synthesis of Ideas

In pursuing a synthesis of Dewey's thinking about the Laboratory School, a question of interpretation arises. How are his various comments to be understood? Are

there changes of mind, even vacillation? Or is there simply the rewording of underlying ideas? Or can an evolution of his concept be seen? Is there, perhaps, a combination of these explanations? In approaching these questions, we can begin we school's mission: it was not a normal school or an early teacher training school, nor a practice school where aspiring teachers had many of their field experiences, nor a model school which simply represented the best *current* practice in teaching, nor a demonstration school based upon a particular philosophy, e.g., Montessori school.

Yet, the Laboratory School was a working model or a school where new ideas and their theoretical feasibility could be worked out. So too it was a place to demonstrate the principles and methods upon which the School itself was based, including its "relationship to the University of Chicago." (SSCC, 93) Here it is important to understand that Dewey was impressed with the possibility that the University of Chicago could "do something significant and important in the way of providing the working model of an economic and efficient unification of the various parts of the education system." (MW2, 69), meaning that he thought the university could connect kindergarten, elementary, secondary, junior college, senior college, graduate and professional school education together and connect these with life before schooling and university studies began and while they were being pursued. (MW2, 67-69) So as a working model of a preschool-through-university organization, Dewey appears to have wanted to experiment with and demonstrate his conception of the continuity of experience and education.

Clearly, the Laboratory School also had a twofold immediate mission: providing a good education for a small number of children and being an educational laboratory. In the former arena, it was to provide an ideal education and be a model school. Educational experiments with children, at least in this aspect of the School's mission, could not fail or fail in such away that the development of the students was seriously impacted. In the latter realm, the mission meant it was a laboratory of applied psychology for the purpose of studying and testing the education of children in view of their developing intellectual capabilities and general psychological and social growth, and, as such, it was as a result also a place to develop materials, methods, and devices to facilitate the normal growth of the children. Too, the Laboratory School was an embryonic community where children learned the values of democracy through directed living, and its chief educational problem was a matter of understanding the appropriate curricular or experiential matters for developing children, such as how much is worthwhile

for a child to learn of "knowledge of the world about him, of the forces of the world, of historical and social growth, and in capacity to express himself in a variety of artistic forms." (SSCC, 168)

In pursuing its mission and doing all these things, the Laboratory School had to be involved, in order to be theoretically sound and practically relevant, in demonstrating, testing, and criticizing theories, ideas, principles, and practices as well as creating new knowledge for the profession. The knowledge discovered, however, was not something that could be presented in a predigested fashion or that resulted in rules to be followed. As a place of scientific inquiry and discovery, the School was intended to *discover ways of seeing and judging*-- "intellectual instrumentalities"-- that would indirectly enable the educational leader to improve her work. In the end, the Laboratory School--at least in Dewey's mind--had to be involved in this way, academically and theoretically, if it could make a serious claim to being able to prepare educational leaders, professors, principals, and superintendents to help in the mission of educating children and youth, supervising

other educators, preparing aspiring educators, and reforming schooling, educator preparation programs, and society. Only thus could it claim for its proposals a scientific foundation and justification.

Given these thoughts of Dewey and the accompanying insights of Goodlad, we seem well-advised to remember that there are a variety of purposes--pedagogical experimentation, educational research, student education, curricular evaluation, teacher education, philosophical demonstration, clinical experiences, theoretical exploration, and practical integration--that may be pursued in a number of schools and by diverse parties and partners. Understanding these purposes and pursuing them in an informed manner with knowledgeable partners, parents, and supporters is important not only in achieving these purposes but in making appropriate judgments regarding policies, funding, and practices. Since each school cannot be all things to the panorama of existing interests, each school should reflectively craft and care for its mission, broadening, narrowing, and altering it as appropriate. Universities that work with public and private schools, initiate professional development schools, and oversee laboratory schools should be clear about their interests and purposes and seek to match them with schools, districts, parents, and businesses that share their goals.

Selected Bibliography

The following abbreviations have been used in the text:

EW--*The Early Works of John Dewey*

HWT--*How We Think*

MW--*The Middle Works of John Dewey*

LW--*The Later Works of John Dewey*

SSCC--*The School and Society and The Child and the Curriculum*

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CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

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Since the mid-1980s, the movement that has come to be known as Critical Pedagogy has developed largely within the ranks of those who study and write in the field of curriculum and instruction. Critical pedagogy has roots in the critical theory work of the Frankfurt School, Antonio Gramsci's Marxist social theory, and the work of Jurgen Habermas but has been largely defined by the work of Paolo Freire as applied by Henry Giroux, Peter McClaren, Stanley Aronowitz, to name some of the most prominent critical pedagogues. Steven Best has written, "Critical theorists analyze history and society in order to criticize the prevailing social order to further enlightenment and critical consciousness and thereby to help bring about political change."¹

Henry Giroux sees, "...critical pedagogy as an educational process that integrates issues of power, history, self-identity, and the possibility of collective agency and struggle."² With this in mind, it is readily visible that critical pedagogy and multi-cultural education seem to be complementary currents in contemporary education.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze critical pedagogy and identify the aspects of critical pedagogy and Multicultural education that seem to have applicability in the schools and to investigate some issues that arise as a result of the implementation of what might be called critical cultural studies. I will discuss some aspects of critical pedagogy then revisit them in a discussion of multi-cultural education and the issues involved in critical cultural studies.

Critical Pedagogy

Among the most basic concepts of critical pedagogy is the notion of voice. We all know, sometimes only too well that every student has one. But it seems that student voices are more often heard than listened to. For critical pedagogy, this is a problem since student voice representing their lived experiences is central to the student's ability to derive the greatest benefit from the educational process. Voice is fundamentally concerned with the environment of the students, their problems, needs, and experiences which can be either negative or positive. What is important is that their environment, including both negative and positive experiences, be recognized as an integral part of each of the students individually and as having an important impact on them collectively.

Unless and until students recognize their own place in the educational process and how that process is

integrated into the society as a whole, what occurs in schools is training or indoctrination, not learning. Henry Giroux has tied this concept of voice to a broader notion of literacy as a form of cultural politics which assumes, "that the social, cultural, political, and economic dimensions of everyday life are the primary categories for understanding contemporary schooling ... as a cultural terrain characterized by the production of experiences and subjectivities amidst varying degrees of accommodation, contestation, and resistance."³

The process of recognition so important in critical-cultural classrooms is accomplished through dialogue. Dialogue is the democratic social process that allows students to participate in their own social development and learning as well as develop and define themselves as individuals. But dialogue does not occur spontaneously, it must be allowed to develop through the creation of appropriate classroom conditions which foster student dialogue and seriously address the development of their understanding of the society and world in which they live. Voice, like other emotional, intellectual, and physical attributes must be developed. Dialogue, properly done, allows not only the expression of student voice, but also its development and refinement through the procedure of critical reflection which is inherent in the discursive technique. The expression of personal thoughts, experiences, and ideas with others and the vicarious experience of thoughts, experiences, and ideas of others enriches each of the participating individuals.

Along with classroom dialogue there develops the opportunity for critical discourse which allows the scope of the discussion to expand from the expression of a personal nature to shared information and feelings and the beginnings of an understanding of the complex nature of functioning of society and the myriad of social relationships that are at work there.

Most relationships at work in society are not based on the common good but are power-based and dictated by the values, world-view, and belief system of the dominant classes of the society. Schools, in general, reproduce the dominant social system serving as a means of selecting individuals to fit into the various roles in the social structure and guaranteeing that those who do not fit into the social structure understand that it through their own shortcomings that they have failed.

The discourse of domination limits the range and the value of individual voice. In general, voice originating in the minority, ethnic, and subcultures are deemed

inferior and systematically ignored, negated, and silenced except where there is some profit to some segment of the controlling elite. Popular culture, for example, largely represents the exploitation of sub-cultural behavior and minority, and ethnic art forms for the advantage of those who control cultural media.

In schools, knowledge that is valued is most often the knowledge approved and validated by the dominant culture. Knowledge based on lived experience or that which emphasizes minority, ethnic, and sub-cultural views is largely discounted and marginalized if tolerated at all. The object of critical discourse is nothing less than the transformation to a broader democratic intellect based not on the myths of the dominant culture but on the realities of life in contemporary society.

The transformative nature of critical pedagogy encounters the politics of culture. Schools become sites of cultural struggles with the values of the dominant society pitted against the needs of the various subject societies. As the power of the dominant culture has increased, so has the rationalization of school work. Since the early eighties, the emphasis in schools has been increasingly product oriented. With a product defined as nationally formed achievement tests of basic knowledge often with state and local criterion-referenced tests included in order to somehow rank the schools based on how well the achievement of their students correlates with some ideal. The role of classroom teachers is to ensure that the prescribed knowledge gets placed into the appropriate receptacle in hopes that the desired increase over last year's achievement test scores will be obtained and at the end of the school experience the appropriate knowledge will have been transmitted. Learning becomes an acquisitive act. How appropriate in a society that largely determines who you are by what you possess.

Teaching and learning as transformative intellectual activities, on the other hand, focuses on the roles teachers and students play in producing and legitimating various political, economic, and social interests. Of course this means that schools will be redefined as sites of economic, social, and cultural importance which are tied, in the words of Henry Giroux, "to the issues of power and control. This means that schools do more than pass on, in an objective fashion, a common set of values and knowledge. On the contrary, schools are places that represent forms of knowledge, language practices, social relations and values that are representative of a particular selection and exclusion from the wider culture. As such, schools serve to introduce and legitimate particular forms of social life. ... Schooling represents both a struggle to define meaning and a struggle over power relations."⁴

Power relations in society take many forms. Most obvious are the economic relations that separate the classes. The schools have traditionally served to maintain the class structure while proclaiming loudly the myth of social and economic mobility. Mobility in contemporary society is more often a descent than advancement.

Political power is, of course tied to economic power as a means for the dominant culture to remain in power. Ideological differences make politics and society divisive instead of inclusive. Technology has played a great role in expanding not only information about ideological differences but also in making those differences greater in appearance if not in fact.

Critical pedagogy, in seeking to draw as many students as possible into the society as participating citizens who will be able to think critically, supports the effort to expand the number of young people who value their citizenship roles. It is at this point that classroom practice needs an ideological theory to provide teachers with a context for their own concepts of knowledge, values, and the role of education in society as they structure classroom experiences which may either enhance or stifle intellectual growth and personal well being.

Another form of power relation is the hegemonic control of the society by the dominant culture. Economic, political, ideological, and pedagogical institutions are all interconnected to insure that the dominant culture remains dominant largely through social relations that grant advantages to the advantaged.

Ideological domination is one aspect of the hegemony of the dominant society over subject or marginalized groups. Social control is maintained through the interconnected social institutions which mirror the dominant society's world view. The political and cultural power wielded by the dominant society becomes accepted virtually without critique as the way things should be without consideration of alternatives.

Resisting the pervasive power of the dominant culture is a monumental task in itself. It seems to me that asking generally successful products of hegemonic institutions, prospective teachers, to reject, as it were, their training and their identities, is an exercise in futility just as surely as the Marxist notion of class consciousness required an anti-societal and revolutionary mindset.

Critical pedagogy incorporates a theory of resistance in seeking to explain the inequities in achievement in the schools and to understand the hegemonic forces at work in the reproductive educational social institutions. The goal of counter-hegemony or class struggle is the realization of the exercise of free choice from among a

wide range of possible alternatives for all students and a limit to the degree of alienation among students who do not accept the values of the dominant society.

One of the ways to combat the alienation of students is the recognition that they must engage their histories. Given that all history is an interpretation of the past, the social process of history should be emphasized along with the past and present struggle for ideological voice from the founding fathers to the abolitionists, transcendentalists, populists, etc. right on down to Ross Perot. Only by refusing to ignore the heretofore ignored or minimized and marginalized histories of subject groups including even the use of personal history and biography as a means to limit the alienation and feelings of oppression or to make history something more than just a trivial pursuit.

This style of education which recognizes student voices and values, dialogue, critical discourse, and counter hegemony is based on a dialectical epistemology that recognizes contradictions and conflict as the primary source of understanding not only for objective knowledge but also for competing ideologies. But dialectical epistemology also requires that these contradictions and conflicts, knowledge and ideology be subject to analysis and reconciliation. The process of dialectical critique links social experiences with the development of modes of criticism that can reveal their strengths and weaknesses, and present a mode of praxis based on critical thought to enable the reclamation of the conditions of self-determined existence.

Praxis, the use of a theoretical construct to inform practical behavior, is the goal of critical pedagogy. Praxis is self-creating and self-generating free human action for empowered individuals. But we all know that not all human behavior is guided by theory, indeed, a significant part of human behavior is relegated to the lowest realms of Maslow's hierarchy. For praxis to be evident, the processes of theorizing must be present in which possibilities for behavior are considered in view of the intended outcome, again, a dialectical critique.

The development of students as praxical beings becomes the challenge. Students like all others are self-contained with boundaries that are more or less penetrable from without depending on social relationships and from within depending on the individuals' awareness of themselves and their own relationships. Pedagogical institutions, as sites where borders are always in flux for a myriad of reasons, offer opportunities for border-crossing activity.

Critical Cultural Studies

Education in American culture is a schizophrenic institution. On the one hand it is supposed to provide the means by which an individual, regardless of

circumstance of birth, can acquire the means to achieve equality and liberty and pursue happiness. But the reality of schooling in America is the reproduction of a stratified society in which the schools serve to recreate in each successive generation the class structure of the preceding. The mobility from one class to another has traditionally meant movement from the class below to the class just above though presently it seems that the converse is becoming more prevalent.

This analysis is not limited to progressive, leftist, or radical thinkers. Even Thomas Sowell, a conservative economist, has noted the limited opportunities provided by schools for, shall we say, outside the mainstream students. Noting, for example that students entering colleges and universities where that is not the norm for their families tend major in disciplines other than math and sciences, "easier, less prestigious, and less remunerated subjects" and aspire to more modest career goals than students from families in which the parents attended college before them. Sowell seems to believe that cultural traits are somehow genetically transmitted, identifying instances where members of particular cultures often engage in similar occupations or attain approximately the same social status in societies where they are not the dominant culture.

With this institutional schizophrenia and critical analysis in mind, we must examine issues and problems of Multicultural education. These issues and problems relate again to the bifurcated educational institution is that Multicultural education has little value as it relates to the reproduction of the modes of production or what we now call the business culture. Indeed, the job of the school is to assimilate or socialize individuals who allow it into the dominant culture patterns at least enough to be successful in the mainstream.

Multicultural education also often falls short of any meaningful impact in the democratic-egalitarian sphere because there is little with which to identify in the terms that teachers traditionally understand. Curriculum materials, scope and sequence, generic skills, objectives (behavioral or otherwise) are often lacking.

During the tow decades or more that Multicultural education has been discussed, planned, and implemented, I think it would be difficult to find a program that goes much beyond the food, holidays, recreation, and dress ideas. Indeed, workshops for teachers still emphasize this improved self concept model as the basis for much of what passes for Multicultural study.

For the most part, I think critical theory will have little impact on Multicultural education for a number of reasons. First, critical pedagogy begins with the assumption that the schools are sites of oppression,

exploitation, and domination. While this may be true, the problem is that the foot soldiers in the fight against this oppression, exploitation, and domination are relatively successful products of the institution they should be revolutionizing. They are, odds are, products of the working class who have moved into the petty bourgeoisie of teachers and administrators. To ask them to deny what they bought into, sometimes with great difficulty, seems to me a futile undertaking.

Second, the specific attributes of critical pedagogy mentioned above lie outside the scope of vision of most teachers. A dictatorship of the proletariat would usually be more acceptable to teachers in today's schools than becoming a member of the revolutionary cadre. Voice, dialogue, and discourse might serve well in some settings, but in the conservative professional climate of today's schools, teachers are either subtly or openly led into traditional roles of transmitting the official knowledge than of developing critical discursive skills.

Third, the problem of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic behavior as it relates to the ideological struggle in the school is abstract in the extreme. The level of class consciousness necessary for such a revolutionary enterprise is almost without precedent. This is not to say that counter-hegemonic activity is without value. The democratic-egalitarian ideals of the schools serve as a counterweight to the reproduction-socialization activities and must be stressed continually in the hope that the schools will be more humane and accepting places for

cultural expression.

Fourth, can the schools use mass popular culture to engage the Multicultural needs of their students. The question is whether popular mass culture has a hegemonic or counter-hegemonic effect. Popular culture is, I believe, related more to the dominant ideology although the relationship is very complex. Far from being a means for liberation, mass produced, youth oriented media of all types (with the possible exception of books) panders to the most base human drives, desires, and behaviors.

The mass culture industry thrives on the discovery and exploitation of street culture creating new culture icons by marketing the creativity, talent, and ambition of those who are essentially folk artists. The product of this economic and artistic relationship is then fed back into the culture, no longer a product of the culture, but a product of the industry.

Finally, and I hope, more positively, I find myself agreeing with the process that Henry Giroux calls border crossing. Border crossing describes the impact of critical discourse on teachers and students. In Giroux's words,

Critical educators take up culture as a vital source for developing a politics of identity, community, and pedagogy. Culture is not monolithic or unchanging, but is a site of multiple and heterogeneous borders where different histories, languages, experiences and voices intermingle amidst diverse relations of power and privilege.⁵

This border crossing seems to make critical pedagogy an existential activity. I can see where this will take some thought.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Steven Best, *The Politics of Historical Vision*, New York: The Guilford Press, 1995, p. 208.
- 2 Henry Giroux, *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 75.
- 3 Henry Giroux, "Literacy and the Pedagogy of Voice and Political Empowerment," *Educational Theory*, V. 38, No. 1, Winter 1988, p. 69.
- 4 Ibid. p. 379.
- 5 Henry Giroux, *Border Crossings*, p. 169.

JOHN DEWEY AS POSTMODERNIST - SAY IT AIN'T SO

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Examining the thought of John Dewey as a postmodernist is not unique. Richard Rorty provides the foundational work in this analysis claiming, Dewey's postmodern side clearly shows through in *Reconstruction in Philosophy* and *A Quest for Certainty*. This paper attempts to look closely at Dewey's postmodern side as well as where he presents a challenge to postmodern thought. It must be made clear that postmodernism is really not an "ism" at all and to lump Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard, Habermas, Jameson, or Bell can result in serious error and oversimplification. This paper attempts to point out some serious concerns about bringing Dewey into the postmodern-neopragmatist camp, particularly the Habermas and Rorty side and their focus on narrative and communication. I hold that Dewey, Marx, Weber, and certain members of the Frankfurt School precede the postmodern thinkers in their critiques of modernity and that their commentary still offers promise and should not be easily dismissed.

Cornel West claims that the postmodern period can be dated following the end of the European age, roughly 1492-1945. West suggests that the Second World War shattered Western confidence in philosophy, greatly challenging Western metaphysics which in turn challenged epistemology and ethics.¹ Dewey offers his own challenge to how philosophy can lead one down the road to ruin in *German Philosophy and Politics*. Here Dewey attempts to link German philosophical tradition with foreign policy and political ideology. He challenged Kant's conception of duty as the supreme law of moral action. According to Dewey, adhering to duty in this light tended to gag intelligence. The challenge from Dewey is to German absolute allegiance to the state and to duty, the indwelling absolute of German idealism found in Kant and Hegel.²

Marx and Weber held the modern period began following the Middle Ages and feudalism. From Descartes through the Enlightenment, philosophy and science were guided by reason as the key to truth and knowledge. While modernity offered great promise through science, technology and industrialization, it also contained a dark side. Both Marx and Weber examined this dark side. Marx challenged the exploitation of humanity through rapid industrialization and the growth of capitalism.

Weber attacked Western rationalism gone awry with its potential to lock us in an iron cage of no escape. Yet,

Weber like Marx and Dewey would not abandon rational thought. Like Weber, Marx and Dewey defended scientific inquiry, but realized that scientific claims and ethical ones could and would contradict and clash. According to Robert Antonio and Doug Kellner: "Weber affirmed a critical rationalism based on the awareness of the limited, uncertain partial and historical character of all scientific knowledge."³

What needs to be understood here is that if one rejects rationalism, then does it result in the unreflective, uncritical individual who only lives to pursue material interests?⁴ In *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Horkheimer and Adorno build on Weber's concerns about rationalization, attempting to show the promises of enlightenment freedom and liberation can become forms of oppression and domination. Still hanging on to the possibility of modernity, Jürgen Habermas holds reason, while it can become manipulated and distorted, can also lead us in unlocking the iron cage of Weber and Horkheimer/Adorno. For Habermas, the key to unlocking the cage comes through free and undistorted communication which draws Habermas into postmodern discussions.

Do we live in a postmodern age? It depends on whom we ask. Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard, and Baudrillard would argue that a distinct rupture has occurred with the modern era requiring new theories and concepts. Others would deny that there has been a radical rupture and stress continuity between past and present. This is Habermas' contention who sees postmodern discourse as ideological and refers to the contemporary era as late capitalism. Others see both continuity and discontinuity, and examine breaks with modernity as well as carry-over characteristics from modernity. This position best describes Jameson, Harvey and Laclau.⁵

Where would Dewey find comfort? Dewey's use and understanding of the dialectic in his quest to resolve either/ors places him in the latter group. He would examine both continuity and discontinuity, dissensus and consensus in attempting to reach understanding and ascertain meaning. For Dewey, social institutions and processes are dynamic and potentially shift meaning. Dewey believed exposure to diverse viewpoints, could enhance our interpretation, sympathy, and tolerance. Paraphrasing Antonio and Kellner, Dewey would hold "that societal differences favor critical rationality, diversity, openness, flexibility and justice, not merely

irrationalism, cultural fragmentation of the self and domination."⁶

Dewey would agree with the postmodernist view that meaning is constructed through the social. He would also adhere to people being shaped by their culture and language, but he would not see us necessarily locked in a prison house of language. He would agree to their challenge of absolutes and that what is perceived as truth can simply mask real power. Yet, while Dewey contends we are human because we are social, he might question the unbalanced individualism and the segmentation of groups advocated by some postmodernists.⁷ Dewey agrees with the postmodernists that new situations and new cultural conditions demand new theories and modes of theorizing, although some postmodernists dismiss theory outright.

Ideas from the past might not be sufficient in guiding us in the future. For Dewey, philosophy's role in the past has led us astray, so he desires to reconstruct philosophy. He claimed traditional philosophy: "Arrogated to itself the office of demonstrating the existence of a transcendent, absolute or inner reality and of revealing to man the nature and features of this ultimate and higher reality. It has therefore claimed that it was in possession of a higher organ of knowledge that is employed by positive science and ordinary practical experience, and that it is marked by a superior dignity and importance, a claim which is undeniable if philosophy leads man to proof and intuition of a reality beyond that open to day by day and the special sciences."⁸

Dewey would never give up reason. He states his view of reason in *Reconstruction in Philosophy*.

For Reason is experimental intelligence, conceived after the pattern of science and used in the creation of social arts; it has something to do. It liberates man from the bondage of the past, due to ignorance and accident hardened into custom. It projects a better future and assists man in its realization and its operation is always subject to test in experience.⁹

Dewey further articulates his view of reason associated with intelligence. Reason must separate itself from the past quest for certainty in finding truth and fixed principles. Intelligence is couched in activity, a praxis of sort, a capacity to perform based upon judgment with some sense of possible consequences. Here is an obvious challenge to Foucault who in his discussion of power downplays the human actor. For Foucault, action is given to discourse, discipline and techniques. Foucault, like many of the postmodernists need a shot of Gramsci and hegemony to fully understand and deal with power.¹⁰

Dewey argues in *The Quest for Certainty* for a

broader conception of intelligence. Justifying values by placing them outside the realm of practical human experience and in a protected realm helps maintain power and class structures.¹¹ Dewey would be deeply concerned about the postmodernists who reject reason. Responding in *The Quest for Certainty* he states: "If intelligent method is lacking, prejudice, the pressure of immediate circumstance, self-interest and class interest, traditional customs, intuitions of accidental historic origin, are not lacking and they tend to take the place of intelligence."¹²

Dewey carries forth the Jeffersonian optimism of the Enlightenment, believing that through proper education, knowledge could disarm power and keep the democracy intact. In a challenge to Dewey, historian John Patrick Diggins in his book *The Promise of Pragmatism* claims the writers of the Constitution did not reveal this faith in reason held by Dewey and Jefferson, tending to view "humankind driven by passion and interest and thus incapable of responding to reason..."¹³ The Constitutionals saw selfish individuality guiding human action, not rationality.

For Dewey, reason is not to guide us to truths as evident in the world of the Greeks or Scholastics, but to understanding our present situation and ideally guide better decision making for the future. Dewey asks us to resist, challenging us to "hinder and obstruct" those conditions that obstruct inquiry.¹⁴ In a Deweyan context, Doug Kellner argues that values like human rights, equality, freedom and democracy have proven themselves historically valid as weapons in the struggle for emancipation. These values are too easily dismissed by postmodern theorists such as Lyotard and Baudrillard, who attack all universal rights and values. Kellner claims that while postmodernists are justified in challenging universals or absolutes that mask power, as did Dewey, a just society must proclaim certain rights like equality, rule by law, freedom and democratic participation. To scorn these values helps conservative power remain in place often with a willingness to put aside democratic rights, freedom and equality.¹⁵ Dewey would concur.

A central mistake of some postmodernists is placing the economy in a micro context. This reductive analysis fails to allow for adequate examination of political economy when the world's economy has become more global.¹⁶ At the same time that mass culture, couched in materialism, and the global economy are uniting the world, some postmodernists call for greater fragmentation or what Benjamin Barber calls a type of retribalization. Because we can only understand our own culture, we cannot understand each other. Dewey would find this disturbing. Derrida might describe this

as the prison house of language; we are inaccessible to each other. Could this result in what Daniel Bell in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* called a radical assault on tradition that it leads to segmentation, the perpetuation of hedonism, narcissism, lack of identification and hyper-individualism?¹⁷ Such fragmentation is clearly evident today in those more interested in monoculturalism, but hide under the guise of multiculturalism. Celebration of difference is important in a democratic society that champions tolerances, pluralism and mutual respect. Yet, in many societies it has led to greater prejudice, persecution, fratricide, tribal war and anarchy.¹⁸ Fragmentation may result in what Lukács called reification "as the process whereby capitalist ideology presents individuals from understanding the structures and class relations which constrain their actions and thus present them from drawing appropriate political consequences."¹⁹

Traditionally humankind has sought certainty through religion and in the era of modernity through science. Both tried to seek truth as certainty, but often at the detriment of humanity. Philosophy, nor social science needs to be in the business of truth seeking. As Wittgenstein claims, philosophy it can only describe and must find itself in activity. It seems as if some postmodernists would question our describing. As Plato distrusted the senses, they distrust reason. Baudrillard claims that in a hyper-fragmented, media saturated society "it is impossible to tell the difference between image and reality, sign and referent, thus we cannot make distinctions, connections or analyses."²⁰ The media, including print as well as video and telecommunications, may be the most powerful educator in American society. The media is often controlled by those in power and in America by capitalist interest.²¹ Granted the techniques of the modern media are sophisticated technologically and in artistic design, but the general message seems rather clear in most cases; consume without regard for the consequences, individually, socially or environmentally. Refusing to attack or resist this type of capitalist blitzkrieg will lead to disaster. Foucault, Baudrillard and Lyotard seem to sever their work from Marxist critique of the economy "at a time when the logic of capital accumulation has been playing an increasingly important role in structuring the new state of society which can be conceptualized as a new economic and technical restructuring of capitalist society."²² Philosophers, social theorists and educators need theories that describe social reality. Theories need not be explanatory or truth revealing, but at the least they must be capable of describing to help us better understand social reality. This is best achieved through a critical/reflective theory

that is multi-disciplinary in nature. It brings together the best of postmodern thought, Marxism, critical theory, feminist theory and pragmatism to produce a theory capable of making sense of the present age.

Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote that every philosophy is under some illusion because it perceives itself as discovering the illusions of its predecessors. Neopragmatism's move into linguistics through language, discourse and conversation has promise and potential, but not if it stands alone. In *Reconstruction and Philosophy* Dewey emphasized the importance of communication and shared experience.

Society means association; Coming together in joint intercourse and action for the better realization of any form of experience which is augmented and confirmed by being shared. Hence there are as many associations as there are goods which are enhanced by being mutually communicated and participated in. And these are literally indefinite in number. Indeed, capacity to endure publicity and communication is the test by which it is decided whether a pretended good is genuine or spurious...communication, sharing, joint participation are the only actual ways of universalizing the moral law and end.²³

Dewey believed scientific intelligence and communication were fundamental tools in facing a world characterized by conflict, exploitation and aggression. He did realize that communication could be masked and controlled by those in power and by capitalist interests.²⁴

As intellectual historian John Patrick Diggins claims in his book *The Promise of Pragmatism*:

One can grant the neopragmatist thesis that past ages mistakenly assumed that thought had the capacity to discover something beyond time and change. But sinful creatures that we are, we can hardly escape our own illusion that words will suffice, as persuasion serves as proof and conversation replaces conviction...solidarity can be taken into existence as a sentiment produced by the power of rhetorical persuasion.²⁵

Diggins is attacking Rorty's notion of solidarity. He claims solidarity for Rorty is a sentiment that "enables humankind to sympathize with the suffering of others. Solidarity has nothing to do with the search for truth and objectivity; it is an invention, not a discovery, a statement rather than a substance. Its domain is language, and presumably its values can be made to move from literature to life."²⁶ Diggins poses a fundamental question: "What qualities and values reside in collective thought that can move people to do as a group what they are apparently unwilling to do as individuals."²⁷ What makes us put aside the "I" for the

"we?" Bringing Habermas under scrutiny, what makes us want or desire to reach consensus? Dewey can also be critiqued in this light in his discussion of democratic community. Regardless, Dewey's pragmatism offers hope and not the pessimism of some postmodernists. Perhaps as Lionel Trilling claims it is not words that make our trouble, but our wills.²⁸ For Trilling, wills cannot control us unless we desire to be controlled by them.

As individuals concerned about education, both in its formal and informal modes we must pay attention to

more extreme postmodern critiques that abandon the progressive heritage of the Enlightenment, democracy, freedom of speech and freedom of inquiry. We can certainly learn from the postmodernists to approach theory in a more critical way, reorganizing its faults and limitations. We must seek to understand the limits of science, particularly in the social realm and realize that it also fails in its quest for certainty. Yet, we must also be willing to challenge distortions of the Enlightenment such as rampant individualism gone astray without concern for the consequences and when science is used to humankind's destruction.²⁹ The quest for certainty must become a quest for understanding, yet we must be aware of those who would like to block the quest, to undermine the freedom to question and inquire and distort forms of communication. This requires a multi-disciplinary approach to theory, not simply characterizing theory as a myth or useless narrative.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Cornel West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy* (Madison: Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin, 1989), 236.
- 2 Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (New York: Cornell University, 1991), 200-201. See also John Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics* (New York: Henry Holt, 1915).
- 3 Robert Antonio and Doug Kellner, "The Future of Social Theory and the Limits of Postmodern Critique," In Dickens and Fontana, *Postmodernism and Social Inquiry* (New York: Guilford, 1994), 135. Also see Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills' *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, (New York: Oxford University, 1946), 129-156.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Stephen Best and Doug Kellner, *Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations* (New York: Guilford, 1991), 278.
- 6 Antonio and Kellner, "The Future of Social Theory," 137.
- 7 Gene Edward Veith Jr. *Postmodern Times: A Christian Guide to Contemporary Thought and Culture* (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway, 1994), 1. Although Veith does not deal with Dewey he presents some interesting discussion regarding postmodern thought with Christian morality. This is interesting in light of Cornel West's discussion of prophetic pragmatism.
- 8 John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 23.
- 9 Ibid., 97.
- 10 Cornel West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy*, 223, 225.
- 11 John Dewey, *A Quest for Certainty* (New York: Minton, Balch and Company, 1929), 213.
- 12 John Dewey, *A Quest for Certainty in the Later Works of John Dewey: 1925-1953* (Carbondale: Illinois, Southern Illinois University, 1981-1991), 211-212.
- 13 John Patrick Diggins, *The Promise of Pragmatism* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 53.
- 14 Ibid., 73.

- 15 Best and Kellner, *Postmodern Theory*, 243.
- 16 Ibid., 263.
- 17 Ibid., 13.
- 18 See Benjamin Barber, *An Aristocracy of Everyone: The Politics of Education and the Future of America* (New York: Oxford University, 1992), 148.
- 19 Ibid., 268-269.
- 20 Ibid., 258.
- 21 See Douglas Kellner, *Television and the Crisis of Democracy* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990).
- 22 Ibid., 300.
- 23 Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, 205-206
- 24 See Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*. 51-58 on Dewey's limited involvement with Franklin Ford's *Thought News*. Dewey sought a means for inquiry not controlled or usurped by owners who viewed newspapers as strictly business, guided by profit motive.
- 25 Diggins, *The Promise of Pragmatism*, 492. This argument is also found in Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1960).
- 26 Diggins, *The Promise of Pragmatism*, 475.
- 27 Ibid., 476-477.
- 28 See John Dewey and James Tufts, *Ethics* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), 399-422 for Dewey's discussion of character. In this light Dewey seems to be more capable of answering Diggins' question than Rorty.
- 29 See Robert Bellah, *The Good Society* (New York: Vintage, 1991).

JOHN DEWEY'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

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Although there has been some limited work done on John Dewey's philosophy of history, I believe it is fair to say that his thoughts on the subject are not clearly understood. Blau¹, Ratner², Wilkins³, Neill⁴, Austin⁵, and Curti⁶ have all made contributions but none has clearly laid out what Dewey meant, nor the role history plays in his social philosophy. Destler⁷, on the other hand, so misinterpreted Dewey's philosophy of history that Dewey, himself, said he was "flabbergasted."⁸ Curti, Lowenberg, Randall, and Taylor answered Destler by claiming he had so distorted Dewey's philosophy that "it is beyond recognition, either by its author or by any informed philosopher."⁹ They were correct.

All of the above works focus, for the most part, on Dewey's concept of the method of history as being the method of science. Certainly his method of history is at the center of his philosophy of history. But, by not clearly laying out what he means, I think we are left with the impression that Dewey was solely in the analytical school of philosophy of history which, of course, is not the case.

Actually, Dewey's thoughts on history are somewhat scattered. Had he published a neat essay entitled, "philosophy of history," possibly there would not have been as much confusion about his views on history. As a result, one is left to piece together from several of his voluminous writings a coherent concept of what history meant to him. One fortunate outcome of the disastrous 1950 Destler article in the *American Historical Review*¹⁰ referred to above is that it spawned an exchange of letters between Dewey and Merle Curti on the former's thoughts on history toward the end of his life. Consequently, we know Dewey's views did not change from those he published in *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*¹¹ in 1938. I plan to elucidate Dewey's general concept of philosophy of history in this paper. It occurs to me that his general theory of history may have some value for educators who might wish to ponder the relationship between his theory of history and such themes as, say, his theory of community or his philosophy of education. I do not, however, believe it would serve any real purpose here to discuss such matters as his concept of fact and value in history. Those questions, it seems to me, would be more interesting to philosophers of history. I will leave that discussion for another time and place.

To begin, I turn first to a brief description of the

two general categories of philosophy of history as a way of laying the groundwork for placing his thought within the mainstream of scholarly work in philosophy of history.

The Two General Categories of Philosophy of History

Meyerhoff tells us that philosophy of history falls into two general categories, namely, speculative and analytical.¹² The former refers to the metaphysical philosophies of history of such scholars as Hegel, Marx, Spengler, and Toynbee. Metaphysical philosophy of history sees history as mankind caught up in some great teleological sweep of time. Analytical philosophy of history, on the other hand, amounts to logical inquiries into the past using the method of science, a kind of scientific historiography. Most historians today are clearly in the analytical camp. More will be said about this category later.

Dewey's philosophy of history falls into neither category exclusively but in typical Dewey fashion, includes elements of both. On one hand, one will find a concept of history as it is involved in Dewey's metaphysics. On the other hand, one will find Dewey saying the method of history is the method of science. We find, therefore, an argument suggesting metaphysics and epistemology define and limit one another in such a way as to produce a particularly unique philosophy of history, indeed, a philosophy of history that is uniquely Deweyan. It is, in effect, an uniquely "American" concept as compared with those of such well-known writers mentioned above as Hegel, Marx, Spengler, and Toynbee. As such, it should not be surprising that Dewey's argument might appear to be a rather "comfortable" view of history within the American culture, one that many if not most lay Americans would accept.

As mentioned earlier, Dewey never wrote a neat essay entitled, "philosophy of history." His most important statements on his concept of history came after 1922 in such places as the following: "Realism Without Monism or Dualism--I: Knowledge Involving the Past" that appeared in June 8, 1922 issue of the *Journal of Philosophy*;¹³ *Experience and Nature*¹⁴ (1925) and the single most important place, namely, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*¹⁵ (1938). The following books also offer insights into Dewey's thoughts on

history: *German Philosophy and Politics*¹⁶ (1915); *Reconstruction in Philosophy*¹⁷ (1920); *Individualism Old and New*¹⁸ (1930); *Liberalism and Social Action*¹⁹ (1935). I turn now to Dewey's well-known definition of history.

Dewey's Definition of History

Dewey's definition of history is found in *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* as follows:

History is that which happened in the past and it is the intellectual reconstruction of these happenings at a subsequent time. The notion that historical inquiry simply reinstates the events that once happened "as they actually happened" is incredibly naive.²⁰

Here Dewey is refuting Ranke of the Prussian Historical School who said history is really "only what happened" (wie es eigentlich gewesen). Ranke and his contemporaries as well as their successors in the Prussian Historical School advanced the scientific approach to history during the mid-19th century. Ranke himself, however, was not a positivist. In fact, he was rather deeply committed to the romantic origins of historicism. Nevertheless, because of his meticulous research and the monumental number of works he wrote, Ranke created a new conception of history, a scientific approach that was later turned into a positive science by some of his successors. The movement led to a new journal, *Historische Zeitschrift*, which clearly stated to its readers in 1859 that "this periodical should, above all, be a scientific one. Its first task therefore, should be to represent the true method of historical research and to point out the deviations therefrom."²¹ By the first few years of the 20th century, it appeared that history had arrived as a legitimate scientific discipline.

In a very short time the trend reversed and history was seen as being incompatible with science. The reason, according to Meyerhoff, seemed to be a growing awareness that a science is distinguished by its systematized method, a method that is as incompatible with history as is the rational method which distinguished traditional philosophy. Meyerhoff went on to suggest that "A host of factors co-operated to produce the conviction that history could be accommodated neither in the traditional framework of rationalistic philosophies nor in the new framework of the empirical sciences."²²

Dewey's disagreement with Ranke and the Realist concept of history is centered in differing metaphysical beliefs. For Dewey, Ranke's concept of history is centered in Realist metaphysics, not in pragmatist or instrumentalist thought. Realists assign the past to an objective, a priori reality that, by using the method of science, can be discovered and recreated in the present.

In other words, the past has happened and it cannot be changed. To understand it is to discover the facts that make it up and arrange them in the proper causal and temporal order in which they occurred. When we do that, the facts then speak for themselves and thereby tell us what the past was. We recreate the past in the present "wie es eingeleuchtet gewesen." Dewey, although using the same method of science to understand the past, disagrees with Ranke and the Realists when he says that we do not know whether there is an a priori reality. As far as we can tell at this time, he says, there is not. All we know is that events occurred in the past and that they are meaningless until we use the historical or scientific method as the method of inquiry, to resolve some present problem about the past. When we do that, we make, not discover, reality. For Dewey, then, the past becomes what *we* say it is while the Realists argue that we have nothing to say about it. Obviously, Dewey holds a different view of history as science than do the Realists and since the analytical historians are solidly in the realist camp, Dewey does not belong to the analytical category of philosophy of history any more than he belongs to the metaphysical category. Where, then, do we place Dewey's instrumentalist philosophy of history? The next section of the paper will attempt to analyze that question.

Any philosophy of history, regardless whether it is of the speculative or analytical variety, must address the concepts time and causation. In fact, how one defines those two concepts determines whether one holds a speculative or an analytical philosophy of history. Therefore, to understand Dewey's philosophy of history, it becomes necessary to understand his definition of time and causation. For that reason, I now move to a brief examination of those two concepts as they operate in Dewey's philosophy of history.

Dewey's Concept of Time

To understand Dewey's suggestion that mankind can form its own future requires us to stop for a moment and reflect upon his concept of time. It is a concept very different from the common sense concept we use daily. Although he recognizes the importance of common sense time for our daily lives, Dewey believes time is meaningful only as it occurs in inquiry. For him, the terms past--present--future are not separate; rather in inquiry, they are fused together into a time continuum that allows us to resolve present problems in such manner as to send our future off in the direction we want it to go. Let's examine this further.

All we have of the past, says Dewey, are those things that still exist in the present. Examples are records, documents, legends, stories, graves and inscriptions,

urns, coins, medals, seals, implements, ornaments, charters, diplomas, manuscripts, ruins, buildings, works of art, and so on indefinitely. Taken by themselves these things do not constitute knowledge of the past. They are only contemporary evidence of an existential past that is presently dead; they may be used as evidential data by which to *infer* the happenings of the past. In other words, verification of thought about the past must exist in the present.²³

Dewey's definition of the term "present situation" is crucial if one is to understand much of his social philosophy. He defined it best in *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* when he wrote:

...the word 'present' does not mean a temporal event that may be contrasted with some other event as past. The situation that I am determining when I attempt to decide whether or not I mailed a certain letter is a present situation. But the present situation is not located in and confined to an event here and now occurring. It is an extensive duration, covering past, present and future events. The provisional judgments that I form about what is temporally present (as for example in going through my pockets now) are just as much means with respect to this total present situation as are the propositions formed about past events as past and as are estimates about ensuing events.²⁴

Thus, the emphasis Dewey places on the directly experienced, as both the beginning and ending of inquiry, should not therefore be taken to mean that he regards only the immediate to be real.

In common sense usage, "future" is often taken to mean events that have not yet occurred. It is frequently considered unknown and many times as "out there" and "waiting for us." Dewey, however, does not accept such common sense usage of the term.

It has already been said that, for Dewey, future is fused to present. Particularly, the future is a part of the present situation that takes into account those events which will likely occur because a particular action was chosen. He provided an example by saying while walking down a street one chances to see a mailbox. It reminds him that he was supposed to have mailed a letter to a friend. He wonders if he had done it. He begins to search his pockets and finds no letter (present). Then he tries to recount what he had done yesterday after writing the letter. Did he mail it or not (past). Then he projects that if he did mail the letter he would receive an answer from his friend (future). According to Dewey, the past and future are just as much a part of the present situation as is the searching of the pockets in the here and now, temporal present.²⁵ Thus, for Dewey, the future is not a separate entity into itself but is connected

with the past and present in a temporal continuum, a past--present--future continuum.

Because of Dewey's concept of the future, the solving of a particular problem is not the end of the matter. For Dewey, the solving of a present problem marks an interest and the interest reaches into the future; "it is a sign that the issue is not closed; that the close in question is not existentially final."²⁶

Thus, for Dewey, the temporal future is the outcome of any present problem and can be predicted only by ideas that are employed as instruments to resolve that problem. Since there are many problems being worked through in the social order any given moment of the day, we can talk about many futures. If the local Kiwanis Club, for instance, is working through a problem for the community, the outcome of the problem will be the future. If a family, is working through a problem, its resolution will be the future. If the city government is resolving a problem centered about, say, whether to build a new highway, its resolution will have consequences that are future for all who use it, not just the members of the community. If the national government is working through a problem that, for example, might lead to a war, its consequences will be the world's future.

To summarize, Dewey tells us that, existentially, time is an on-going affair without beginning or end and is so complex that it is meaningless. We give time meaning when we take it as a conceptual affair, a logical rather than ontological affair. Past--present--future are bound together in a continuum and the meaning of time is relative to the problem at hand. I turn next to his concept of causation.

Dewey's Concept of Causation.²⁷

When one looks at Dewey's concept of causation, one finds him taking a similar position as he did with the principle of time. Causation, like time, he says, is meaningless when it is taken existentially. Dewey writes:

...when events are taken strictly existentially, there is no event which is antecedent or 'cause' any more than it is consequence or 'effect.' Moreover, even when one event is taken to be an antecedent or a consequent (an interpretation which is purely arbitrary from an existential point of view in isolation from the procedures of inquiry), it has an indefinite number of antecedents and consequences with which it is connected, since every event is existentially connected with some other event without end. Consequently, the only possible conclusion upon the basis of an existential or ontological interpretation of causation is that

everything in the universe is cause and effect of everything else---a conclusion which renders the category completely worthless for scientific purposes.²⁸

A common sense concept of causation like a common sense concept of time is good enough to get us through the day, so to speak. We all say such things as "Rain causes the grass to grow;" or "Flipping the switch causes the lamp to light;" or "The shot caused his death." We can and do explain cause and effect in such common sense terms, daily. Dewey tells us, however, that common sense is not good enough if we want to investigate cause and effect. He suggests instead a scientific concept of causation, a concept that proposes we give cause and effect meaning within the context of inquiry. Dewey suggests we do this by employing two forms of propositions, namely, the universal proposition and the proposition of kinds.²⁹

Universal propositions are of the if--then variety. That is to say, if this happens then these consequences *must* follow. For example, if we throw a ball into the air, then it will fall to the ground. This kind of proposition is non-existential and therefore non-temporal in content, and is used to limit and define cause and effect as well as to help suggest reductions in temporal gaps of causal relationships.

The second form of proposition, the proposition of kinds, is existential and refers to actual conditions as determined by experimental observation. For example, a medical expert, forming an idea about what happens when a particular person is struck by a bullet and the person dies, can transform that idea into a determined set of *interactions*. "The result," Dewey says, "is a law, and the law states a relation of traits that describe a specified kind. These traits are logically *conjunctive-disjunctive*. There is no element of sequence in their relations to one another."³⁰

Dewey calls both forms of propositions, *laws*. Here, however, he suggests a scientific definition of law. Scientific laws, he says, are not absolute measurers of truth; rather, they are *used* as tools or instruments which the inquirer can employ to eliminate temporal gaps in a causal relationship. This means that rather than each individual case being determined by some law, each individually observed case becomes the measure of knowledge....Laws are intellectual instrumentalities by which that individual object is instituted and its meaning determined. This change involves a reversal of the theory which has dominated thought since the Newtonian system obtained full sway. According to the latter, the aim of science is to ascertain laws; individual cases are known only as they are reduced to instances of laws.

...In technical statement, laws on the new basis are *formulae for the prediction of probability of an observable occurrence*. They are designations of relations sufficiently stable to allow of the occurrence of forecasts of individualized situations--for every observed phenomenon is individual--within limits of specified probability, not a probability of error, but of probability of actual occurrence.³¹

For Dewey, then, scientific laws are the means for accurate prediction in causal inquiry. Once the two laws have achieved their goal the conception of causation has served its purpose and drops out. "Reference to causation recurs only when there are grounds for doubt as to whether the spatio-temporal linkage in the case of some set of events is such as in fact constitute an existential continuum."³²

In summary, for Dewey, causation as a logical affair is a category of explanation. The importance of his principle of causation includes, (a) replacing the idea of a single cause of a single effect with the idea of means and consequences operating within a larger process; (b) replacing the idea of an ontological interpretation of causation with a logical and functional use of the category; (c) the idea that cause and effect are inseparable; and (d) showing that cause and effect are determined through inquiry.

An examination of Dewey's principles of time and causation has shown that he is convinced the universe amounts to many processes interacting among themselves, with no instant beginning and no instant end and with no particular predetermined direction. Rather the universe, he posits, seems to be an open-ended process, albeit a process that includes mankind whose destiny is not teleological. That is to say, no divine providence can be relied upon to guide mankind toward some predetermined end. Man must form his own future, and for Dewey, history is an important instrument for doing so. Just how that is done is the subject of the next section., namely, his historical method.

Dewey's Historical Method

It has been shown that both principles of time and causation are logical categories that are determined by scientific inquiry and are relative to the problem to be solved. That means, of course, Dewey did not accept a preexisting concept of reality but rather he believed that by using the method of science as a way of making sense out of a completely meaningless universe, we *make* knowledge and thereby our reality. As we continue to inquire into such problems and learn more and more, we are continually reshaping our "truths," and, therefore, our reality continues to be shaped by a never-ending process of inquiry.

Two major points arise here. First, since Dewey does not accept the concept of a preexisting universe, he, therefore, cannot accept a traditional metaphysical philosophy of history. He rejects, then, the metaphysical philosophies of history described by Meyerhoff earlier in this paper. Second, since Dewey's concept of "science" is not that of the analytical philosophers such as Ranke, his philosophy of history cannot fall into the analytical category either. That means Dewey's philosophy of history is uniquely Deweyan.

When Dewey says "The question is not even whether judgments about remote events can be made with *complete* warrant much less is it whether 'History can be a science.' It is:"³³ he equates the method of science with the method of history and with what he calls the method of intelligence as being all the same method. To that end, he also suggests that all involved with working through social problems wherever they might occur should follow the lead of natural and physical scientists who have been using the proper method for some time. With that in mind, it is important at this point to identify a particularly important group of people who have the potential to provide a valuable service for those working through any given social problem. That group is the academic historians. Because academic historians are important in Dewey's philosophy of history, it is necessary to stop for a moment and clarify that role.

Philosophical Realists and Instrumentalists assign the historian somewhat different tasks. Realists see the historian as independent of history, and therefore, uninvolved in philosophy of history. The role of the historian is to use the method of science to intellectually recreate in the present the past as it actually happened. For them, the historian's job is to search for Truth by investigating period primary and secondary sources and then intellectually recreating exactly what happened in the present. If the Realist historian, for example, is investigating the political role of Benjamin Franklin during the American Revolution, he or she would search as carefully as possibly all relevant primary and secondary sources concerning that subject. When the investigation is over, the historian then arranges the facts in such manner as they explain, as closely as possible, Franklin's political role during the Revolution, as it actually happened. Once that is done, the historian will make judgements about Franklin's role or interpret Franklin's political actions for the rest of us. Since the present is not the past, the present cannot be history, except in the sense that it is a present that has emerged as a result of past events. Since historical knowledge is not functional, say the Realists, it cannot be used to guide and direct the present and future except in the most general sense of the term. Beyond that, though,

history has little or no predictable quality.

Dewey, disagreeing with that idea, believes that since *all* knowledge is functional, historical knowledge is also functional. As a result of that conclusion, Dewey says that historians ought to have an important role in the resolution of social problems. But, they do not because the current concept of the role of the historian is shaped by the school of analytical philosophy of history, a Realist view.

Dewey once told Merle Curti that he never tried to tell historians how to write history.³⁴ He did suggest, however, that if historians would build their conceptual structures very carefully such as natural scientists have done, then we would eventually have a good understanding of the kinds of events that lead up to particular concepts or standards. Once those conceptual structures in history are understood, they can be formulated into scientific "laws" of the type he called propositions of kinds, the function of which is to guide and direct present inquiry as well as to offer a prediction about the consequences of the problem under study.

Take, for example, the concepts "revolution" and "civil war." Historians refer to the "American Revolution" as the conflict between England and thirteen of her North American colonies. Was it, in fact, a *revolution* or was it, as Lawrence H. Gipson argues in *The Coming of the Revolution*,³⁵ a civil war within the British Empire? Dewey is saying that if historians would build their conceptual structures very carefully such as natural scientists have done, then we would eventually have a good understanding of the events that lead up to a "revolution" or a "civil war." Then, once those conceptual structures are understood, they can be formulated into scientific "laws" of the type he called propositions of kinds, the function of which is to guide and direct present inquiry as well as to offer a prediction about the consequences of the problem under study. If we had done that, we could predict with a much higher degree of probability whether some particular conflict in the world today was on the verge of a "revolution" or a "civil war" much more accurately than we can. Consequently, we would have a body of knowledge that would, in turn, permit much clearer propositions to emerge that would, once implemented, resolve present problems in the direction we would like for them to go. Thus, In this fashion, the historian makes an important contribution to the implementation of Dewey's philosophy of history.

In all fairness, some historians have moved a bit toward Dewey's suggestions. Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of a Revolution*³⁶ and Hannah Arendt's, *On Revolution*³⁷ are attempts to consider the concept "revolution" rather than some particular revolution. But, neither really

approaches the identification of events that occur in a revolution to the extent Dewey proposed.

Next, Dewey tells us that a double process is occurring in his philosophy of history. On one hand, as the changes going on in the present give a new turn to social problems, the significance of the past is put into a new perspective. New issues arise which provide a standpoint from which to rewrite the story of the past. On the other hand, as judgments of significant past events are changed, new instruments for estimating the force of present conditions as potentialities of the future are gained. No historical present, however, is a simple redistribution of the elements of the past. Mankind is neither involved only in mechanical transpositions of the conditions they have inherited nor are they preparing simply for the events that come afterwards. They have their own problems to solve; they must make their own adaptations. Dewey writes:

They face the future, but for the sake of the present, not of the future. In using what has come to them as an inheritance from the past, they are compelled to modify it to meet their own needs, and this process creates a new present in which the process continues. History cannot escape its own progress. It will, therefore, always be rewritten. As the new present arises, the past is always the past of a different present. Judgment in which emphasis falls upon the historic or temporal phase of redetermination of unsettled situations is thus a

culminating evidence that judgment is not a bare enunciation of what already exists but is itself an existential requalification.³⁸

Dewey means here that simply because a particular problem of the past was solved by using a particular hypothesis we cannot necessarily solve a present similar problem by using exactly the same hypothesis. The past is not the present; the problems of the past may be similar in some ways to present problems but different in other ways. We can use what we know of the conclusions of similar past problems (conceptions) by formulating propositions of kinds to offer guidance or suggestions. But propositions of kinds are only generalizations, they are instruments for inquiry, not conclusions to be assigned to present problems.

As mankind continues to solve present problems, it moves the present into a certain kind of future; when the future becomes the present, new problems must be solved, which moves that present into a certain kind of future. The process is never ending, and mankind forms it. Writing in *German Philosophy and Politics*, Dewey sums this process up when he says:

An American philosophy of history must perforce be a philosophy for its future, a future in which freedom and fullness of human companionship is the aim, and intelligent cooperative experimentation the method.³⁹

Americans, he believed, ought to realize that it is our responsibility for building the kind of future we all desire in this country. He said it would be the height of absurdity for him to suggest what that future will be, since, in a democracy, we decide together what it is to be. In other words, we make those kinds of decisions as a *community*. To say it another way, when communities resolve problems as social democracies, which, in turn, send their futures off in a particular desired direction, then, we are putting into practice what Dewey calls an American philosophy of history. It is a practical philosophy of history that is uniquely Deweyan. One that, in typical Dewey fashion, rejects the either-or categorization of philosophies of history described by Meyerhoff and replaces it with the idea that mankind, by using the method of history to resolve present problems, can guide and direct its future(s) in the direction it chooses to go.

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A PHILOSOPHY OF UPWARD BOUND

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Currently there are discussions among national politicians about less government the better. These political leaders suggest that the American people want smaller government, less interference in their lives, and a laissez faire approach to social issues and problems in the country.

As the push continues for deficit spending reduction, all kinds of social programs which have received government report for over half a century are on the drawing boards for funding cuts or elimination. Students at risk, students from impoverished backgrounds, students from divergent racial, and cultural backgrounds will increasingly be the engine for our nation's economy. These students need the social network of government supported the Trio program such as Upward Bound. These programs provide the means to encourage young talent to fulfill their potential as future leaders and contributors to our society. Our nation cannot afford to waste such talent.

No one doubts the importance of the task of deficit reduction. No one questions the necessity for reducing the tax burden for future generations. However, America has had a historic commitment to provide more opportunities for its ever growing diverse population. One program that encompasses a philosophical commitment to individual and collective growth of youngsters of talent is upward bound.

A Half Century Commitment

Helping economically deprived talented high school youth gain access to the ladder of upward mobility through an intervention program, has been a commitment of our society for nearly fifty years. Upward bound programs identified talented youth in our high schools through school counselors, and principals as well as personal interviews with potential enrollees. Once identified these students are given an opportunity to take college classes in their junior and senior high school years. This opportunity gives them an upward step toward coping successfully with college requirements. Upward bound personnel work to provide encouragement, support and remedial academic assistance when needed.

Upward bound seeks to provide a seamless curriculum from high school to college. The program also seeks to have high school youth enroll in college courses during their junior and senior year in high school. Research results indicate upward bound has

been a very effective program and provided thousands of youngsters who otherwise might not have had the opportunity to enroll and function effectively in college. There is a nationwide effort to include more minorities, women and persons of diverse cultural background among our higher education faculty, administration, student, and staff. One of the ways to fill the need is to provide essential assistance in recruiting diverse populations in our college student body.

Statistics from researches has repeatedly proved that there has been a strong need for academic support, counseling and enrichment from the low income students and the first generation college students. With the assistance of Upward Bound Programs more than 80% of these students are able to go to college and persist in college, comparing to the fact that, without the assistance of Upward Bound Programs, only 5% of the same students body are able to go to college. Upward bound programs have not only provided the special student population with very challenging academic programs to make them capable college bound students, but also broadened their social and cultural exposures to the ever growing world.

Such programs as upward bound are essential in a society of democracy, and a society with continuing economic cycles. It seems that a capitalistic society faces periodic depressions, recessions, or downturns. Upward bound programs help to position youth for fulfilling, successful and rewarding college life. These programs serve during down economic cycles to keep youngsters off the labor market and during up market cycles to provide training of youth for the world of employment. Upward bound and similar programs also provide a safety value protecting the nation from periods of excessive unemployment.

The Philosophy of Upward Bound

Upward bound aims to enrich the lives of talented high school students enabling them to participate more fully in college pre programs that will enable them to gain access to higher level positions. The philosophy of programs such as Upward Bound encompasses democratic theory and practice. The programs enrich our society by enabling students of diverse backgrounds, races and cultures to gain a hand on the ladder of upward mobility.

Nel Nodding (1) calls for a paradigm shift in social priorities. Important as the drive for efficiency and

besting the competition is, she finds a more important priority.

All children must learn to care for other human beings, and all must find an ultimate concern in some center of care; care for self, for intimate others, for associates and acquaintances, for distant others, for animals, for plants and the physical environment, for objects and instruments and for ideas (366).

This attention to care of others ought to be a fundamental priority for our national legislators as they face budget decisions. Our precious youth are our future. They represent a national treasure and programs for their benefit are really for the enrichment and good of a democratic society. Jane Roland Martin in "A Philosophy of Education for the Year 2000" notes that we should begin to think of schools as the moral equivalent of homes. In our homes, in our families, we want to see our talented youngsters enabled to use those talents. Upward bound provides the federal funding and opportunity for society to fully utilize the talents of its precious youth. Martin finds that we should address care, concern and connection as a wholeness. This wholeness would include an environment characterized by safety, security, nurturance, and love. Martin referred to Dewey's call to educate the whole child. Her request was that we educate all our children in our whole heritage so that they will learn to live together.

Upward bound is an exemplary example of working to educate the whole child regardless of cultural background or economic status for the benefit of society. When our

legislators contemplate cutting people centered programs that have proven effective for over a half century, it behooves philosophers of education to take a stand for the humane use of human beings. We need to rethink our priorities so that we focus on upgrading the social, and economic potential of our talented by financially challenged youth.

The Future

Upward bound helps students from diverse backgrounds and populations contribute more fully to our democratic society. It reflects pluralism in theory and practice. The strength of American society lies in its commitment to educate ever more of our population to the fullest extent. This has been an article of faith from the early days of the Republic. The Bible College movement giving young people in rural areas a route for higher education, the Morrill Act of 1962 providing for land grant colleges, the Truman Commission Report of 1945 providing for an expansion of the Community College were just a few of the examples of provision for higher education opportunity for youths with few resources and in need of a helping hand on the ladder of upward mobility.

As Plato noted over 2,000 years ago, "Education is Man's Best Hope for the Future." That is true today. We, as a people, must take a stand for programs that enhance economic and social justice in the United States. When we take this stand we also reinforce a commitment to pluralism. Ours is a diverse, multicultural society, with a rich variety of races, cultures and creeds. Such diversity is our national strength and must be nourished through intervention programs such as Upward Bound.

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THE EXTREMES OF LANGUAGE AND THE CONFUSION OF OUR CHILDREN

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Dedicated to George I. Sanchez

Fear of serious injury cannot alone justify suppression of free speech and assembly. Men feared witches and burned women. It is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears.

Louis D. Brandeis
Whitney v. California (1927)

In the year 1962 George I. Sanchez recounted this event in his class on Acculturation of the Spanish speaking child. The United States census taker had come to the Sanchez home on Scenic Drive in Austin that morning to enumerate and discover George and Luisa's ethnicity. The question asked at that time to determine race was, "What language did you speak at breakfast this morning?" Professor Sanchez in his inimitable manner replied, "I cannot remember which language we spoke at breakfast." He was indeed conversant in more than a dozen languages as well as a reader of ancient South American languages.

Today the census department has changed its procedure. Sara Owens Centron daughter of Dr. Rosa Centron Delgado, who works under her professional name, is cited as Anglo. Sara is trilingual, fluent in French, Spanish, and English. James Thomas Owens, the father is Anglo. -this is a comment not only on language but the status of women.

Part I - The Kiser Edict

The issue of Hispanic parents wishing to maintain their cultural heritage and to communicate with relatives and grandmothers is as of August 28, 1995 a civil rights issue for all Americans. On that date an Amarillo state district judge, Samuel C. Kiser ordered Marta Laurenno to speak English only in her home. In the opinion, Judge Kiser stated: "otherwise we'll doom her 5 year old daughter to spending her life as a housemaid." Otherwise the custody of her children will be awarded to a bank teller.

The privacy of the home has been inviolate since James Madison wrote the Fourth Amendment of the Bill of Rights. Texas law states that for a child to be taken away from the parent there must be and immediate and serious physical or sexual danger to the life or welfare of the child. Although the Houston Chronicle states that

speaking Spanish at home was ruled "child abuse" the root of the problem is a trivialization of the term "welfare." There is no legal precedent for the ruling. Ethically can a child in what we have treasured as a free country be taken from the home to elevate his socioeconomic standing?

This affects citizens of all nationalities for we are a nation of immigrants except for the Native Americans. My German speaking grandfather would have been removed from the Iowa farm, my great grandfather's homestead.

A transparency of the Laurenno mother and child is now presented. Ms. Laurenno who works in the employment of an Amarillo beef packing plant stated that she has often been sought out to communicate with job applicants. Dr. April Haulman, bilingual director for the University of Central Oklahoma describes the mother's English as correct overlaid with a slight Spanish accent.

Now let us evaluate Judge Kiser's proficiency in a direct quotation from the verdict:

"Now get this straight. You start speaking English to that child because if she doesn't do good [sic] in school, then I can remove her because it is not in her best interest to be ignorant. The child will speak only English.

The little girl is now approved by doing well in a bilingual kindergarten. Ann Prichard who directs bilingual education for the Amarillo Independent School District, where the child is enrolled would not comment on the case.

One final clipping from the Houston Chronicle of August 30, 1995: "State District Judge Samuel Kiser offered no apologies except to the housekeeping profession. The judge stated that since we entrust our personal possessions and our family's welfare to these hard working people- I should hold them in the highest esteem."

As of the reading of this paper Judge Kiser has reversed the decision.

In conclusion, it is very troubling when we allow a side issue such as language to remove a child from the arms of the mother who bore her and has provided excellent bonding, nurture, and love. Judge Kiser's decision has no precedent in Texas law. What

surveillance shall be employed by the government to monitor the most intimate conversations of our homes?

Part II The O.J. Simpson Courtroom

The O.J. Simpson trial, at the time of the writing of this paper, (Friday, September 15, 1995) is still in the process of summation by the prosecution. While the case has attracted the attention mainly of an adult audience media has openly confused and perhaps prejudiced our children through the use of language with racial overtones.

Officer Mark Furman's hate filled words rocked the courtroom in Las Angeles on August 30, 1995. The nation is faced with the sickening situation of a peace officer constantly repeating the word,

"nigger," at least 41 times are recorded on tape.

Even the prosecutor Marcia Clark stated to the press: The content of these tapes is so repugnant and so offensive that this may be the most difficult thing that I have ever had to do as a prosecutor.

Officer Furman plead the Fifth Amendment as to the tapes and the planting of evidence on Thursday, September 22, 1995.

Whatever the outcome of this trial, a generation of children who are facing the 21st century have been taught the 'N-word' through the family room TV.

As an aside in the year 1962 George Sanchez told his class on the acculturation of the Spanish Speaking Child, "Never use the word nigger" I wondered why he was so concerned then while teaching a class of multicultural cosmopolitan graduate students. I wonder even more in 1995 why the obnoxious 'N-word' has been repeatedly heard by the grandchildren of the college students of the sixties.

REDUCTIONISM AND EDUCATION

James J. Van Patten
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Alvin Toffler in *War and Anti-War* finds that we are living in a unique moment in human history. He finds the world system taking on Prigoginian characteristics--looking more and more like the physical, chemical, and social systems described by Ilya Prigogine, the Nobel prize-winning scientist. Prigogine identified what he called "dissipative-structures." In these structures, all parts of the system are in constant fluctuation, and parts of each system become extremely vulnerable to external influences. Our educational institution managers at every level are responding to a growing mountain of reform reports many of which stress the failure of our educational systems. One of the responses to increasingly strident criticism of our educational work is to import business and industry management models into our educational institutions. However, micromanaging faculty through intervention strategies foreign to the ideal of the university often creates an adversarial not collegial organizational climate.

In our educational institutions, that most of us call home, we are increasingly responding to external influences on our lives. Our organizational climate is in constant flux as attempts are made to respond to each reform report. Institutional managers implement new programs, initiatives and interventions as they increasingly copy business models. This has led to focusing on research, grants and publication which build an institution's reputation and on teaching which is the thrust of many reform reports and legislative criticisms of higher education. In the public schools, as in the university, educational administrators are often hired directly from the business community with no experience in educational institutions.

Patricia Cross some years ago wrote an article on educational reform reports. In the article "The Adventures of Alice in Wonderland" she finds that educators have much in common with Alice. Alice, trying to find her way in wonderland asked the Cheshire Cat:

"Would you tell me the way please", said Alice,
"Which way I ought to walk from here?"
"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to", said the Cat.
"I don't much care where", said Alice.
"Then it doesn't matter which way you walk", said the Cat.
"So long as I get somewhere", Alice added as an explanation.

"Oh, you're sure to do that", said the Cat, "If you only walk long enough."

Our challenge in education is to maintain institutional integrity in its mission in the face of a variety of demands for reductionism in theory and practice. Breaking wholes into parts for more effective organizational control is increasingly popular in educational institutions. The rationale for such a position is that it is easier to show legislatures percentages, frequencies, rates of graduation and student retention than to deal with organizational health and climate. It is very difficult to measure an environment that provides for freedom of inquiry, expression and dialogue. The mission of educational institutions should be unhindered and unfettered academic freedom so essential in an open society.

Accountability Revisited:

State legislatures are requiring faculty workload reports. This competitive marketplace theory has entered the halls of ivy. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in increased assessment of faculty in higher education.. Rating, ranking, peer review forms and committees are used to evaluate faculty. Giving objectivity to subjective measurements of performance is universal in higher education institutions. Such measures may demean faculty, relegating their professional contributions to a notoriously unreliable numbers game.

Tenure is coming under intense scrutiny. Productivity is being defined in a variety of ways including recruitment, retention and graduate rates for minorities, women and physically challenged individuals. When facing these problems many educational institutions find increasing severe morale problems. John Dewey summed up the feeling of many individuals confronted with these challenges:

The significant thing is that the loyalties which once held individuals, which gave them support, direction, and unity of outlook on life, have well-nigh disappeared. In consequence, individuals are confused and bewildered.

No one would deny that everyone within organizations has to be accountable for ethical actions. Punctuality, dependability, integrity, productivity are essentials for employees in all organizations. The problem lies in superimposing alien concepts on organizations whose environment requires academic and intellectual freedom essential for creativity, the search

for knowledge and truth, and the right to discover new knowledge.

Anthony Giddens developed a "Theory of Structuration" which focuses on a search for unity rather than division. He seeks to move beyond a language of opposition between structure and action and finds actions and structure interwoven in the ongoing activity of social life. Giddens identifies a duality of structure. Structure can serve as rules and resources implemented in interaction. These rules and resources can be at once enabling and constraining. Giddens notes that his theory of structuration is compatible with the recognition of limits imposed by the physical environment. He finds there is no difficulty in acknowledging that institutions, conceived of as regularized practices which are >deeply layered= in time and space, both pre-exist and post-date the lives of individuals who reproduced them, and therefore may be resistant to manipulation or change by any particular agent. Giddens theory builds needed bridges between institutional management necessities of responding to legislative requirements for rules, regulations, performance accountability and an environment that requires empowerment and enabling interventions so essential to academic freedom.

Accountability may more effectively serve higher education institutions if the term is viewed as generalized rules of ethical behavior within organizations while at the same time providing resources and provisions that empower and enable individuals to maximize their special potential. Enlightened accountability would to the degree possible, provide for individual autonomy.

Capitalism, industrialism and competitiveness are deeply embedded in the American psyche. From the early days of the republic to recent times, business and industrial management theories, were variations on layers of control and supervision over workers. Perhaps Frederick Taylor's *Scientific Management* of the early 20th century best represents the excesses of accountability of workers to their organization.

Micromanagement or strict control of workers movements to maximize their productivity was and is practiced in private industry and business. Witness the current changes in our major corporations such as IBM. Formerly IBM was known as a worker friendly organization with life time employment and few if any layoffs. With the current emphasis on competition and marketplace position, no one's position is secure. Organizational goals and therefore employment security can change overnight.

The Challenge and Opportunity

Marie E. Wirsing in *Academic Freedom and*

Teaching Foundations of Education: A Personal Memoir noted that faculty in all branches of the Academy are being subjected to the same kinds of accountability practices and controls that have been used for teachers. Wirsing sought a Board of Regents reconsideration of a resolution for standardizing faculty course evaluation. She continued to use open ended evaluation instruments rather than required standardized forms, leading to the administration lowering teaching ratings to zero. After filing a grievance and being declared insubordinate, she brought a suit in Federal District Court. The court ruled in favor of the University.

This case illustrates the power of reductionism with consequent standardization in management policy. It further addresses the role of organizational power in relation to faculty freedom and autonomy. Federal court decisions dealing with education at all levels tend to support an institution's administration. Regardless of the Wirsing case, or the excesses of reductionism in practice, higher education management will continue to deal with breaking wholes into parts.

The opportunity of functioning with the maximum degree of freedom possible can be enhanced as faculty, staff and administration work to inform and enlighten legislatures and the public about the role and function of academic freedom within higher education institutions. As Rudder⁷ notes, Dewey and others have pointed out that professional communities are more able to maintain high levels of personal autonomy and voluntary cooperation as well as to extend sanctuary to individuals whose judgment and conduct deviate from conventional patterns of thought. Philosophers of education have an obligation to identify threats to instructor freedom from management policies alien to the ideal of the university.

William Arrowsmith in *The Future of Teaching*⁸ cautioned educational leaders about the possible dangers of reducing faculty autonomy to collective dependence. He stated that at every level the forces making for scholarly conformity are immense, and the rewards of conformity are high. If these forces are not directly hostile to teaching, they are certainly profoundly indifferent. Although Arrowsmith was addressing the divergence of teaching and research, his concern is timely. Reductionism as a universal governance policy is inappropriate for both *lehrfreiheit* and *lernfreiheit*--the freedom essential to teach and learn.

The Future

Fred Kierstead⁹ wrote of the importance of mutual respect and interdependence in a shared macroculture. Our university communities ideally ought to operate in an environment of mutually shared values as we cross

academic boundaries and explore new horizons. In a shared macroculture, institutional managers would be informed of the need for the degree of faculty autonomy commensurate with necessary organizational ethical rules and accountability. Thus there would be a community of shared values achieving desired ends through consensus. Our managers would be better able to articulate necessary academic freedoms to legislators faced with increasing demands for accountability from students, the public, professional organizations and reform reports.

Philosophers of education must be vigilant in articulating and identifying the dangers of imposing management systems foreign to the ideal of the university. We can have effective management of university resources without an ideology of micromanagement.

The crucial role of an environment unhindered by the fetters which would restrain and limit creativity is perhaps best expressed in *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* 1957:

The essentiality of freedom in the community of American universities is almost self evident. No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any straitjacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our nation...Scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study, and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die (354 U.S. at 250).

Tim Bergen¹⁰ addressed the contributions of the Greeks to the birth of the University. To the ancient Greeks theoretical knowledge comprised the essence of being. The Greek ideal of education is not technical, not business, but individual. The aim of the university is to develop a person's nature and faculties as a whole, and not just make him fit for a special technical job. The laws of proportion and perspective or Aristotle's *Golden Mean* took a central place in culture. Perhaps we need to rediscover civility and the responsibility to treat all persons as ends worthy of dignity and esteem. The humane use of human beings should include all peoples within our higher education systems.

This paper would be incomplete without expressing deep appreciation for a university chancellor who served as a model for balance in accountability and academic freedom. Chancellor William Pearson Tolley of Syracuse University never wavered from his firm commitment to the freedoms so essential for learning and teaching. He wrote:

Education should deal with the whole man. Our Promethean faith is not in the mind alone but in man as a child of God, a creature with divine qualities, knowing good and evil. Schools and colleges should minister as best they can to the needs of the whole man. They should try to inculcate integrity and honor. They should try to build character. They should attempt to protect our health. They should attempt to keep us sensitive to religious and moral values. They should try to give us concern for beauty as well as truth and goodness. And finally, they are conscious of the unmet needs of the world. They should try to teach us to be good citizens and to be socially useful.¹¹

This is a holistic task requiring our best efforts to fulfill. It is this task that makes those of us who call the university our home, have an abiding commitment to a love of wisdom and the institution which provides the environment for that wisdom to be expressed.

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VIRTUAL WORLDS

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While browsing through a help screen glossary of computer terms attached to my first e-mail system, I discovered that the word "virtual" was equivalent to the word "machine." This event happened quite a few years ago but the definition has stuck with me. It helped me to understand the term "virtual reality" when it started to be used on a regular basis. Virtual reality, or simply VR, if you are up on the literature, has been defined as a hardware and software configuration that simulates alternative realities. (Merrill et al, 1992) Virtual reality will be discussed later. Right now I am interested in machine or virtual-based experience.

We seem to have no shortage of machines which provide machine generated experiences for readers, listeners, and viewers. The first widespread machine experiences were print media. Sacred books, popular news, and entertainment in print preceded many other forms of media by centuries. Subsequently, chemical and electronic photography have shown us still and moving images. Photographic prints, slides, television, and motion pictures surround our daily activities. Audio technology has evolved rapidly using wire recordings, the telephone, radio, records, magnetic tape, digital compact disc and computers to store and transport voice and music. Most recently, the computer seems to be tying together many of our previous machine generated experiences through computer controlled multimedia programs and presentations. Bill Gates, president of Microsoft Corporation, and other corporate executives seek to control multimedia "information superhighways" that don't dead end at your door step. These highways are to loop through your entire home. The communications industry wants to expand your access to machine generated experiences so that you can engage more fully with them and, in the process, contribute to the economic well-being of huge companies.

The limitations of these machine generated experiences are familiar. Most of us are aware that the lens only sees where it is pointed. The microphone only picks up sound within a limited area and reproduces a limited range of sound frequencies. Television productions and still photographs seem to shrink nonverbal communication. Motion pictures and projected still images appear to make nonverbal communication larger than life. Computers only do what we tell them to do. We know these facsimiles are not real but sometimes we treat them as though they are.

Combinations of audio technologies with chemical and electronic photography bring television and film news and entertainment experiences into our life that seem to permeate every facet of our thinking. Computers help us with our bank accounts, typing, data storage, games, business communications and much more. We know and accept the limitations of these machines because they are helpful.

At the same time, we worry about them as we discuss television violence and morality. Computerized games and virtual entertainment are widely criticized for their aggressive violence. (Tuchscherer, 1990) Altheide (1976), Mander (1978), and Gitlin (1980), cautioned that television, film and print media must distort and fabricate reality in order to survive. Gerbner (1982) did a content analysis of television. He concluded from his research that television news tends to report ten times more violence than people who view it are likely to experience. In addition, minorities, senior citizens and women were stereotypical depicted as supporting characters. *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth* (Liebert & Sprafkin, 1988), is a book which contains discussions about the social, political and economic factors surrounding television. According to research cited in this book, in the first eighteen years of life, the average youth spends more time watching television than any other activity besides sleep. Television serves as electronic baby sitter, educator, and entertainer throughout a child's life. In fact, the average child has spent 1,200 hours more in front of a television than s/he has in a classroom by the time s/he graduates from high school. What Labored and Sprafkin ask is, "What are the cumulative effects of passive engagement with television as a form of experience?" They are not convinced that machine based experience is entirely positive.

Neil Postman (1995) a frequent critic of machine transmitted reality, expressed the concern that, "We have transformed information into a form of garbage. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, we are awash in information without even a broom to help us get rid of it." (p. 35) We have great amounts of information without patterns to make sense of it. Postman thinks we need to consult our philosophers, playwrights and poets to restore and create the metaphors and stories that give meaning to our history, our present, and our future. He is apprehensive that virtual experience is no substitute for lived experience and he is not alone. Richard Louv

(1991), who interviewed children across the United States about their relationship to nature, found that although today's youth tend to have more knowledge about global ecological problems, they tend to have relatively little direct contact with nature. They have exchanged a virtual nature experience for an actual contact with nature. They even take their Walkman with them as they run or ski down a mountain slope on a quiet day. Louv's interviews with young people and parents indicate that children listen more often to the rhythms of machines than to the rhythms of nature. The late Guy Debord made movies and wrote essays about "spectacle." (Glenn, 1995) Spectacle is the never-ending torrent of advertisements, media events, entertainment, and communication technologies that takes up our spare time, separates us from our labor, our families, our friends, and even ourselves. He wanted people to exchange virtual experience for direct experience of situations we face. All three of these authors offer caveats about the problematic nature of machine generated realities.

As machine based realities become more advanced and engrossing, we have become even more interested in their ramifications. Popular movies like "Tron," "Lawn Mower Man," and "Virtuosity," have explored technologies that are potentially more influentially powerful than radio, television or film. The purpose of virtual reality is to simulate alternative realities through specifically designed computer software and hardware. One day these alternative realities may become as comprehensive as the "Helladic" of Star Trek television and movie fame. (Reinhold, 1991)

Issues related to virtual reality include the proper design of human computer interfaces, visual programming, human behavior in virtual environments and tailoring clothes for virtual actors. (MacDonald & Vince 1994) Ethics and body mapping share the covers of a single book. (Earnshaw, Gigante, Jones, 1993) The study of virtual reality is eclectic. Applications of virtual reality cross over many different environments. Museum curators are interested in recreating the history of human and physical sciences. Airlines have purchased some of the most complex virtual reality technology for flight simulators. Medical science uses virtual reality to teach anatomy and surgical techniques. Psychiatrists and psychologists are interested in creating alternative environments to treat mental patients. The military uses virtual reality for targeting weapons and for training soldiers. Architects are able to design, and build fully-operational, fully-furnished virtual buildings and communities through virtual reality. Educators want to create virtual realities that allow students to become butterflies, birds, chemical molecules, blood cells or

parts of an algebraic equation. Students could conceivably travel through time and space without the usual impediments of the physical universe. Travel to distant times and places would be usual. Travel through human systems such as the brain, the blood stream or colon could also occur. The absence of air, gravity, or physical presence would be possible. (Earnshaw, Gigante, Jones, 1993)

Virtual reality varies in complexity. Some simulations are very basic line drawings with relatively little interaction. Other virtual environments utilize a real or imagined set of rules for studying a system and are supported by rich three-dimensional, animated computer graphics and extensive interactions between machine and user. In the most sophisticated virtual reality technologies, you may wear electronically sensitive clothes and gloves that communicate your movements to a very large computer. You may also wear goggles over your face that give straight ahead and peripheral vision of a totally simulated environment. Sound may be added within the goggles. In such an environment, as you run or move, you may do so relative to an environment governed by a completely arbitrary set of rules. For example, you might be able to walk through walls as well as walk on walls and ceilings. You may be able to fly. You might even be a bird. In addition, you might be able to push virtual buttons with predictable results or handle and grab objects in the environment to inspect them, eat them, manipulate them, or store them for later use. (Reinhold, 1991) Virtual reality usually has rules but not necessarily boundaries. Virtual experience seems to be limited only by our imaginations.

As Barrie Sherman and Phil Judkins. (1992) pointed out in their book, **Glimpses of Heaven and Visions of Hell: Virtual Reality and its Implications**, we must be mindful of creating new realities. Philosophers, historians, physicists, and writers of fiction have often contemplated different realities. According to Sherman and Judkins, we can experience these alternative realities.

And in a strange sort of way, Virtual Reality has more realness than real reality; after all, we start with a vacuum as it were, and have to program solid walls, transparent windows, or the effects of pressure into our virtual world. So to a very large extent VR allows us (or at least the designers of the virtual worlds) to play God. And as we have seen we can make a virtual world behave oddly. We can make water solid, and solid fluid; we can imbue inanimate objects (chairs, lamps, engines) with an intelligent life of their own. We can invent animals, singing textures, clever colors or fairies. This divine role can

engender a sense of disquiet, as can the feeling that some of us may be tempted to hide in VR; after all, we cannot make of our real world whatever we wish to make of it. Virtual Reality may turn out to be a great deal more comfortable than our own imperfect reality. (p. 127)

The question is, Sherman and Judkins continue, who is playing God? What if such a powerful medium were in the hands of Hitler's assistant, Herman Goebbels, instead of a science educator trying to teach about particle physics. And what alternative realities could Goebbels have created about the Jews or about the German Reich? What alternative realities could advertisers create to convince us that we could not live well, or at all, without their products?

In order to respond to this question as well as the ones posed earlier about other machine or virtual experiences conveyed by radio, television, film etc., I turned to a chapter in Richard Bernstein's. (1992) book, **The New Constellation**, titled "Heidegger's Silence?: *Ethos* and Technology." One of the issues at hand was the essence of technology and its "revealing" to users of technology. *Ethos* and Technology is a complex issue which is framed within an even more complicated setting. But Bernstein's explanation and interpretation of Heidegger's position on technology proved very helpful with the problems of thinking through the ramifications of using technology.

The chapter begins with an explanation of Heidegger's connection with the Nazi party during world war two and speculation about why Heidegger had never addressed the issue nor made a public apology. The question mark in the title gives a hint as to Bernstein's position on the matter. Although these issues are important, my interest in the article centers on Bernstein's discussion of Heidegger's thoughts about technology. Bernstein seems to believe that Heidegger addresses the issue of Nazi involvement through his discourse on technology. However, I do not intend to follow up on these concerns but only on Heidegger's arguments about technology which occupies the midsection of Bernstein's chapter. Several of the authors cited earlier in my paper mention a short circuit of sorts between individuals and their relationships. They try to explain this process to the point of bringing unconscious assumptions about technology to the surface where they can be examined. I consider Heidegger's ideas and Bernstein's explanation and interpretation of them to be elegant. I will try to communicate them to the best of my ability.

Bernstein (1992) introduces his purpose in relatively succinct terms: "I intend to concentrate on some of Heidegger's late thinking concerning technology -- what

he names *Gestell* (enframing) -- the 'supreme danger,' and the sense in which he claims that his danger harbors the 'growth of the saving power.'" (p. 85)

Bernstein cites a quote by Heidegger expressing concern about the ethical bond between "technological man" and the organizing of his plans in a way that corresponds to technology. Heidegger cautions us that technology is not equivalent to the essence of technology. The presentation of technology in this way is meant to establish a free relationship to it. By free relationship Heidegger does not mean that we either are or are not enslaved by technology. Rather, we are not to regard technology as neutral but we are to inspect its assumptions relative to our use of it. Bernstein quotes Heidegger: "Everything depends on our manipulating technology in the proper manner as means. We will, as we say, 'get' technology 'spiritually in hand.' We will master it. The will to mastery becomes all the more urgent the more technology threatens to slip from human control." (Technology, 289; 11) (Bernstein, 1992, p. 92) We must first understand how technology enframes us. (*Gestell*) before we can dream of mastery. An instrumental understanding of technology is not sufficient the way instrumentality is normally understood. Heidegger's use of the word "means" is important as it refers to causality but not causality in the usual sense. Causality is described in an Aristotelian sense:

For centuries philosophy has taught that there are four causes: (1) the *causa materialis*, the material, the matter out of which, for example, a silver chalice is made; (2) the *causa formalis*, the form, the shape into which the material enters; (3) the *causa finalis*, the end, for example, the sacrificial rite in relation to which the chalice required is determined as to its form and matter; (4) the *causa efficiens*, which brings about the effect that is the finished, actual chalice, in this instance, the silversmith. What technology is, when represented as a means, discloses itself when we trace instrumentality back to fourfold causality. (Technology, 289-90; 11-12) (Bernstein, 1992, p. 93)

The last sentence is particularly important. Tracing instrumentality back through fourfold causality as "means" is the disclosure of technology that Heidegger is encouraging. For example, I am writing this paper on a computer, the *causa materialis*, consisting mostly of plastic, metal, and glass. The shape or *causa formalis* owes a debt to plastic, metal, and glass; and also to the *causa finalis*, the end use and its social demands (e.g., professional, standardized ideas of what a computer must look like in order to be marketable and to be

usable for the functions assigned to it by its designers) The *causa efficiens*, which brings about the effect that is finished is, in this case, the people who work for the Apple Computer Corporation. The disclosure does not end here. For larger systems, I may be the *causa materialis*, the "congealed standing reserve" waiting to be gathered and ordered to produce data for consumption by the academic community. For Heidegger, technology is no mere means. It is a way of revealing. The essence of technology is its enframing, which may not be easily revealed. Indeed, it is Bernstein's point that technology is concealed even though is being revealed. Knowledge of the essence of technology gives us freedom to guard against the "supreme danger" of enframing -- being ordered and gathered -- by technology because we have misunderstood the unconcealing of technology, of not realizing we are the ones being spoken to. The growth of saving power is the realization of technology "as a challenging or challenging-forth" which "orders, manipulates, controls, sets upon nature." (Bernstein, 1992 p. 98) Heidegger's wish, according to Bernstein, is not to bring back the past but to unconceal the present. Bernstein wrote the following passages to illustrate his point.

The "correct" definition of technology is being deconstructed. For the "correct" definition focuses our attention on how man uses, masters, controls technology in order to achieve human purposes. But it obscures and conceals the way in which human beings themselves are responding to, and are claimed by, the unconcealment -- the revealing of challenging-forth in which human beings become "human resources." This unconcealment is not the result of human handiwork or doing. On the contrary, this unconcealment determines what human activity has become in the modern epoch. (p. 100)

Human beings become standing-reserve, human resources, commodities, congealed labor-power. Human beings become functioning cogs in the interlocking ordering of "challenging-forth." This claim upon human beings shapes every aspect of our lives -- the ways in which we experience the world, act, and think. (p. 100)

Enframing (*Gestell*) is the essence of modern technology and it is the gathering forth of standing reserves, whether they be inert or human. Heidegger sees *Gestell* as destining rather than fated. Destining in the sense of starting upon a way. Misinterpreting enframing is seen a necessary danger of the deconstruction of enframing. The cost of misinterpretation is being claimed as standing-reserve. Bernstein puts it this way:

Enframing as the essence of technology is the way of

revealing or challenging-forth. But enframing itself blocks all revealing; it conceals its essence as a destining. Insofar as it blocks this, it is the supreme danger. But the supreme danger also harbors in itself the growth of the saving power. If we open ourselves to this danger then we prepare ourselves for the "upsurge of saving power;" we prepare ourselves for a "free relationship" to the essence of technology. (p. 110)

Heidegger said: "...The essence of technology is nothing technological." (Technology, 317; 39-40) (Bernstein, 1992, p. 118) For me this phrase encapsulates many of the meanings that Heidegger conveyed through his essay about technology. It may illustrate that we see experience through a technological curtain.

Virtual experience occurs as one gazes through a technological curtain to unmediated experience. Books such as Langdon Winner's *Autonomous Technology* (1977), Arnold Pacey's *The Culture of Technology* (1983), and Dreyfus and Dreyfus' *Mind Over Machine* (1986), discuss the interplay between technology and culture; but it was an article on the electronic publication *Tidbits*, "Ontological Breakdown, or, Pretending to be a Help System" (De Long, 1995), that illustrated the ramifications of virtual experience in a very direct way. A Berkeley economics professor decided that he would take his five-year-old and two-year-old children to the Valley of Life Museum at the University of California in search of dinosaur bones and displays. He discovered that the museum was new and that it was a research facility rather than a museum loaded with public displays. The `real' museum for his children had audio narration by the discoverers of the fossils, and lots more bones. The `real' museum had displays about dinosaur evolution and geology. This `real' museum was a multimedia site on the internet. The "electronic shadows" of the museum began to take on more reality than the actual museum. De Long began to reflect on other analogies and metaphors that have become virtual. Library card catalogues have become mostly electronic. We have electronic desktops, notebooks, and mice. The thought that these terms might become metaphors occurred as De Long put his five year old to bed one night. He heard his son say:

If you want to read books, click on the book case. If you want to play with dinosaur toys, click over here. He was pretending to be a help system.

To play with Lion King toys, click on the bottom of the bed. If you need help, click on my picture on top of the dresser. I'll be there in a flash.

De Long concluded: "Not only is the virtual world behind the computer screen acquiring an increasing aura

of reality, but the real world on this side of the screen is acquiring aspects of virtuality as well." This ontological breakdown or reversal suggests that we might be exchanging a more pleasurable world for the imperfect one we inherited. But what about Heidegger's warning about enframing?

Postman (1985) warns us that the image is replacing the word as the basic unit of discourse. Appearance is becoming more importance than the marketplace of ideas. The evening news has converted information into

entertainment and serious, sequential, rational, and complex exposition is disdained. We are, in Postman's words, "amusing ourselves to death" as a thinking democracy. Richard Rorty reminds us that our meanings are contextualized within our social ethnocentrism (1991) If Rorty is right and we replace the meanings derived from our face-to-face interactions with synthetically derived virtual meanings, haven't we divorced ourselves from our own heritage and from a sense of community, from our own meanings? It seems probable to me that Heidegger's response might be to become mindful of our destiny -- the path we have taken. Careful thought requires the sort of thinking not found in some virtual realities such as the majority of radio, television, and film fare. Perhaps the more interactive technologies might be helpful. Or, perhaps we need to engage in serious, complex, sequential and rational discussion whenever and wherever possible as Postman suggests. The problem may have been stated best by Heidegger when he said: "...The essence of technology is nothing technological."

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THE 19TH-CENTURY FIGHT AGAINST PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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Last year at our meeting in Fayetteville, Dr. Art Cooper and I discussed some public policy initiatives of 19th-century Americans that were meant to deal with the growing problems of young people. I suppose that there was never a time when youth have not presented special problems for society, going back to Aristotle and beyond. But 19th-century American youth, particularly those in the cities, faced special problems, and their travails ultimately led to a child-saving movement aimed at taking youth off the streets, increasing the home-leaving age from 14 to 18, and, in general, prolonging a developmental period.

This youth crisis began in the 1830s and 1840s with the development of America's first urban slums and continued through the early years of the 20th-century. From these slums had issued an entirely new class of American youth - the so-called "street arabs," named for their Bedouin-like wanderings throughout the cities. Increasingly over the 19th-century, swarms of these homeless, crime-prone street waifs populated the streets, dodging the police, acknowledging no authority, gambling, fighting, stealing, and in general living entirely by their wits. Many of their parents had died or moved on; others were castaways whose parents had abandoned them, or otherwise lost interest in them, or who could no longer feed them or tolerate their behavior. Others were "runaways" avoiding parental abuse, neglect and ill-treatment; and still others simply preferred outdoor life to the noxious tenements from whence they had come.

Broken free of any semblance of family control or community restraints, these youth supported themselves alternately from legitimate street trades - selling newspapers and street foods, carrying coal and firewood, sweeping out stores, panhandling, etc., - and from illicit activities including thievery, procuring, drug-dealing, pandering, prostitution, and various extortion and protection schemes.

The problems of youth were not gender specific. Some of the most ferocious street gangs of New York City were composed entirely of roughneck, marauding, brawling girls, aged 9 to 16 - some 30 to 40 to a pack. The Forty Little Thieves and Lady Locusts were but two examples. Wild and unmanageable, they scampered barefoot about the streets like so many little hell-hags, sleeping in wooden boxes and under stairways, and scratching out a menial living by their wits in the street trades. Ten years before the Civil War, one New York

observer wrote that one could hardly walk down Broadway without meeting a hideous troop of ragged girls from twelve years of age on down, brutalized already beyond redemption, the stamp of childhood gone forever from their faces.

Boys likewise organized themselves into street gangs. Even as early as 1850, New York City was reeling under the force of more than 200 gang wars, some lasting as many as three or four days. Among the gangs were the Daybreak Boys, the Swamp Angels, the Fourth Avenue Tunnel Gang, the Baxter Street Dudes, and the Slaughter Houses; and while all were not exclusively juvenile in makeup, the young did comprise the better part of their membership. They fought with brass knuckles, sold protection to shopkeepers, and terrorized neighborhoods in virtually every section of town. In 1846, Boston reported as many as 5,000 vagrant youth in the streets, and called them a "corrupt and festering" fountain flowing into the city's brothels and prisons. By 1860, with a population still under 800,000, New York reported more than 30,000 street urchins. By the 1870s, more than 8,000 youth were confined nationwide to reformatories, while still greater numbers crowded into adult prisons. Edward Bellamy wrote that "swarms of half-brutalized children" roamed the streets of Boston in the 1880s. By the end of the 19th-century, juvenile gangs controlled many of the streets of Baltimore, Boston, Newark, and New Orleans. In the words of one reformer, "a torrent of youth criminality" was sweeping the land.

It was these conditions (and the better publicized predicament of child laborers) that gave rise to a 19th-century child-saving movement aimed at taking youth off the streets and out of the sweatshops. While the ultimate solution to the youth crisis would be the creation of the modern school, other solutions - less expensive, less innovative, and much less effective - were tried first. As unproductive as these attempts were, they nevertheless underscore an increased readiness on the part of the American people to close with and solve the youth problem, not from motives of egalitarianism or increased moral acuity, but from reasons of social necessity. Juvenile misconduct had become a threat to social stability. Left unchecked, youthful depravity could rot the very foundations of society. Even child-saver Jacob Riis called street arabs "rats gnawing away at the foundations of society." The young were being robbed of their childhood, and it was up to society to

change the direction youth were taking.

Attempts to change direction began as early as the 1830s and 1840s, decades before the youth crisis reached its full expression. It was Horace Mann and Henry Barnard who led the fight to solve the developing problem by restructuring the American school, taking youth off the streets and out of the sweatshops, out of the rough and tumble of life, and putting them in schools, which, they envisioned, would become a major socializing agency for the young and ultimately a shaping force in American life.

In their efforts to restructure the school, and make it the final solution, the crowning response to the American youth problem, Mann and Barnard were met with fierce opposition at every turn.

This was despite the fact that the school they sought to restructure, although 200 years old at the time, was almost wholly ineffectual. The New England tradition of support for free public common schools had not produced excellence in any aspect of education. Most school buildings were inadequately built and equipped, and many were unfit for occupancy. The most deplorable conditions existed in the very schools that were thought to be the best in the world. Compulsory attendance laws were not enforced; as many as 15 children were often crowded into a 14-by-18 foot space; equipment beyond the standard stove, a few tables and benches, and a water pail and dipper were almost non-existent; and many schools, both town and country, lacked even a water well or the amenity of an outhouse. Mann wrote that in terms of those particulars which contribute to even the most basic comforts and conveniences of life, convicts at the state prison were better provided for than school children. Mann found a hopeless textbook situation in schools he visited, i.e., each child provided his own textbook when and if financial circumstances permitted. Mann found 15 geography books and eight grammar books, all by different authors and publishers in one small school. Free and uniform textbooks were unheard of, indeed, unwanted, since parents were suspicious of what the state might have their children read. Men teachers were paid about \$60 per year, and women half as much. As a result, not much of a teaching profession existed, and what did exist was crowded with the very dregs, the down-and-outers of society. At the heart of the problem was a pinch-penny, apathetic tax-paying public and the attitude of many parents that schools were a waste of time so far as the real business of earning a living was concerned.

They may have been right, for Mann himself was a product of these schools, and failed his college entrance examination twice. It was not until an outside tutor

finally prepped him to a passing score that Mann was admitted to Brown University. Since he was valedictorian of his 1819 graduating class, we have to conclude that the entrance examination failure did not owe to his native abilities or intelligence.

Schoolkeeping in Mann's day (that was the word used) was humdrum, a matter of going around the same circles year after year, conducting drills in subjects, many of which had little relation to the actual lives of students. The system did not require teachers to do much more than listen to recitation. As a result, they did their work mechanically, and many were boring, moralistic, platitudinous dolts. Teaching was a refuge for routine minds and as such wasted many of the talents of both teachers and their pupils.

Teachers duly ordered: "translate the next 15 lines," or "solve the next 25 problems." Multiplication tables were memorized forward, backward, and "skip-wise." Students memorized the 208 principal bones of the human body, generalized on the 5 races of mankind, named the English kings in order, or described the nine Muses. They "bounded" Norway (named the countries bordering it) and told how many square miles it contained. Many roots were squared and much interest was compounded.

Mann concluded that there had been no conscientious support for American schools for the preceding 200 years and that the "best" schools in the country were in fact an abomination. Indifference and carelessness had left them in a shameful state, and although politicians had boasted for generations about the country's model schools, such accounts had only been political bluster.

Perhaps only a visionary such as Horace Mann could look at the existing schools of his day and see them, restructured, as a solution to the travails of the young.

But Mann was fought at every turn in his efforts to restructure. His enemies included the rich and the poor, the educated and uneducated, conservatives and liberals, city dwellers and farmers. There has been no fight comparable to the fight against Mann's schools perhaps until modern times - I'm thinking of the fight in 1993-94 against national public health care proposals. Education in Mann's day, like public health today, was seen as a private matter - a commodity to purchase according to one's abilities and station in life.

Mann took on the fight for public schools with appropriate zeal. He wrote in his diary that he was going to do "glorious deeds." He was going to improve the "minds and morals of the multitudes." "From now on," he wrote, all of his energies would be devoted to "the supermost welfare of mankind upon the earth."

He announced the formation of the new State Board of Education, and the forthcoming county conventions it

would sponsor. He made plans to visit every county and hundreds of schools throughout Massachusetts. He sent letters to friends all over the state suggesting how they might promote better schools in their own communities. He read widely in order to determine what might be the best new roads to take in the areas of school building construction, textbooks and curricula. He gave support to any organization or political group which could help with his work. And he began to organize local school improvement associations. Then, he began to obtain from leading local citizens - ministers, newspaper editors and businessmen - endorsements of his efforts to restructure schools.

In 1838, Mann rode circuit for two months. In dawn-to-dusk, 20-mile-per-day rides, he traveled throughout the state visiting schools and talking with local officials. He spoke to every audience he could gather. Public schools, he told them, were a necessary foundation for democracy; they were equalizers and creators of wealth, and they were an untapped resource for the moral and civic training of youth. To the poor, he promised that education was a means for acquiring property; to the rich, he emphasized that only the educated would respect property.

The wealthy were often as distrustful of schools as the poor. Some of the state's most prominent citizens had nothing but contempt for Mann and his work to lift up the masses. One attorney told him that the primary duty of the privileged was to "prevent ingress" into the ranks of the privileged by the riff-raff. Many believed that the condition of most of mankind was the working of immutable laws of nature; that is, that most people were destined to live in vulgar circumstances, while a few, by virtue of their birth and position, were destined sternly to guide or benevolently lead the ignorant masses. Some of New England's gentry branded Mann as just another demagogue reformer exploiting the weak and downtrodden for their votes. Indeed, it was an ironic coalition of the ignorant and the well-educated that opposed Mann at every turn and did all in their power to obstruct educational reform.

Mann submitted a steady stream of proposals to the Massachusetts legislature. He called for better administrative and financial support of schools. Some communities, he pointed out, kept 16-week schools terms, and others only four or fewer; some spent \$5 per child per annum on education, and some spent only a few cents. He also spoke out against competing private academies, the educational establishment of his day, saying that they hindered the growth of education for the masses, and that public schools could do a better job of educating children anyway. He called for better school boards, for the consolidation of literally

thousands of small schools into larger and better schools. He got legislation passed that required the keeping of attendance and financial records. He secured the appointment of legislators friendly to his programs as members of important legislative committees. He personally urged them to support revision of the state's fragmented education code.

Virtually all of Mann's proposals were turned into law. But more importantly, he captured the imagination of people all over the state and then the nation and world; he fired them up, and got them talking about and working to improve the condition of their schools.

Everywhere, conservative opposition to free schools persisted, just as it did in the other social and political reforms of the period. Many people had not yet shaken off the idea that public schools, like public housing today, were for paupers. They believed that education was something of a frill, a luxury to be purchased according to one's ability and willingness to pay. Others believed that the masses, the great unwashed, were morally and even intellectually unfit for education; and that in any case they had no real need of it. Opponents railed against "forced schools." They saw no reason why the thrifty should have to buy schooling for the shiftless, and many stated frankly and publicly that free schools rewarded the poor who likely were poor because they deserved to be so. One opponent of free schools said that he would "fill the belly" and "cover the back" of the pauper, but he would never send him to school. In the sense that health today is considered a private and not a public matter, education was then considered a personal matter - to be bought and paid for according to one's station and financial position.

Mann was accused of atheism, and many predicted that his schools would produce a generation of "irreligious and infidel youth." Others claimed that it would be a disservice to educate children beyond their stations in life. To do so would make them rootless beings belonging to no class.

Bigots, intolerants, aristocrats and monopolists seemed to be working in tandem to discredit the movement for restructured schools. One pundit predicted that reformers would bankrupt and Prussianize the United States and open it up to "infidel socialism," and drive it as far as Fourierism (communism).

Mann's opposition arose from less lofty sources than ideology. Immigrants, for example, feared that their children would forget their native traditions and customs when placed in multi-ethnic American schools. Nativists were obsessed with that same vision, arguing that because immigrants were the poor segment of any community, the taxes of established citizens would be grievously wasted to educate the uninvited hordes,

newcomers who multiplied "like rabbits in a burrow," and who ultimately would undermine existing society. One prominent Hoosier even directed that his tombstone should read: "Here lies an enemy of free schools." Other opponents asserted that free schools would do the poor an actual disservice, adding that nothing was valued highly if it was obtained for nothing. Perhaps the most serious opposition came from the conservative leaders of the

South who considered the movement for educational reform as another example of the forces that were threatening that region's very existence. The real significance of Mann's life and work is that he established a social and political base for public education. He did this under the most difficult of conditions, during the very heyday of private academies, and when most leaders were declaring that it would be suicidal to lavish state resources on public schools since the existing private academies offered better instruction, required almost no tax support, and were "better adjusted to the character, habits, and wants of the country."

Except for Horace Mann, a tormented genius with a deep-rooted instinct for creation, and blind to all except some disturbing vision in his soul, the very history of this country might be vastly different.

EDUCATING CHILDREN: A QUESTION OF - - CULTURE?

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When we look at the notion of culture and raise the question of accessing children to a core curriculum, we should be very clear that the core curriculum itself is cultural; and that the teaching methodology that we utilize in teaching the core curriculum is also cultural; and that the site leadership style is cultural; and that the guidance and counsel techniques are cultural; and that the instructional strategies are cultural; and that the school climate is cultural, and that ultimately the aim and purpose of education itself is cultural.

Wade Nobles

Introduction

This paper is being written to address one possible cause for the lack of social and academic growth among many students in our public schools. In this paper I attempt to bring focused attention to one possibly positive issue (culture) that is being discussed, dissected, defined and redesigned to a dilutionary state of ineffectiveness. Of more importance is an attempt to (by possibly diluting the issue of culture even more, but not my intent) place emphasis on the issue of relationships and how effective a tool it can become when working with students. I begin with a short story as an introduction to a brief discussion of culture and student/teacher relationships.

About Mothers

I remember listening to my grandmother often complain to my mother, Louise, about the way she and my father were raising their three children. My grandmother, better known as Momma, just could not understand why Louise and Charles (my dad) did not require everyone present at breakfast and dinner. Momma said that these were times in which family fellowshiped together and that it was essential, in her mind, to the continued strength, unity and love of family members. She thought that this bonding was essential armor against the many social ills our loved ones would face. Momma would question the amount of time we were allowed unsupervised television privileges and the music we listened to, how horrible! This is 1969 my mother would say. We believe children must be given enough freedom to explore and find themselves in today's world. We cannot continue to shelter them as

much as you sheltered me, she would say to her mother. Life is just too fast, our kids just cannot afford to be naive to the things going on around them like I was Momma.

Although we attended church most Sundays, religion and Bible Study were not a part of any weekly routine as it was when my parents grew up. When talking about this, Momma would always end by saying she didn't know what to do to make my mother see the importance of THE WORD, she thought this world was coming to end. These are the days talked about in Revelations she'd say. Momma didn't understand why we took the Sir and Ma'am off of yes and no. My mother, Louise, tried to tell her that this way of addressing someone was slave mentality type stuff. My mother said her children would continue to show respect, but would shed some of the old slave mind-set. Well, those two would go on and on about this and that. Momma just not understanding and my mother trying to explain the 'new' way towards empowerment and self-awareness. On and on they would go until my mother would become so frustrated, she'd tell Momma to just leave things alone, gather all three of us together and leave for home in a huff.

I sit here thinking about these conversations while in the background they seem to have resurfaced. My mother and big sister have begun to have the very same discussions. My mother cannot understand why my sister's children spend the entire day in child care. She sees little to no quality time being spent with her grandchildren by their mother or father. My sister and brother-in-law believe that providing a home in a nice and safe environment, designer clothes and the newest toys were helping to prepare their children to appreciate the finer things in life. So, they had to work all the time in order to be good providers. Instead of teaching right from wrong, spirituality, the importance of education and a deep compassion for their fellow person, my sister and brother-in-law bought their children, and themselves, things. My mother said they lived much too fast and valued the wrong things. You young people are just too materialistic, she'd say. What ever happened to just enjoying simple family type activities like a picnic in the park, spending quality time with each other instead of always being on the run, teaching our young folk instead of just letting them grow up wild without appropriate guidance? What is this world coming to these days she asked. My mother then had this look on

her face as if she had heard these very words before --
deja vue maybe?

Four generations of one family. All living and seeing the world with different eyes and thoughts. All creating for themselves value systems and norms that act as conduits by which they perceive and therefore function within varying societal settings. While similarities exist, all possess very different ideas which in turn help to create their own culture.

Culture

Culture, what is it? How can we best describe and define this word for clarity of understanding. What effect would this type of discussion about culture have on our teacher's and future teacher's daily interactions with students in classrooms and with children at home?

There continues to be a great deal of debate and controversy over an accurate definition of Culture. Culture has been defined in numerous ways:

. . . that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871, p. 23).

. . . embodies strategies by which social groups maximize their perceived advantage relative to other groups . . . contains not only survival instructions but also often an elaborate justification for their type and purpose (Bullivant, 1984, p. 2).

. . . includes institutions, language, values, religion, ideals, habits of thinking, artistic expressions, and patterns of social and interpersonal relationships (Lum, 1986, p. 46).

. . . an essential aspect of all people, and consists of the behavior patterns, symbols, institutions, values, and other components of society (Banks, 1987, p. 60).

. . . the ever-changing values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldview shared by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors that can include a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and/or religion (Nieto, 1992, p. 306).

A survey of eighty-three college students was conducted to determine their response to several words often associated with recent conversations about diversity. One word addressed in this survey was culture. Each student was asked to provide a personal definition of each word listed. Table one provides

demographic data of survey responders. Each response was analyzed for common themes. In the case of the word culture, four themes, all somewhat similar but to some degree different, were identified.

1. Your background including how you were raised by your parents, family members and others; the traditions and rituals that were made important to you; your behavior; and your attitude thus making up who and what you are.

2. Your heritage including the traditions, beliefs and actions that a particular community or group of people take part in to recognize and appreciate their unique attributes.

3. The similar characteristics which define a group of people including religious beliefs, customs, morals, practices, food and economic status.

4. A person's way of life; way of doing things including the way they think, act, cook and live.

These are just a few examples of how the concept of culture has been defined. Each example includes ways in which individuals embrace the environment, how they make some sense of life as they know it and how spiritual and personal satisfaction is attained.

Along with these thoughts in mind, we must also consider the notion of transformation - of environmental evolution in a sense. I reference here our continuously changing environment. It is a fact that our environment continues to change. Our country, for example, has moved from an agrarian to an industrialized nation and now into an age in which change is recognized on an almost daily basis. The age of technology has created a super highway carrying us where no person has gone before at the blink of an eye, with every blink.

Technology and how we have managed to bring people from every corner of the world closer together is a primary example. Where once we heard fourth, fifth, sixth hand reports about events occurring in Japan, for instance, today we can witness them as they happen. We can be on the other side of the world in a matter of hours. Or, we can participate in visual conference calls with individuals from all over the world, simultaneously! The people of the world move closer and closer to one another. If you take the city of Dallas, Texas for instance, one can find organized groups identifying themselves by race, religion, sexual preference, economics, this list goes on and on. Each group, really each individual seeks to find ways to negotiate life within and often outside of given parameters. They consider the concepts described in the definitions discussed earlier and frame them in ways they perceive most beneficial to them. When these notions prove to produce negative effects, other ways are often sought - values, rituals, beliefs often change or,

more often than not, are modified in some way. When thinking about this premise, think about yourself and how you have changed in areas such as valuing others, spirituality, economic and social adjustments, to name just a few areas.

The thoughts expressed here, along with the story near the beginning of this paper, attempts to bring attention to a critical part of our lives. I attempt to provide viable examples of how culture evolves. Culture continues to take on new meanings and new actions for every individual. As some attempt to hold on to old ideas and traditions, they need to seriously consider either making needed modifications as a way to connect the old with the new or get left behind and with it possibly forfeiting opportunities to enhance new concepts with old ones.

Student/Teacher Relationships

So, once again, what does this mean for preservice and current teachers in our public schools? How does this information impact the teaching/learning environment?

More of us must begin to embrace and understand the concept of culture evolving as the environment transforms itself thus causing people and society to change their way of interaction within a changing social construct. When one embraces this premise they begin to see the value of accepting change and difference. Teachers begin to view difference without automatically weighing its value based on simply personal ways of thinking. We allow students to explore, challenge, think of what might be, of what one might become despite current situations. This premise can become a powerful tool for teachers attempting to prepare students for successful interpersonal experiences with individuals sometimes far different from themselves. Foundational components of this mind-set are many, a few are discussed below.

*Within our personal visions of reality, if allowed to develop, exist ways by which an individual can find connections linking themselves to others from varying walks of life.

*Making connections becomes more the norm among individuals who develop a strong sense of who they are within a realistic view of life and the world in which valuing thought, both their own and others, is essential. Addressing difference from this perspective allows one to explore the unknown with excitement and a growing internal desire to appreciate new learning as an avenue towards the betterment of mankind, for all. Addressing difference in this way often prevents the tendency each of us has for constructing 'protective walls'

around us in an attempt to block out those ideas that might conflict with their own.

*This strong concept of self(selfhood) and acceptance becomes the pathway leading to positive life experiences and both the type of academic and social growth we seek for all individuals.

*Understanding that one has the real opportunity to make their own choices, interpret the meaning of life for themselves and begin to realize the opportunities available to them for making their surroundings better helps to change the way one approaches the adventures life presents. These and similar ideals change, in a very positive sense, the way we choose to live our lives.

Barber (1992, p. 4) states, ". . . the fundamental task of education in a democracy is the apprenticeship of liberty - learning to be free." This concept is said to be an essential element supporting the premise behind that which our nation was conceived. It is and, at the same time, must become part of the culture of every individual proclaiming the fact that all persons are indeed created equal. Teachers responding to their mission from this point of reference help to facilitate the processes of freedom discussed in this paper with students.

In other words, thinking of culture in this way helps us to free our minds. A mind more accepting to change, to difference is one that can most often communicate well with others. An open mind helps to bridge gaps over our many troubled waters. A free and open mind is just what the doctor prescribed for a society experiencing numerous physical and mental disorders and headed towards sure disaster.

When we consider the cultural backgrounds of our students, let us keep in mind that although there are generalizations we can make, they are generalizations which cannot take us far in our quest to know a person.

In a sense, then, every culture in itself is testament to its own worthiness in adapting to a given environment. A culture constitute the accumulated wisdom of its past. It provides a map and a guidebook for each newborn member

as to what works well so that they may profit from the trials and errors and past experiences of others. With culture, there is no need for each generation to reinvent the wheel (Goldman, 1992, p. 57).

If we really want to know; if we really care and want to help, then instead of just developing some skills based sets of cultural competencies, get to know the students -- each and every one of them personally and allow them to get to know you.

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Table One

Demographic Characteristics

Number of Responders 83

Percent of Responders by:

Race:	African American	22.0%	Sex:	Male	52.0%
	Hispanic American	24.0%		Female	48.0%
	White American	54.0%			

Age:	17-18	14.5%
	19-23	78.0%
	24-29	0.0%
	30-40	2.5%
	40-50	5.0%

Social Economic Status:	Less Than	\$ 20,000	26.5%
	\$21,000 -	\$ 34,000	13.2%
	\$35,000 -	\$ 69,000	18.1%
	\$70,000 -	\$150,000	42.2%

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE TEMPLE OF DOOM

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I enjoy films, especially those that can be rented from the video store. One of my favorite film trilogies which I initially rented, then when MacDonalDs offered them for very little money I bought, is the Indiana Jones adventures. Of the three films, all but one film was a box office hit. It is this one film that reminds me somewhat of the current situation of vocational education. The film was called, "Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom."

If you remember the story line goes something like this. There was a community from which all the children were stolen. The sacred rock which allowed the villagers to have contact with the gods of plenty was stolen. And, to top things off there was gloom over the land and no crops would grow. The villagers were in dire straights. They were being suppressed by an elite group located in the Temple of Doom. The head priest could literally tear the heart out of any person showing opposition to the plans of the Temple. Those that worked the mines belonging to the Temple were enslaved and/or mesmerized with no hope of freedom. The workers were doomed to the lower depths of the kingdom.

The Time of Planting (Development of vocational education)

So what does that have to do with Vocational education? Well, in the mid-nineteenth century it was felt that the United States was falling behind the world economic development and the U.S. needed to improve the quality of its labor force. Theories and practices in management, economics, food production and industrial technology were progressing in quantum leaps and the average American worker was falling behind. Something had to be done to make the American worker more competitive in the world economy.

Various individual and institutional initiatives had already taken place to try to improve the situation of the American worker. The period between 1826 and 1876 saw the raise in awareness for the need of mechanical and agricultural training. There was an active promotion of the idea that labor was dignified and honorable. Society began to promote that it was economically acceptable for a student to attend school and to work in factories. It was encouraged and found healthy for students to work and to go to school. The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, was passed to establish Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges, with much of the resulting monies to be spent to maintain industrial classes in the

land grant colleges. The Hampton Institute was founded in Virginia in 1868, to educate black students in the classics and industrial education.

The period of 1876 to 1925, saw the emergence of movements to better educate the common worker, whether the worker be found in the factory or the home. The Manual training movement, the Trade School movement and the Home Economics movement all found their beginning during this era. Legislation was passed for the public support of vocational education in the states.

In 1905, The Douglas Commission was formed in Massachusetts to determine vocational curriculum needs of the state. Out of that study came a document, written by Dr. Charles A. Prosser (who later became the first National Director of Vocational Education), utilized by vocational educators even in the 1990s. Prosser's sixteen theorems (see below) were/are used as a basis for sound and successful programs. 1906 saw the formation of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (a fore runner of the American Vocational Association). World War I revealed shortages in the American work force, and subsequently a presidential commission for the study of national aid for vocational education was formed in 1914. The result of the study was the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917. This act was the first major funding bill of the modern vocational education era. It provided for categorical spending, the active promotion of vocational education, the interlinking of federal funds with that of state's, and provided funding for the preparation of vocational teachers in those schools established under the Morrill Act of 1862.

1926-1976, saw Vocational Education "coming of age." Funding was increased and those programs recognized as vocational, including vocational guidance, were increased. Various world events set the back drop for the increased need of a vocationally trained population in the United States. Congress responded with a series of funding bills which brought vocational education to a stronger fiscal position; closer to the academic developmental position of the nation. Legislative highlights of the era included the George-Reed and the George-Deen Acts of 1929 and 1935 which increased federal appropriations and promoted vocational education in the public schools. The "New Deal Acts" were attempts to improve the national

welfare during the "Great Depression" and were intended to increase equality of educational opportunity. The CCC gave young men vocational training, while small educational grants for vocational education was given to needy students through the National Youth Administration. The WPA subsidized teachers' salaries for programs in the training of adults and immigrants. All of these "New Deal Acts" were meant to train individuals vocationally, and to get them back to work. (Pulliam, pp. 138-139)

World War II again found the United States needing trained workers for business and industry. The National Defense Training Program enacted in 1940, provided vocational courses for more than seven million workers during World War II. The Rural War Production Training Program trained farm youth for industry and for jobs in food production. After the war, in an effort to meet the needs of veterans whose schooling had been interrupted by military duty, the G.I. Bill (Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944) was passed which included occupational training funding. The G.I. Bill was revived for veterans of the Korean War and the benefits were increased for Vietnam veterans in 1972.

The National Defense Act of 1958, was aimed at increasing America's competitiveness in the scientific community, and that included the training of skilled technicians. The National Defense Education Act of 1963 strengthened existing programs in vocational education in the secondary schools and reached youth who had completed high school or had dropped out of school or were handicapped. It included provisions for the construction of area vocational centers as well as the development of new instructional materials (Wynn and Wynn, p. 407). The Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Amended in 1968 and 1976) funded vocational education with matching funds from the states. The legislation emphasized national priorities, sex bias remediation and introduced bilingual education as part of the vocational education development process for the students. The Act also broadened the definition of vocational education to include occupational programs in comprehensive high schools, such as business and commerce. The Economic Opportunity Act (1964), Title I, set up the Job Corps to train youth for useful employment and citizenship. The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), of 1983, was intended to aid the disadvantaged and chronically unemployed persons find work.

The 1960's and 1970's saw the vocational education system firmly established, and the Congress recognized the need for a new focus. This focus, while not readily accepted by the educational community, was bolstered throughout this period. The subsequent legislation

sought a compromise between the demands for improved vocational program quality and for increased vocational education opportunities for students with special needs (Interim Report to Congress, p. 5).

The Call for Renewal (Vocational Education since 1983)

In the early 1980's, individuals and groups began calling for economic and educational reform. They felt that global competitors were pulling ahead of a sluggish American economy. The competitors included high-skill manufacturing economies with well-educated workforces, often employing new technology and new forms of work organization to produce high-quality products (Carnevale, 1991). Other competitors included nations with less well educated but disciplined workforces able to perform the sort of semi-skilled work that has been the backbone of American manufacturing, and willing to do so for lower wages. The result being that many companies move "off shore." One major report (National Center on Education and the Economy, 1990) observed that if the United States wished to avoid competing primarily with low-wage labor in other countries, it would have to invest more in education and training of America's workforce to better compete with the high-skill economies (i.e., Japan and Germany).

In the context of economic challenges, the poor performance of American students on international achievement tests and complaints from business and military leaders about the lack of basic skills among high school graduates focused the spotlight on the public education system. A reform movement for educational reform gained momentum with the 1983 publication of the Commission on Excellence in Education's report, entitled *A Nation at Risk*. The report emphasized higher standards for education and more rigorous academics for elementary and secondary students.

State governments responded quickly to the challenge of upgrading the academic basic skills. As a form of response to the state government's emphasis on academics, educators and others charged that the new reforms tended to focus on college-bound students and to ignore the majority of secondary students who do not attain baccalaureate degrees. Many called for structural reforms to improve the way the education system prepares secondary and non-degree postsecondary students for the transition from school to work (Final Report to Congress, 1994).

The Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act of 1984, was passed in response for the call for reform in education. Its intention was to modify the manner in which vocational education was being delivered. It sought to place an emphasis on equity funding for

economically disadvantaged, physically challenged, single homemakers, community based organizations, and correctional institutions. It provided funds for program improvement and maintained specific funding for consumer and home economics.

Successor to the 1984 Perkins Act, the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act of 1990, sought to strengthen the academic and technical skills of students in vocational education by 1) requiring the development of statewide performance standards and measures; 2) integrating academic and vocational curricula; 3) promoting two-plus-two tech-prep programs that link secondary schools with postsecondary institutions; and 4) supporting work experience programs, such as apprenticeships and cooperative education.

The Stealing of the Sacred Stone (Current Legislation Considerations)

The current 104th Congress, seems to be the priests of the Temple of Doom for vocational education as well as for much of the federally-supported standards development activity. Education Secretary Richard Riley warned that the 104th Congress would be remembered "as the anti-education Congress" (Vocational Education Weekly, July 17, 1995, p. 1). The House is in the process of eliminating all funding for the Goals 2000: Educate America Act reform programs and eliminating the National Educational Standards and Improvement Council which will affect education in general (Vocational Education Weekly, August 7, 1995, p. 4). The FY 1995 Supplemental Appropriations rescission bill forebodes the possibility of great changes in the scenery of vocational education. For the first time in decades the basic grants and overall vocational education funding will diminish (Vocational Education Weekly, July 31, 1995, p. 2).

The Consolidated and Reformed Education, Employment and Rehabilitation Systems Act (CAREERS Act), H.R. 1617, is probably the most radical reform of federal vocational education since the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This Act changes most of the rules of the game in vocational education. The bill consolidates one-hundred and fifty vocational education and job training programs into four block grant programs: Youth Development and Career Preparation, Adult Education and Training, Adult Education & Family Literacy & Library Services & Technology, and Vocational Rehabilitation. The monies funded will be placed under the discretionary powers of the governors with some indicators for distribution (Vocational Education Weekly, July 24, 1995, p. 3-4). While purportedly allowing more flexibility and less federal

prescriptions, the legislation still mandates that the federal government control what the states will be doing with the money. The vehicle for that control is the accountability provisions.

States that receive funds under any of the four block grants must develop a statewide performance accountability system. Each state must identify its own indicators of performance for each program, including customer satisfaction of both employers and students. Core indicators for the Youth Development and Career Preparation Grant will drive all other programs within the three other grants. The Secretaries of Labor and Education are charged with the development of the technical definitions of these core indicators, and the Secretaries are charged with identifying "world class level of performance for each core indicator" (Vocational Education Weekly, August 14, 1995, New block grants, p. 3-4).

The states would report to the Secretaries on the achievement of levels of performance and they must make the information readily available to the public. The information has to include comparisons with other states and industrialized nations as identified by the Secretaries. The governor of the state would establish criteria for determining whether local areas and entities have failed to meet expected levels of performance. Should a state fail to meet expected levels of performance for the first year the Secretaries may provide technical assistance and help develop an improvement plan. If the expected levels of performance are not met the second year the Secretaries may reduce the state's funding (Vocational Education Weekly, August 14, 1995, New block grants, p. 4).

What are the implications of the CAREERS bills now being debated in Congress? It appears that while Congress cuts available funds for education they expect more from the individual states. The decentralization of responsibility does not decrease the political influences on how the money is spent. To be exact, putting the dispersion of funds in the hands of the governors allows for that much more political wrangling by special interest groups. There are already attempts in Congress to place educational funding within a welfare context (Vocational Education Weekly, August 14, 1995, Welfare/Workforce Development, p. 1&2). How much more "interpretive" funding initiatives will occur on the state level?

Is There a Chance That Indiana Jones Will Show Up? (Implications for the future)

The positive side of the new funding initiatives from Congress is that it shifts accountability for federal dollars "from process to results" (Vocational Education

Weekly, August 14, 1995, New block grants, p. 4). The legislation is intended to shift the emphasis in the states' reporting to showing the number and kinds of jobs the training system provides. The reporting must also show the level of skills the work force has achieved at the completion of training.

Where vocational education needs help is a refocusing of its intent. The National Commission on Secondary Vocational Education in its 1984 report noted that vocational education should help the student develop in five major areas:

(1) personal skills and attitudes; (2) communication, computational skills, and technological literacy; (3) employability skills; (4) broad and specific occupational skills and knowledge; and (5) foundations for career planning and lifelong learning. But vocational education in high schools have been viewed primarily as a vehicle for occupational training for blue-collar "hand occupations," for students who do not do well in the academic curriculum. This narrow stereotype of vocational education is unrealistic and partly to blame for the low esteem of vocational education programs. (Wynn and Wynn, p. 283)

As a result of the narrow stereotyping vocational education enrollments have seen a continuous decline of enrollment since the mid-1970s. Along with the vocational education enrollment declines have been the changing of vocational student population composition. More disadvantaged and disabled students and fewer high-achieving students are taking vocational courses. The Perkins Act may have been a contributing factor to this tendency. The Act required state plans to include assurances that local districts would conduct outreach efforts to recruit special populations to vocational programs and that supplemental services would be provided to the students in the vocational programs. Perkins-funded vocational programs appear to be, to now, the chief source of federally funded services for disadvantaged secondary students who are not also disabled and/or of limited English proficiency (Interim Report to Congress, p. xi).

Is there a chance for saving vocational education as a valid field of study for our future generations of students? Is there an Indiana Jones available to rescue the magic stone of skill knowledge from Congress' "slash and burn" politics which may destroy the vocational landscape? Will congressional leadership be defeated in their attempts to keep educational resources away from the people of the pleasant valley, or will the valley's children be enslaved to being second class world workers? Stay tuned for the future episodes of "Vocational Education in the Temple of Doom."

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ACADEMIC PRIVATIZATION AND CHOICE IN PUBLIC EDUCATION, K-12

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Academic privatization and choice in public education, K-12, continue to generate a great deal of attention. Privatization in its purest form is defined as total private ownership and supervision, funded only by tuition. Government may provide vouchers and licensing authorization related especially to health and safety standards, but control beyond this would rest outside the public school bureaucracy. Much of what we observe as privatization is not in its purest form. Choice is a relative word implying a diversity of parental or school district options. Educational choice is becoming more popular than ever before for several reasons: 1) Many parents believe that public schools cannot meet their needs religiously, morally, or academically; 2) Violence and drug abuse in some public schools motivate many parents to pursue private school options; 3) Financial destitution in many school districts stimulates school boards to "privatize"; 4) Politicians and members of media have criticized schools severely since *A Nation at Risk*; and 5) Some reform advocates who are reputable in the educational community are generating arguments in behalf of charter schools, etc.

Advocates of private control of education believe that greater academic achievement is obtained under private ownership and management because the academic mission will be basic and clear; the school's organization can be kept simple (teachers used as quasi administrators); student outcomes can be defined and vigorously pursued; staff can be expected to collaborate effectively; and schooling can be offered as a privilege which can be terminated if necessary.¹ While it is also true that public school officials certainly may believe all of these values, they supposedly cannot implement them primarily because of bureaucracy and remote authority. Devotees of public school reform by means of increased privatization see no future with the present state/local structure of public schools. These advocates prefer a stratification or a bureaucracy based more on student performance and bend income.

The practical problem with reform viewed in this manner is that approximately 43 million American youth are enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in slightly over 15,000 school districts. To make an educational impact on even a small number of these youth would take a commitment by the public to the extent that state departments and local boards of education would have to be drastically altered. If

privatization included even Catholic schools, which presently enroll approximately 2.6 million students (about 60 percent of nonpublic enrollment), hardly a dent still would be made.²

New York City, for example, with its one million students could never be even partially absorbed by the Catholic schools of that area. Such consolidation is out of the question. With all the media splash given to experiments as the Edison Project (200 planned schools), Education Alternatives, Inc. (one school district and thirteen elsewhere), the Public Strategies Group (one school district), and the Coalition of Essential Schools (200 intended schools), hardly a movement can be hailed by anyone. In 1995, Cleveland and Milwaukee school districts initiated tuition vouchers for use in religious schools; however, long range plans include only about 18,000 students in both cities ever taking advantage of vouchers.³ Judicial challenges may stall implementation.

The point of the above facts is that market driven or free enterprise attempts to reform education cannot succeed on practical grounds even if one accepts the motivation of such entrepreneurs. Without scrapping state and local relationships, privatization is expedient and doomed. More importantly, no one who believes in the constitutional arrangement of public schools as implied by the 10th Amendment would want privateering without close public supervision.

Because for-profit schools are chiefly intellectually oriented, purely private control or management is not good for American education. Social, emotional, physical, and spiritual/moral values seem to be of secondary importance. Is this what education has meant to Americans for over three centuries? Hardly. Even the increased emphasis on mental achievement associated with free market efforts in education has not been that significant. In a media report in October 1994, it was cited by the Baltimore City Public School officials that reading and math scores dropped slightly at eight of the nine schools which Education Alternatives, Inc. (EAI) was instructionally managing by means of the Tesseract System. EAI has a five year, \$140 million contract, with two years remaining. The Tesseract methodology embodies a Personal Education Plan (P.E.P.) involving parents, students, and teachers. Computers are key instructional tools, individual learning style is stressed, grades are minimized while standardized tests are

significant. Peer critiquing and manipulatives are critical to the process. A twelve student to teacher ratio in an attractive setting is common.⁴

Proponents of the Tesseract system believe it is on the cutting edge instructionally and bridges the gap between school improvement and radical school reform. The system, in a sense, is privately owned, but results are judged by a public board of education; consequently, it is quasi-private. The Tesseract philosophy is predicated on the principle that the only valid form of assessment is self-evaluation; therefore, the teacher's role is to help children develop into effective self-evaluators. Traditional grades are nonexistent and are replaced by teacher or peer conferences, written reports, journals, or self-analysis reports.

The teacher in this system assumes the role of coach, facilitator, listener, or guide. Story telling or group directions may occasionally call for everyone's attention at the same time; however, most activity is individualized or organized on a basis of cooperative learning. Cognitive perspectives focus on higher order thinking by means of cooperative problem solving, diversity of learning tools, teacher modeling of thought processes, and learning style. Each child takes the Swassing/Barbe Learning Modality Inventory to help in identifying learning style.

Authentic testing incorporates real experiences in a social context. Therefore portfolios of representative work are common, the community is a resource, and teamwork on local problems is typical of learning approaches. In order to grant freedom to allow for such an educational climate, greater autonomy at the site level is given. Both the board of education and the respective teacher organization have to negotiate greater autonomy for the administrators and faculty in this setting.⁵

It is hoped by EAI that after expenses for subcontracting for administration, food, and secretarial services, a five percent profit can be gleaned. *Education Week* reported in 1994 that under EAI, achievement of students in both Baltimore and Dade County is not significantly different from non-EAI students. Additionally, EAI was faulted for mishandling special education procedures concerning parental and teacher participation in the formation of the Individual Education Plan. Similar data in regard to achievement are reported about a comparable private firm called Public Strategies Group in Minneapolis.⁶ While no solid studies are yet published about the achievement of students in major privately run programs for public school students, it appears that the media are reporting insignificant results. The same seems true in terms of profit by these firms. EAI chooses to use tax dollars per child and capitalize mainly on instructional

methodology, yet no profits are reported.

The Edison Project, on the other hand, was originally designed to be pure privatization. Christopher Whittle and his board of directors envisioned a system of for-profit, private schools that will, according to devotees, challenge the public schools either to improve academically or go out of business. Edison schools will be open twelve hours daily about 200 days a year, and parents will be integrally involved. Computers and printers will be in the hands of every student. Tuition will be competitive with the nation's average annual per pupil expenditure, presently just under \$6000. It is believed, however, that, unless vouchers become judicially acceptable, Edison schools will have a difficult time finding students. Whittle Communications collapsed financially but a new investor, the Sprout Group, has put up \$30 million to initiate a few schools. The Edison Project is shifting its original plan to managing public schools rather than remaining purely private. Time will tell in which direction it will go.

In a report by Harvard's Bruce Fuller, who spoke to members of the National Council of State Legislators, he pointed out that giving parents educational choices will not ensure enlightened consumerism. In fact, it is Fuller's view that low-income children may be left behind even if technically they are eligible for vouchers thus exacerbating racial isolation. The problem will be that those schools in which there is no competitive pressure to improve the quality of educational experiences, children of unmotivated parents will be those remaining in attendance. Market forces will work chiefly for interested parents.⁷

A district of 25,000 students, Hartford, Connecticut, is now managed by EAI; however, payroll and fringe benefits will remain under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education. The Superintendent of schools oversees EAI's management. Despite an \$8500 expenditure per child, the Board prior to EAI's contract, could not offer quality instruction to its poor and minority students. In 1994, EAI assumed the management of Hartford's 32 schools with an annual budget of some \$200 million dollars. Each month the Board makes a payment to EAI. The cost of technology and building repairs is staggering, which will prevent EAI from making a profit in the near future. Achievement data also will be crucial in any future relationship. EAI also had hoped the Portsmouth, Virginia School District would follow suit; however, it chose not to privatize.⁸

Privatization, that is for-profit schools, appears generally to be making no more headway in advancing learning than that in public schools. Even the various not-for-profit charter schools will be suspect in terms of meeting the needs of children from a cross section of

society. The charter schools will operate under a contract with the state department of education and strive to enhance school accountability by decentralizing bureaucracy to allow more authority within a school, to offer financial incentives to teachers for instructional success, and to involve parents and local business to a greater degree. The school site, in other words, becomes the focus of authority. Some see charter schools as the key ingredient to real educational reform. In fact, it is also believed that if charter schools become common, so called Public Choice Offices and Parent Information Centers eventually can be established to assist parents in making appropriate choices.⁹ Minnesota and California are leading the way in experimenting with charter schools. Minnesota will allow eight such schools and California will have 100 schools. It will be interesting to see what the racial and socio-economic profiles of students will be as well as the school's productivity. School choice can involve a number of ideas; e.g., use of vouchers, attendance at charter schools, enrollment in magnet schools taught by teachers and parents, contracting with a local board of education, and so on. If the public continues to hear that local schools are unsafe or morally and academically weak, educational choice may become more popular whether it be in profit or not-for-profit schools.

Pure privatization of education, in my view, will never have much of an impact upon educational reform; however, choice exercised under the aegis of public control may have some impact. The serious problem will be maintaining equity while pursuing quality. In a compelling article by John Ambler, his contention is that basically school choice options will merely increase the gap of educational inequality. Ambler, for example, found that in Belgium and the Netherlands especially that middle and higher income students took advantage more often of educational choice by means of a voucher system than did lower income youth. Wealthier youth could also supplement their vouchers and attend more prestigious private schools. Public financial support of schools, as a result, was also reduced because citizens generally believed a free market was all that society needed to generate educational opportunity. Ambler believes a voucher program in those countries increased inequality without fostering reform.¹⁰ The same problem could happen here under widespread privatization, whether it occurs with the help of vouchers, contractual management, and so on.

Despite the very real problem of limited mandated privatizing of education, public control of these contractual arrangements with groups outside the bureaucracy of public education may reduce the danger of groups or individuals attempting to exploit the

schools for profit. The ideas underlying the contract schools that are emerging on an experimental basis may mitigate the possible injustices that would proliferate under a purely private system. Public Choice Offices could help to control outright greed in the operation of schools. Race and gender equity could be fostered in the application of admissions standards. Special services for exceptional children could be provided and monitored, and probably, most of all, ineffective schools could be assessed and eliminated when necessary. Without public supervision, racial equity, special education, and quality may be non-existent or tenuous. The practical benefit of contracting such an educational arrangement, on the other hand, could also be of value to the group of teachers, university faculty, social agency, etc., who choose to contract with a public school. The initial costs and much of the overhead would be shared with the public school board of education. If a private group also wanted to begin a program in the inner city, incentives could be provided by the state or public board of education. Few outside groups would have the capital to start a school from scratch.¹¹

Albert Shaker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, is especially critical of public school reform by means of private school choice. He and his co-author pointed out in a recent publication that according to achievement data comparing fourth, eighth, and twelfth graders in public and private schools, very little difference is observed in math achievement. The academic levels are too low for both, but, in their view, there should be considerable difference in academic attainment between the public and private school students. If one student is from a higher socio-economic level, attends school by choice, has fewer electives, and can be expelled for poor behavior, then test scores should be significantly different, but they are not. In other words, private schools offer no panacea for academic reform.¹²

In conclusion, public/private contracts or increased private school choice supported by public funds could well undermine the public school in a number of ways: the delicate state and local educational balance; church and state relationships; proliferation of radical and reactionary schools; unbridled free-enterprise in educational activity; reduced educational accountability; and, worst of all, increased cultural polarization. If the public can ever get mobilized to assist public schools in reducing violence and drug abuse and raising academic standards, then most of the above concerns will be more talk than action. The problem with privatization today, however, by contrast with three decades ago, is that social and political conditions have changed. Schools are

financially poorer in urban areas, the religious and political reactionaries do not believe in public education anymore, political figures have bashed public schools, the media exaggerate public school weaknesses, and the word "choice" is in vogue. Public school advocates need to become missionaries in defending and improving their schools.

ENDNOTES

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SHARPENING SOME OLD SAWS ABOUT TEACHING

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The original impetus for this paper likely stems from a class discussion in which I was using the saying that "teachers are born, not made" to stimulate my students to think about its relevance for the preparation of teachers in particular, but also the education of professionals in general. Each student had already agreed that professionals had to be "experts" in some particular area of knowledge. We were wrestling with the issue of how the knowledge governing professional practice was different from that needed by members of occupational groups not ordinarily thought of as professions. They also admitted that competent plumbers or electricians for example, possessed knowledge and skills beyond the ken of ordinary folks, and by utilizing this knowledge, these workers were able to do things beyond our own ability.

Ultimately, it was recognized that a study of the means used to gain this knowledge that served as the conceptual base for professional practice and an examination of the process involved in its acquisition and development were significant aids in helping us clarify the concept of a profession. At this point in the discussion I mentioned that, according to Flexner, a professional group must possess "an educationally communicable technique." As we reflected on this statement, our inquiry led to a consideration of the question of the possible sources of this conceptual base, and as we pondered this question, a student introduced the old nature - nurture issue, referring back to the old saw already mentioned, namely, teachers being born would seem to imply that perhaps this knowledge (or the associated set of skills) was somehow innate in the individual.

At this point in the dialog, a student (majoring in art) introduced the notion of "creative talent", and its significance in terms of the world of the arts and music. One might think of such talent as an innate giftedness, for example, a sense of "perfect pitch" in a musician. Such innate traits might indeed be enhanced or developed with training, but the original talent, innate in the individual, was nevertheless a crucial element in one's ultimate ability to create art or music. It was pointed out that this seemed analogous to the possible innate attributes that might contribute to one's being a "born teacher". Thus, one way of interpreting this "saw" would be to assert that it is likely that one can have an inborn talent for teaching, and some people would "have it", and others just would not, and there might be

nothing that could be done to alter this state of affairs.

Various alternatives with regard to the nature / nurture distinction were raised in the discussion. The knowledge associated with successful teaching practice might be innate to members of that professional group. One is then left to ponder the question of whether such a group could survive as a corporate body over time, for if the existence of the knowledge base depended upon innate knowledge, then how could the members of the profession, at any given time, ensure that the elements or components of this knowledge base be developed in or passed on to the next in the next generation of practitioners. Depending solely upon the "accident" of innateness seems to leave too much to chance. The analog of the existence of artists and composers of exceptional talent seems apt in this regard.

We agreed that much of what we learn we gain through observing some activity and then practicing the skills observed. This activity may be conducted with varying degrees of formality and deliberateness depending on the "intentions" of the teacher or learners present in this situation. Such activities tend to be viewed more as teaching/learning incidents if the "skills" to be acquired are marked by a lower level of technological complexity.

It may be that there are, in the preparation of professionals, some traits or characteristics present in the student (pre-requisite characteristics), but they are not typically thought to be sufficiently developed to warrant one to be engaged in professional practice without further development of this attribute or characteristic.

This particular dialog continued, but this discussion stimulated me to think of other sayings or "saws" about teaching that I had heard over the years. The one already mentioned had certainly led to a rather intense discussion among my students; perhaps there were others also that may serve to strike a conceptual chord in other students. These ruminations led to a consideration of the place that such sayings may have in the minds of people as they consider issues of import to education, not only those preparing to be teachers, but for ordinary members of the community as they consider questions of organization, operation, support, and control of their local school systems. Questions such as "How do these 'saws' function in social contexts?"; "What impact may they have on people's views on education or teaching?" among others seemed worthy of further study.

These sayings seem certainly to have some impact, yet like folkways in general, with their subtle and unconscious element as a factor in human behavior, or "slogans" shouted out in other social contexts, the context is such that it seems like "neither the time nor the place" to subject them to critical scrutiny. It is worthwhile for those concerned with education and teaching to do so, however. A perusal of the views of legislators and people who have some role (often significant ones) in the decision about teaching and education will reveal that these "old saws" do seem to influence individual's or a group's perceptions.

In particular, they seem to affect one's perspective on issues and problems as they arise in various social contexts. Among these would be the following:

1. the public's conception of teaching and the worth ascribed to the teaching profession;
2. the intellectual sophistication of the necessary tools to perform the activities associated with teaching; one's views on these elements would have an impact on how one judged still another, namely,
3. the social status deemed appropriate for those engaged in the task of teaching, as well as the remuneration seen as commensurate with this status for those engaged in the activity.

If the influence with regard to any of these concerns was evident to any measurable degree through the absorption of these "saws" into one's belief system, then the effects of such influence are significant.

Another reason comes to mind for further study of these saws. These sayings often have had a longevity beyond what might reasonably be expected. What accounts for their survival over generations of supposedly thoughtful individuals? May it be that they contain a modicum of truth or validity to which this longevity may be attributed? Regardless, it is certainly appropriate for those interested in the preparation of teachers to search out any potentially significant factors affecting our educational programs.

Such an examination may reveal how we might learn from them, at least with regard to the insights that they may contain. By analyzing them, we may "sharpen their teeth", so that these old saws will cut more cleanly and precisely; thus providing us with a tool that will be more useful in constructing our teacher education programs.

Before we continue this line of inquiry, it may prove helpful to specify a few conceptual pegs to serve as orientation points for our study. While these terms may have multiple meanings, we refer only to those related to the paper's concerns. Among the terms of relevance,

along with meanings gleaned from the dictionary are the following:

1. saw - a traditional saying, maxim, or proverb; [an example - "Ignorance is bliss."]
2. saying - a. a wise or witty statement attributed to a specific well known person; b. a commonly repeated statement, an adage or proverb; [example - "No saying was ever more true than the old adage that without his tools a workman is helpless."]
3. adage - a saying typically embodying common experience or observation often in metaphorical form - [example - "It is always darkest before the dawn".]

In our discussion, the term stereotype is also included since it has a semantic affinity with this group of words.

4. stereotype - [Gr. *stereos* - solid and *typos* - blow, impression, model, image; from *typtein* - to strike, beat] - something repeated or reproduced without variation; something conforming to a fixed or general pattern and lacking individual distinguishing marks or qualities, especially, a standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or universal judgment (as of a person, race, an issue, or an event).

These terms may be viewed as forming a linguistic constellation, or more accurately, a semantic web.

A few words about the origin or "creation" may also be in order. These "saws" (and in this regard we may include stereotypes) may be "generated" as a result of a perversion of a logical process. That is, they may have had some basis in an individual's observational experience; even perhaps, they possessed some value as a description of a phenomenal domain. We develop inductions based on empirical observations as a matter of habit. We use the generalizations developed through this process to not only satisfy our curiosity, but in a more practical sense, they aid us in making sense out of our world, and in interacting with it more effectively. The sayings mentioned above may be construed as "generalizations" that we use in our interactions with others as well.

The problems with them arise not in the manner in which we generate them, but rather that the process was not done well. It is often the case with regards to stereotypes particularly, though similar deficiencies may exist in regard to the other terms as well, that the generalization (the saw or stereotypical saying may be stated or can be expressed in this logical format) was formed on the basis of far too limited a number of observational instances, or that the observational set itself upon which the generalization was based was unrepresentative of the real group as a whole.

A problem endemic to both stereotypes and "saws" is

that once they are formed and become part of the belief system of an individual or group, one can always find instances that support the generalization. Thus, if one's stereotype (saw) is challenged, then one can feel "comfortable" in holding tenaciously to your belief since you can call to mind the instance in support of your belief. One can always find after all a Dutch man that is a tightwad with his funds, or an "Aggie" that does something unintelligent. The stereotypes are fluid enough so that a variety of instantiations are seen as appropriate in various parts of the world.

Any problems in this regard are exacerbated when one considers the usual epistemic status that such saws have in the minds of the individual or group espousing the stereotype, or when they are likely to express the saw at appropriate times in a discussion or conversation. These saws often have the status of being an unquestioned benchmark or touchstone for viewing an issue or person. They function as a basis for judging actions regarding a particular issue or person; they become a determiner of suitable policies relative to the issue of concern, or in regard to the person. Thus, they are likely to function "behind the scenes" in one's deliberations about a concern, and may escape serious critical scrutiny.

Having established some intellectual pegs to which we attach our discussions, it seems appropriate to examine some developed over time with respect to teaching.

a. **Teaching is an art**

As one reflects on this expression, one is led to consider a range of interesting questions or notions that rapidly come to mind. First, one recognizes that implicitly, the statement asserts that teaching is not a science, or at least not as much of a science as those disciplines that commonly fall under that rubric. Of course, one may ask whether the act of teaching shares none of the intellectual characteristics associated with the set of activities engaged in by scientists?

One may also inquire whether this claim is meant to function as a descriptive one, essentially one that asserts properties about the empirical world, or is it rather a prescriptive one, emphasizing that we ought not to fashion our views of teaching, and a fortiori, our ways of thinking about preparing future teachers for that role, or attempt to model our teaching activities on the sciences?

Even if we limit our reflections on teaching to viewing it as an art (rather than a science) we are left to ponder questions such as the relative significance of talent on the one hand, and the acquisition of (1) the knowledge of techniques and of materials that are

suitable (and of the limits and properties of these materials [both the physical [properties and the possible "emotional" weight and potency that might be associated with them] thus becoming familiar with their potential uses and (2) the skills lending themselves to the effective and intended uses of these techniques and materials on the other. One can see that the questions that arise with respect to this "saw" are akin to those that arise when we examine the one that is a primary focus of this paper, namely, "teachers are born, not made!"

b. **Those who can, do, those who can't, teach**

It would be a safe bet that most educators have heard this expression at one time or another. It may even be likely, that as a representative member of the teaching profession, and particularly as one who is in the dubious enterprise of preparing those who will be teaching in the future (and hence bearing some responsibility, read blame, for their defects), we have even been present in circumstances in which it has been uttered in a rather snide, deprecating manner. Unfortunately, we seldom have the opportunity to share in the examination of this saw with those who utter it. Again, this failure to scrutinize stems largely from the "place in discourse" that these expressions seem to have.

This particular old saw is often attributed to George Bernard Shaw, who incidentally, through his essays and other writings, probably "taught" a lot of art and music critics, at least the more docile (in the sense of the more capable of learning) and astute among them about the craft (or art) of criticism. One is tempted to query his literary shade concerning the issue of at what point was he "doing" and at what time was he "teaching"?

This saying, of course, enables the one who uttered it to play with the word "teach", but it should stimulate us to examine the concept, "teach", and to attempt to denote some of the myriad interpretations of this notion.

Its use in this context should interlead us to contemplate its relationships to such activities as "coaching", "mentoring", for are these activities more likely to be considered examples of "doing" or "teaching". They certainly share some gray areas in regard to Shaw's quip.

Even if one were to accept the implicit negative assessment or evaluation of the activities of "teaching" vis a vis "doing", one can certainly raise questions about the value of teaching from a society's perspective, where the major criterion about the worth of the activity is the benefit that accrues to the society from the performance of that activity. Such a line of inquiry will tend to result in an estimate of the worth of teaching markedly different from (and much more positively expressed) than that implied by the Shavian dictum.

For, as in a rather primitive example, the worth of an activity is measured ultimately against the needs of the society, then in a hunting culture, even though one may no longer possess the attributes necessary to meet the harsh, intensive and extensive demands associated with the activity of hunting, one may still provide a needed and worthwhile service to that society by enhancing of the needed skills (including the encouraging and reinforcing activities recognized by successful teachers in any social context) in the younger members of that social group. Analogous examples for even the most sophisticated socio-cultural settings can be discerned.

Many erstwhile athletes perform more valuable "services", and their activities are more worthy of acclaim as coaches than they were as athletic "performers".

c. If there has been no learning, then there has been no teaching

How can a reasonable person argue with this assertion? After all, if I am trying to teach my son to play chess, and after some actions on our parts, he does not know how to play, then how can I claim that I have taught him?

Isn't this a fundamental element of "accountability" that should be claimed for the teaching act, and, by extension, for the profession of teaching as a whole? Israel Scheffler has some interesting and insightful comments on this particular saw in his work, *The Language of Education*. [Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1960]. The nature of the difficulty stems from the range of possible implications of the verb "to teach". One interpretation of teaching can be taken to imply that the activity or action of teaching will result in a measure of success. If one focuses on this implicatory relationship, then the statement seems patently true. Certainly obvious to all but perhaps the skeptically inclined individuals, or the most incompetent teachers attempting to evade their professional responsibilities.

An equally reasonable (since it is often used in this way in ordinary discourse) use of the term "teaching" focuses on one's intentions. In this usage I engage in a set of activities in order to teach "something" to another individual or group. This use of the term is valid even if I am not successful in this regard. Alas and alack, human intentions do not always result in success. Trying, after all, does count for something in human affairs.

While Scheffler's analysis of the "success" and "intentions" aspects or uses of "teaching" is more consonant with his particular agenda in the *Language of Education*, his discussion of this saw serves equally well as a springboard for students to consider how one

judges success in teaching, or even more generally, in a generic professional context, what constitutes "success". This leads us to a more significant question the whole issue, namely, what constitutes a reasonable set of expectations of those engaged in professional practice? Is it reasonable to expect "success" in the sense in which Scheffler uses the term? Is it appropriate to judge the actions of a professional in terms of success so conceived? What seems more appropriate is to focus the discussion in such a way that "professional competence" becomes the key criterion for assessing the actions of the professional in the course of real world practice.

Success is ordinarily measured in terms of effectiveness. From this perspective, a professional treatment would be deemed successful, if it is effective, if it works. Effectiveness, however, in the world of professional practice, is largely a function of the level of sophistication of the knowledge base available to the professionals in a particular field. Thus, competency (and success only indirectly) conceived of as professional actions consistent with an existing knowledge base becomes the measure of reasonable professional expectations. While every professional group strives for success vis a vis its client set, this goal may exceed its abilities at a given time. Examples readily come to mind, in the field of educational practice as well as other professional contexts.

Such a strategy enables the discussion to center in on a set of related and significant concerns for the future teacher and teacher educators to consider. Among these concerns are the following:

- What elements comprise the knowledge base of the teaching profession?
- What is my individual responsibility in developing the elements of this base in a logically coherent manner?
- What is the profession's (the corporate body - the "organized" profession) responsibility in this regard?

A few words about the notion of a professional knowledge base may be helpful at this point. The knowledge base of a professional group is something that can be shared, demonstrated, discussed, and transmitted (taught) among professionals of different generational cohorts. It can not consist of or be grounded in merely individual idiosyncratic talents. This reflects the insight contained in Abraham Flexner's phrase that a profession possesses "an educationally communicable technique." This characteristic of professional knowledge may shed some light on the "old saw" that is often cited in connection with teaching although it might apply to other professional groups as well.

d. A teacher is born, not made!

It is often said that "A teacher is born, not made!". As is the case with a number of such pithy statements representing the wisdom of the ages, it does seem at the very least, to contain a grain of truth. We shall now consider the extent to which this statement is true, and its implications for the knowledge base of teaching. Its implications for the educational preparation of teachers will also be touched on briefly.

We realize that the activities of a professional often involve interactions with the client - indeed, these may be the most significant actions of the professional. It may be noted in passing that it has been claimed that a distinguishing mark of professionals is that they deal with people, not things. While it is not the case that this necessarily prevails in every professional context, this interaction between professional and client is often seen as a crucial element in any analysis of professional groups and their activities.

If the professional possesses some physical or psycho-social characteristic, then its presence might either promote or hinder the professional's ability to interact with clients in a competent (successful) manner. There may be other physical or psycho-social characteristics that have no effect (either positive or negative) on the effectiveness of the professional's activities. These are of no direct professional concern to those who will be responsible for the education of the professional, either in the pre-service or in-service phases. In some cases, these characteristics, i.e., those judged to relevant, may be genetic in origin or they may have been affected by the environmental conditions existing during the professional's earlier development.

In cases in which this saying has been used, the person making the statement has likely observed an individual exhibiting a trait that (at least in the mind of the observer) is related to the expectations of a teacher. Analogous examples, e.g., "She is a born doctor" may also come to mind, and in each of these instances, a trait related to competent practice has been noted.

Before proceeding further with our discussion, it will be necessary to delineate more clearly the meaning of the term "born" in this saying. Most of those who will make such claims will not see it as literally true, at least upon reflection, since most individuals are not likely to hold a strong claim for innate knowledge, though some individuals are more likely to believe that certain "personality" characteristics are perhaps determined at birth. The term "born" in this context is taken to refer to the individual's personal (social, psychological, physical, and intellectual) state as he or she begins a professional educational program.

A similar analysis of the way in which the term

"made" is being used would also seem to be appropriate in order to clarify what is being claimed, and particularly as we consider the implications for those of us who have assumed some responsibility for preparing members for future professional practice. The term will be taken to refer to the effects of the professional education program on the individual. The changes that have occurred in the individual as a at course of professional studies and experiences.

It should be noted that one might claim that some of these changes may have been influenced either by the social or intellectual maturation of the individual or to interactions of a number of different kinds that occurred outside the context of the deliberate professional education curriculum. To the extent that these experiences played any part in the development of the professional knowledge base of the practitioner, they would be included in the "born" part of our saying.

These characteristics, whatever their origin, may be more or less amenable to modification or change. To the extent that the "negative" traits or characteristics can not be altered or "influenced" in a more positive direction, i.e., either modified to the point where they do not hinder the professional's work or are eliminated entirely, the statement that teachers are born, not made, is true. It should also be noted that if the "positive" factors, i.e., those that contribute to the success of the professional, can not be further developed or enhanced to some significant degree, then the statement is also true.

Reflecting on the characteristics that might seem to be related to teaching, we would be inclined to agree that there are some items among the following that are related to one's success as a teacher, (1) personality traits such as patience, friendliness or warmth of personality, or a sense of humor, (2) particular values and attitudes such as respect for individuals (particularly those of different ethnic or racial groups), and (3) physical attributes such as "good health" (mental and physical). There would also be particular personality traits, values, attitudes, and physical attributes (e.g., a serious speech impediment) that would tend to contribute to less successful professional activity. There are, of course, intellectual traits that are important as well, in teaching as well as other professions. The acquisition of the elements of a knowledge base by the new professional requires an above average level of "intelligence" as well as the presence of certain good habits such as diligence, perseverance, and good "study habits", problem solving skills, etc. If the teacher education program with which the potential teacher interacts can do little to bring about positive changes (and changes that are significant enough to result in the

student's ability to be successful in teaching) in any of these areas noted above, then one may conclude that either the program is deficient or if all extant programs have the same lack of success, then the knowledge base is not that expected of a profession.

To summarize, it would appear that the "saw" is true if

1. trait 'a' is relevant to teaching practice; and
2. the teacher education program can not modify the trait.

The "truth" of this saying may also be related to the technological developments that have an impact on the knowledge base of a profession. For example, many older members of our society remember when a physician made "house calls" on a fairly regular basis. Such an event tends to be a rarity in our contemporary society. The physician in the earlier period did possess some knowledge that he (seldom she) was able to use in formulating a diagnosis of the patient's condition. There were also certain "tools" that he used to assist him in this task, e.g., thermometer, and equipment for measuring blood pressure plus the knowledge gained from studying similar cases with an experienced professional.

These diagnostic tools were rather limited and primitive when judged with respect to the panoply of sophisticated equipment available to physicians during the present period. Even when it came to the treatment of the patient, the "arsenal" of weapons available to fight the diseases was scanty; thus, much of the success of the physician's "treatment" depended upon the patient's ability to cure himself, and even on the patient's belief that the treatment would be successful. Hence, the person an optimistic frame of mind to the patient may have been quite significant.

This old saw may hold valuable lessons for us who are involved in the education of future teachers. It encourages us to determine the particular characteristics (of a variety of kinds) that are important for professional success, and to pattern or modify our professional educational programs in ways that are likely to bring about the desired set of characteristics. In addition, in those cases in which we cannot modify these characteristics in the desired "direction" within the contexts of our education programs, that we consciously and deliberately recruit those who already possess the significant traits.

These old saws that we have looked at all too briefly in this paper seem to us to have been linguistic tools that have been misused far more often than they have been used as tools for more appropriate purposes, or at least have become "dulled" through misuse. However, even their misuse or abuse can provide us with some

opportunities for learning.

As has been pointed out, they may serve to sharpen our own thoughts and views, and provide us with a measure of insight into the ways in which we think about our activities as teacher educators.

An additional responsibility of those of us who are interested in questions falling under the general rubric of "philosophy of education" might be to avail ourselves of the opportunity to raise some of the questions touched on here with our students and colleagues. This may ensure that these old saws are sharpened so that they may be used to cut to the heart of some of the conceptual questions often unexamined in the contexts that arise in classroom or common room discussions.

We all hope that our students as they enter the classroom, and when they are in the "real" world as well would not allow persons to utter stereotypical remarks without some response, so it is of import that they do not allow the old saws to be used without some attempt to "sharpen" them, so that they may become better linguistic tools, resulting in more fruitful discourse.

We should be prepared to take advantage of opportunities in our classes, and even in our own conceptual inquiries to subject them to rigorous analysis and intellectual scrutiny, so that our students are aware of the ambiguities and misconceptions to which they may give rise if they are not subjected to such examination.

Old "saws" such as those noted in this paper may serve as discussion starters, used in the class to engage students in the examination of aspects of the professional activity to which, it is to be hoped, they have made some serious commitment.

Our students, and practicing members of the profession might be encouraged to engage non-education major peers (for the students) and the general public (practicing educators) in an informal examination of these sayings -- the context in which they have experienced them, and how they perceive or interpret them for themselves, and even the impact or influence that these sayings may have in shaping their own beliefs about the nature of education or teaching - whether these beliefs are the result of conscious, deliberate thoughts, or "non-fixed" in a Piercean sense.

The level and type of our civic discourse among the general public about even the most significant and crucial of social concerns might be aptly called "bumper sticker debate". These phenomena have "raised" sloganeering to its lowest ebb, though perhaps we should not discount American entrepreneurship in this regard. The opinions expressed on these bumper stickers have the characteristics already noted of not lending themselves to scrutiny or even the need for any analysis

or explication. From the "America, Love It or Leave It!" of the Vietnam Era and the "If Guns Are Outlawed, Only Outlaws Will Carry Guns!"- even to the more recent retort of parents of less than honorable children - at least "if the apple falls not far from the tree" has any validity as a genetic

predictor- "My Kid Can Beat Up Your Honor Student." With this rich array of intellectual fare on display, in conjunction with the new concealed weapons legislation, can look forward to rigorous and hearty debate, punctuated by vigorous exclamations of "take that's".

Lest we think that this is merely an academic question and tend (as many people might) to dismiss it as a purely semantic dispute - (about words for goodness sake!), we should keep in mind that this attitude lends itself to looking to "cash in" the professional expectations of accountability for teachers in terms of TASS tests.

THE ETHICS OF A QUALITY MANAGEMENT CULTURE IN EDUCATION

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Once upon a time Quality was well-understood as a term nearly synonymous with excellence. W.E. Deming, J.M. Juran, Phillip Crosby, James Whitney and other "Quality" theorists have revolutionized the way both the Japanese and Americans do business. In doing so they redefined the word quality. Quality is now viewed as a function of customer satisfaction. That is to say, does the customer believe he or she is getting from a vendor the best value for the dollar on a reliable basis.

Quality theorists also describe techniques for soliciting customer opinion and tools meant to insure statistical product control. The simplest way to get an overview of Quality Theory is to review Deming's Fourteen Points.¹ On a single page, Deming summarizes what organizational quality assurance is all about. Administrators and managers throughout the nation acknowledge that Quality Theory has become the defining fashion in twentieth century management.

So compelling is the rush to Quality Theory that SACS and other accrediting agencies have embraced many of its tenets as their own. Moreover, universities and public schools are beginning to cite Deming as their leading guru. Especially at the level of public education William Glasser has grabbed the role of Deming's leading interpreter to the designers of public schooling.² Glasser's interpolation of Deming is clumsy. Most notably his attempt to define students as part of the organization's internal quality team co-opts student's legitimate role as customers of the system. Glasser also fails to give adequate attention to the other customers of the system which includes not just the community and parents, but all funding agencies, the disciplines, employers and even the teaching profession itself.

Glasser's clumsiness aside, there are other reasons for criticizing Quality Theory as a mechanism for improving public education. Principally, my concern is that Quality Theory cannot insure the flourishing of individual potential. Since I argue this point at length in a chapter shortly to be published in an upcoming festschrift devoted to Israel Scheffler, I will say no more about this matter now.³ Instead, I want to discuss the most powerful social prescriptions emanating from Quality Theory. Or rather, to be even more precise, I want to argue that the most valuable social insights of Quality Theory have been available for quite some time if only civic, educational and corporate leaders would

pay attention to the social theories of philosophers and social theorists from ages past. However, before rushing to my eventual claim, I will sketch what I take to be the most profound social recommendations of Quality Theory.

From Deming's Fourteen Points, two prescriptions are especially suggestive. First, Deming is unequivocal about management's need to drive fear from the organization. And second, Deming demands that administrators lead and not "drive" people by means of slogans and exhortation. To those who insist that what gets rewarded gets done, Deming counters that what is rewarding gets done. Administrators make tasks rewarding by creating system-wide grounds for trust and shared vision. The details of how all this is to be carried out are quite elaborate and generally center around authentically empowering the organizational workforce.

Theories of Motivation

Principle	Social Milieu
1. What gets rewarded gets done.	Traditional Behavioral Management
2. What is rewarding gets done.	Modern Management
(3. What is good gets done.)	(Wagner/Sergiovanni Prescription for future educational leadership)

Empowerment, trust, shared vision, cooperation, integrity and respect are the essential defining characteristics of a Quality Culture. And, the first step towards Quality Management is the creation of a Quality Culture. Fishbone charts, SPC, Shewart Cycles, re-training and all the rest are easily implemented once a Quality Culture is in place. So it is to the theorists who anticipated the creation of a quality culture to which I now turn.

I suspect few management scholars anticipate the list of four I am about to share with you and, I suspect, there are a few reading this who will anticipate more than two of the four at best. So, here goes.

All that is of fashion in current management theory could have been grouped by anyone familiar with: (in chronological order) Thomas Hobbes, Nicolai Machiavelli, Vladimir Lenin and...(out of chronological order) St. Benedict. That's right, St. Benedict.

Admittedly, there are others who could be added to

the list. For example, Karl Marx warned of the consequences of work that alienates the worker. In like manner, as noted above, Deming knows what is rewarding gets done whereas what gets rewarded is alienating. When employees and employer find their respective tasks rewarding and empowering, shared vision and "buy in" become an authentic reality. While there is certainly common ground for sympathy here between Deming and Marx, these same insights were anticipated long ago by St. Benedict.⁴ In a sense this shouldn't be surprising since Benedictine Rule was designed for communal organizations with optimal shared vision. Here however, we are getting ahead of ourselves. My point is not that Deming owes much to Benedict or to any of the other three theorists. Rather, my point is simply that Deming's renowned social insights were already available, long before Deming was born, to managers who were well read in social and political philosophy.

It's time to make good on this claim. Recall Deming's imperative that fear must be driven out of any organization which hopes to optimize its potential. Hobbes too argued that fear had a paralyzing effect on human ambitions.⁵ Consequently, as Hobbes continued to argue the concept of a social contract surely must have arisen from the perils humans face wision, Hobbes acknowledged the appropriateness of removing a leader who was not able to protect his followers from fear.

Benedict too cautioned the leaders of monasteries not to employ a fierceness of rule such that followers might be distracted from the shared vision that brought them all together in the first place. Thus from Hobbesian pessimism to Benedictine optimism, fear was recognized as a cancer when internal to an organization as well as a motivation for initially organizing.

Machiavelli is of course, best known for the phrase, "the ends justify the means." But in *The Prince Machiavelli* discusses two themes generally. The first is how to acquire power (state) -- a topic of great appeal to politicians. The second theme is for managers, that is for those who already hold organizational authority. In the latter case, Machiavelli argues the leader can only sustain his position if he leads through the exercise of virtue (virtu). This is a side of Machiavelli known to far too few students of social and political theory.⁶ This latter spirit in Machiavelli is echoed in Deming's insistence that trust, credibility and integrity are essential for any contemporary manager to motivate employees to continue working in behalf of a shared vision. Thus, from Machiavelli to Deming the message is effective leadership demands exhibited personal virtue.

Cooperation and teamwork are central to

constructing a Quality Culture. Certainly the Benedictine Rule spoke to that but surprisingly so did Lenin.⁷ Lenin argued that the strength and resiliency of an organization is found more in its capacity for unity and secrecy than in any other trait. The importance of unity is evident. For both Lenin and Deming unity means not merely action in concert but zealous action emanating forth from a sense of shared purpose. Unity is also a reflection of intimacy, the kind of intimacy that secures effectiveness in corporate effort.

Today secrecy has a pejorative connotation. And, in light of Lenin's actions, and those of his disciple, Joseph Stalin, there is good reason to be suspicious of Lenin's notion of secrecy. Nevertheless, relying on Lenin's early writings alone, secrecy amounts to little more than the exchange of tokens of intimacy. That is to say, with each free exchange of a secret, a token of intimacy, those involved in the trade tend to become more intimately bonded to one another. The closer the bond, the less likely each is to betray the other or the organization. To this extent, Deming is committed to Leninesque principles aimed at maximizing concerted effort throughout an organization.

To sum up, Quality Cultures are those in common purpose, are trusting and trustworthy, free of fear and feel empowered to work cooperatively with one another to optimize organizational potential. What more is there?

Empowerment requires that organizational leaders have the moral courage to share power. This is a courage in short supply generally among American leaders as Derek Bok explains in his book, *The Cost of Talent*.⁸

In a Quality Culture leaders must give up the role of "boss" and accept the responsibility that goes with stewardship. In a Quality Culture, leadership is first and foremost an endeavor of service. Oddly enough, these ideas were first spelled out by St. Benedict to his abbot in his famous Rule. Benedict explains to his abbots that each abbot is the first servant of the monastery. Monks will follow such a leader out of respect and will quickly acquire, in concert with the abbot, a shared vision of the organization's destiny. It would be hard to imagine Deming finding any fault with the prescriptions for leadership found in the Benedictine Rule.

In the brief sketch above, I hope I have succeeded in at least making plausible my claim that the best current management theory has to offer, was already available in the wisdom of previous scholars. We do indeed re-invent many an insight. How much time could be saved if the masters of our organization's engaged in more serious study before arriving at the helm of power. Still, the aggregated wisdom found in current descriptions of

Quality Culture has much to offer present attempts to re-organize schools into more potent systems. Now what does all this have to do with educational practice?

More than any other educational policy analyst, Thomas Sergiovanni understands and explains how a Quality Culture can be created to prepare faculty and staff to serve effectively each of its customers.⁹ Without running through Sergiovanni's arguments suffice to say that the wisdom of the ages and its most recent echo in current management theory (an echo most commonly known as TQM, Total Quality Management) is in the end

a matter of moral architecture. This means that the alpha and omega of operational leadership schooling is ultimately a process driven by moral philosophy.

Educational leaders can not exploit fully the merits of current Quality Theory until they understand that its potency lies in a more general commitment to virtue-based moral philosophy. Rather than relegating educational philosophy to inclusion in other courses of weaker ilk, philosophy of education should be the one course all graduates in education should share in common -- at least those in schools of education that endorse a Quality Management approach to public education.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM--IS THE YEAR 1995 OR 1897?

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When reading current educational literature, one is not hard-pressed to find articles on the need for educational change. Many articles offer suggestions to the practitioner for implementing novel programs; others review school projects by describing reform endeavors; still other articles address problems associated with educational innovation. What is interesting about many of these articles is that their authors often purport new and creative designs for American education when, in fact, many current suggestions can be found embedded within one short, but powerful essay written nearly a century ago: John Dewey's (1897) "My Pedagogic Creed." This paper serves two purposes: (a) to trace several current educational reform suggestions to Dewey's 1897 work and (b) to specifically address the recommendation for developing classrooms of inquiry.

Dewey's Legacy

Although current reform suggestions address multiple aspects of American education, there are recommendations that can be categorized as directly related to classroom activity. Summarily, they address the goals of developing the (a) individual person, (b) good worker, and (c) democratic citizen. The following paragraphs cite several recommendations aimed at these goals and illustrate their relationship to Dewey's beliefs as found in "My Pedagogic Creed."

The Student as an Individual

Recently, attention has focused on the status of the individual in the educative process (Ruenzel 1995; Clinchy 1995(a); Kohn 1994; Dultz 1993). Contemporary literature notes the importance for enhancing the potentials of all children (from those with learning disabilities to those who are gifted and/or talented) by attending to multiple intelligences and diverse learning styles (Breault 1995; Van Dyke 1995; Guild 1994; Lee 1994; Gardner 1993). No longer can teachers restrict, i.e., linguistic and analytic abilities that support success on standardized tests. Today's educators must be willing to identify and nurture the varying competencies and strengths of each of their individual students.

In reviewing Article I of "My Pedagogic Creed," one finds Dewey's belief that to truly educate the child means to give to the student "command of himself;...to train him that he will have the full and ready use of all his capacities; that his eye and ear and hand may be

tools ready to command." Dewey posited that the educative process "must begin with a psychological insight into the child's capacities, instincts, and habits....[It is] the child's own instincts and powers [that] furnish the material and give the starting point for all education." True education, then, involves the development of all facets of the child's potential; to accomplish this requires the genuine concern on the part of the teacher to fully understand the child:

Only through the continual and sympathetic observation of childhood's interests can the adult enter into the child's life and see what it is ready for, and upon what material it could work most readily and fruitfully. (Article IV)

Not only must teachers address individual strengths and abilities, but--to truly educate--they also must consider the implications of an increasingly socially-diverse student body. More usual than unique is the classroom of children reflecting complex and dissimilar backgrounds (Edelman 1993; Eitzen 1992; Hodgkinson 1991). Due to the multiplicity of personal experiences present among today's youth, ditto-sheet problems and textbook scenarios often are irrelevant to the life-experiences of many youngsters.

A number of authors espouse that "meaningful activity" is the most pronounced feature of the child's out-of-school learning (Prawat 1992; Eisenhardt & Cutts-Dougherty 1991). This proposition supports the notion that knowledge gained outside the classroom frequently surpasses that which is gained within the classroom. As such, the work of anthropologists and cultural psychologists is often cited with regard to the importance of context and former experience in shaping and constraining individual learning (Prawat 1992). How do educators promote the presence of meaningful activity?

Dewey contended that school activity should build upon the familiar, upon experiences of the home--or of present living--so as to ensure that the activities of schooling are as "real and vital to the child as that which he carries on in the home, in the neighborhood, or on the playground....[Teachers] "should take up and continue the activities with which the child is already familiar...." (Article II). According to Dewey, "the only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situation (general experience) in which he finds himself" (Article I). Thus, education must not depart from general experiences, but

rather as to develop the child's ability to respond to further experience.

Reflected in contemporary writings is Dewey's proposition for substituting the traditional classroom model--one in which teacher is authority and student is passive ingester of bits of information--with a model in which personally meaningful experiences can occur (Ruenzel 1995; Haberman 1991). In relation to this, an idea often presented concerns the evils of learning isolated details as opposed to focusing on the overall picture--as does out-of-school learning. With a rigidly sequenced and segregated presentation of subject matter, the child is subjected to "a mass of meaningless and arbitrary ideas imposed from without" (Article IV). In one of Dewey's most famous statements-- "education must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience..."--he emphasized the importance of a curriculum reflecting personal and social experience--a curriculum presented not in isolated blocks but through an integrated and realistic process that mirrors the overlapping experiences of life.

It seems to us that Dewey clearly stressed the importance of the student as an individual in the educative process by underscoring the need to attend to the personal interests, abilities, requirements, and experiences of the child. Like many of today's educational reformers, Dewey disagreed with the model of school in which the teacher is center and students are passively engaged in directed drill and rote learning. Current reform suggestions parallel Dewey's view that the school can no longer be viewed as a separate entity from students' everyday lives, but must become yet another form of living. Dewey reminds us that to achieve such a goal, teachers must be meaning makers, and learning must be tied to youths' real-life experiences.

The Student as a Good Worker

A number of current articles focus upon America's ability to maintain its economic leadership. Inherent within this concern is the need for youth to develop the skills and attitudes needed to become capable and contributing workers in whatever earning capacities they choose (Wagner 1995; Noddihis goal finds support in Dewey's contention that education must encompass "due regard for both the individualistic and socialistic ideals" (Article V). He further stated that education, as a social process, should not only assist the young to integrate within and adjust to society, but also to better society. In concert with this, the child must not only develop the desire to improve society, but also the ability to determine what is beneficial: the school should help the child "emerge from his original narrowness of action

and feeling and to conceive of himself from the standpoint of the welfare of the group to which he belongs" (Article I).

A related goal for Dewey encompassed the development of the child's judgement to make it "capable of grasping the conditions under which it has to work" while training the executive forces to "act economically and efficiently" (Article I). In developing the good worker, Dewey saw the role of the teacher as one of examining the "child's fitness for social life and reveal[ing] the place in which he can be of the most service and where he can receive the most help" (Article II). To accomplish this, the teacher must continually interpret the powers, interests, and habits of the child, must know what they mean, and must help translate them into "terms of their social equivalents--into terms of what they are capable of in the way of social service"(Article I).

Finally, Dewey believed that the school should provide a setting in which the child can "enter into the proper relations with others in a unity of work and thought" (Article II). Not only should students develop imagination and resourcefulness through personal problem-solving activities, but also they should develop the attitudes needed for helping others in their problem solving endeavors. Such attitudes reflect a desire for community and collaboration.

Many question the ability of the school's present structure to encourage a sense of community and desire for collaborative activity as both concepts are often characteristic of non- schooling, general experience (Clinchy 1995(b); Lewis, Schaps, & Watson 1995). If a goal is to have youth become good workers, schools must become collaborative communities: environments in which teachers and students are free to pursue ideas and make mistakes. Granted, Dewey does not elaborate on the concepts of community and collaboration within his "Creed," however, their importance is implied throughout the essay. Their significance to Dewey? He dedicated an entire book to these concepts: *Democracy and Education* (1916).

The Student as a Democratic Citizen

Prior to discussing this aim, one should be reminded that it was from Dewey that mid-20th Century schools adopted citizenship development as a goal. For Dewey, this development encompassed children working on real problems within the classroom, learning to question and debate issues, and fostering decision-making skills. Cultivating citizenship meant developing the ability to listen and respond to others in the effort to achieve shared beliefs benefitting society. This was of paramount importance to Dewey--he envisioned

democracy as much more than simply a form of government or practice of social equality.

Through the years, however, a travesty occurred: teachers replaced the goal of citizenship development with one of conduct training and began awarding high grades for conduct reflective of docility and conformity. Today, persons concerned with education are again espousing the importance of developing democratic citizens (Meier 1995; Wagner 1995).

For children to grow as democratic citizens, they must be educated within a democratic community. In order for school to resemble such a community, there must be shared participation as opposed to that which is found in the traditional school as reflected by the school board-superintendent-principal-teacher- student hierarchy. The school must be a setting in which the child can experience choice as opposed to coercion. In addition, it must provide an environment in which diversity is seen positively, in which communication is promoted among all--thus, eliminating isolation--and in which the concept of community is instilled through the social interaction of different people and different perspectives.

Although Dewey's notion about the final goal of developing the democratic citizen has been touched upon in the preceding section through the citing of *Democracy and Education*, there remain several statements within Dewey's "Creed" that apply to this goal. These statements speak to the role of the school in the promotion of democracy.

Within Articles II and V of his "Creed," Dewey stated that with "education being a social process, the school is simply a form of community life...[in which the child learns] to use his own powers for social ends....Education is the regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness...."

Finally, if developing democratic citizenship among the young is of importance to those interested in the future of our nation, they should consider Dewey's belief that "education is the fundamental method of social progress...;...through education society can flourish, and thus shape itself with definiteness and economy in the direction in which it wishes to move." Can one conclude from the preceding comparisons that many of the ideas presented in contemporary literature parallel Dewey's views as expressed in his nearly century-old work: "My Pedagogic Creed"? We believe the parallel is clear. Perhaps contemporary educational reformers can be assisted in their endeavors to improve the quality of American schooling by reviewing the works of such historical figures as John Dewey himself.

Philosophy for Children

A major challenge faced by contemporary educators and researchers involves determining approaches for establishing classroom learning communities. One such approach worth investigating is Matthew Lipman's program--Philosophy for Children.

Philosophy for Children began in the late 1960's when Matthew Lipman, who at the time was a professor of philosophy at Columbia University, became upset with some fundamental problems. Put into contemporary language of education, Lipman was upset with a cognitive and an affective problem. The former related to a perceived, supported by declining scores on standardized tests, diminution of American children's ability to reason and to solve problems. The latter, a more diffuse and equally upsetting one, was concerned with how children felt about schooling and about the academic endeavor. Stated simply, the longer children were in school, the less they seemed to like and to value it.

At first, Lipman toyed with the idea of writing a story that individual children might chance upon in a library or bookstore and which would model a cooperative community of inquiry with children (almost like an intellectual version of the Peanuts comic strip) and would, in effect, invite children into the fictional world giving them a place where they would practice and hone the art and craft of thinking (Lipman 1992).

Over the course of the next few years (1970-74) as Lipman field-tested his novel, now known as *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery*, in schools around the Columbia campus, that idea was modified and expanded. The quality of happenstance--the individual child stumbling over the volume on a library shelf--was jettisoned. In its place, especially as Lipman left Columbia in 1974 and moved to Montclair State College and with Dr. Ann Margaret Sharp formed the Institute for the Advancement of Philosophy for Children (I.A.P.C.), came the notion that *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery* forming and reconstructing the educational enterprise.

Between 1973 and 1988, six more programs were constructed by Lipman and his associates at I.A.P.C. *Elfie*, for grades K through 2, concentrates on the making of distinctions, connections, and comparisons within the context of a variety of broad philosophical issues. Two programs were constructed for grades 3 and 4. *Pixie* concentrates on analogical reasoning skills and philosophy of language, and *Kio and Gus* emphasizes practice in a variety of reasoning skills that prepare children to investigate nature. *Lisa* (for grades 7 and 8) focuses on ethical inquiry, *Suki* (for grades 9 and 10) on aesthetics inquiry, and *Mark* (for grades 11 and 12) on social and political inquiry.

At this point, Philosophy for Children is being taught in some five thousand schools in the United States. The program has been translated into eighteen languages, and there are Philosophy for Children Centers throughout the United States and in Chile, Costa Rica, Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria, Spain, Portugal, Guatemala, Iceland, Denmark, Canada, Austria, Australia, and Taiwan. Experimental research in the U.S. and in many of the countries cited above has demonstrated that children exposed to philosophy by well-prepared teachers gain significantly in reasoning, reading comprehension, and mathematical performance.

There has been, then, a quiet--if explosions can be quiet-- explosion in Philosophy for Children over the course of two decades. Philosophy for Children is no longer the creation of one person. It has been changed, expanded, restructured, and transformed as it has passed through different hands and different cultures. Especially when Philosophy for Children went overseas, it changed and, in many ways, the change has been dramatic. Philosophy for Children, today, may be a family of practices and practitioners, but as in the case with many large families, individual members may not even be recognizable to others. To examine the novels of the current family of Philosophy for Children, we will look at two sources: (1) Philosophy for Children as practiced with the original text *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery* (circa 1974-1987) and (2) the Pragmatic Tradition from which Philosophy for Children emerges.

It is important to think carefully about *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery*. Like a first child, it tells much about the parent's intentions, and it tells much about both what Philosophy for Children is and what it was meant to be.

Harry is a ninety-six page novel written for eleven and twelve year olds. It details the adventures, intellectual and otherwise, of a group of children who inquire into a host of philosophical and logical issues--issues like the nature of fairness, the mind-body problem, personal identity, logical relationships, sentence conversion, and so on. In effect, it "contains" the issues and problems that typically make up a freshman introduction to philosophy course, along with a smattering of formal and informal logic.

The assumption behind *Harry*, the assumption behind Philosophy for Children itself, is that philosophy is a significant pedagogical tool, and that if one would find a way to introduce (or to reintroduce) philosophy into the curriculum, one would be on the way to significant educational reform.

What Lipman noticed, and what it may be assumed educators in countries like France, Spain, and Denmark, where philosophy is part of the school's curriculum

noticed, is that there is a similarity in terms of structure and content between the questions young children, especially very young children, ask and those that are asked by mature philosophers. The idea then is to make this similarity work, to provide an instrument whereby the child's interest in the typical problems of philosophy could be tapped. And that, the compendium of philosophical issues along with a built-in (built into the novel) model of children cooperatively inquiring about those issues, a model that could be emulated by real life children, is what *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery* represents.

That which differentiates *Harry* (we will let *Harry* stand for the I.A.P.C. way, circa 1974-1987, of doing Philosophy for Children) from the novels presented in Germany and Spain include the following: First, *Harry* is aimed at a younger audience than European schooling addresses. In Germany and Spain, philosophy is packed into secondary school curriculum with adolescents typically getting their first exposure to the tradition around the age of fourteen or so. Even at its inception, Philosophy for Children was meant for a younger audience. Once Philosophy for Children began to achieve some success and once it was in a position to begin testing standard Piagetian claims regarding young children's ability to reason abstractly, the curriculum was quickly extended to the youngest of the school-age population so that by 1987, even kindergartners were being exposed to philosophy.

Second, *Harry* attempts to provide an avenue whereby children can be connected to the traditional problems of philosophy, but it does this in a decidedly ahistorical way. Where school-age philosophy on the continent involves learning about the systems of, for example, Kant and Hegel, and seeing how, to continue the example, those two philosophers react to the Cartesian program that is known as Modernism, children in Philosophy for Children are not introduced to the great names and systems of the tradition. Rather, the attempt is made to put them in a position where they act as philosophers instead of learning about philosophers. The attempt is to get them to do philosophy. In the course of that doing, some of them may act as David Hume did, while others might take a less empirical, more rationalistic stance. The history of philosophy is frequently replicated in a Philosophy for Children classroom, but that replication in many ways is accidental to the inquiry. Perhaps more precisely, that replication emerges from the process of inquiry in the same way that Hume's response to the problem of other minds emerged from his inquiry.

Third, *Harry* is an explicit attack on standard philosophical jargon and terminology. The continental assumption, and it may be pointed out, the assumption behind most traditional college philosophy courses and philosophy texts in the United States, is that in order to do philosophy, one must first have mastered a rather extensive and esoteric vocabulary. Lipman assumed that it was possible to take the typical problems of philosophy, divest them of their forbidding terminology, and embed them in a story-- *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery*--where they could be discovered by attentive readers and students.

So, Philosophy for Children--and keep in mind we are looking at Philosophy for Children circa 1974-1987, in what might be called an "homogenous" state, a state where there was far more agreement than there is today--begins with a philosophically rich text. That text contains a series of gems, a series of interesting, important philosophical problems. It does not follow that children have to discover all of the gems. It does not follow that teachers should be in the business of leading the children to discover now this gem and now that one. What is important to remember is that *Harry*, this coherent whole, this narrative, is an exercise in philosophy. The task then, once one begins with this narrative, is how to unpack it and enable it to yield what it contains.

Ultimately, Philosophy for Children is about that which is typically the most private of events, i.e., thinking, and most explicitly the improvement and enhancement of the child's ability to think. Since that which is "private" is inaccessible to direct contact, one has to find indirect means to reach it. This happens most obviously at the beginning of a typical Philosophy for Children session. Each child, or perhaps each couple or trio of children, has a copy of *Harry*. The children, in the best of all educational worlds, are sitting in a circle where they can see each other. The next child picks up where the previous child has finished, continuing to read aloud. The process continues around the circle until a chapter--typically four or five pages-- has been read. The reading, and depending on the skill level of the readers, it may be a rather long and, at times, labored reading, allows individual children to personalize the text by bringing their inflections and their emphasis to individual paragraphs. It allows their (private) thoughts to determine what will be stressed and what will receive most attention. At the same time, however, the community is looking at one, shared text and hearing, and sharing, a series of different verbal interpretations of the text. The reading, if it goes well, if it is more than a simple preamble to the talk which comes next, serves as a bridge step between the public

and private. It brings the child out of herself/himself, gives the child something to do, i.e., read a text so that the child does not, as it were, have to make thought out of whole cloth, but is respectful of, indeed dependent on, that which is most personal to the child, that which the child determines to be worth stressing in the reading.

When the reading is complete, the teacher asks a deceptively simple question or family of questions. That question or questions, combined with the existence of the text, provides a ready way to place Philosophy for Children within the political-educational spectrum that has developed in the United States. Where the radical teacher on the far left might be said to rely exclusively on student interest (one thinks here of Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner's classic educational text of the 1960's, *Teaching As Subversive Activity*) while her/his more conservative teacher on the far right might be said to ignore interest and focuses on a preexisting curriculum that all students must know regardless of their feelings about it, Philosophy for Children steers a middle ground. The teacher says, in effect, "What did you find interesting in the chapter we have just read? What do YOU want to talk about? What do you find curious, problematic, and so on about the chapter?" The discovery of interest is necessary for the process to continue, but it should be pointed out even though the questions that the children have about the text may be very free-form, unpredicted and unpredictable, bizarre, or tangentially related to the text, the discovery that is being attempted is about or into the text. One starts with the text (in this case, *Harry*), and it is the text that provides a coherent whole, a meaningful starting point from which students may develop their own interests.

Before we go too much further into our fictional lesson, it may be helpful to remind ourselves that "interest," though it is a term bandied about in educational circles, is a highly complex, rich, multi-layered word. In *Democracy and Education*, John Dewey toyed with some of those layers and discovered three significant meanings of interest, all of which, according to Dewey, should be taken into consideration by educators as they go about the task of working with their students (Dewey 1917). Interest may be conceived of as a mere liking or simple statement of preference. Thus, when I say I am more interested in baseball than ballet, I am telling you that I like baseball better than ballet and, all things being equal, I would prefer attending a game rather than a performance. Dewey also points out that interest may be thought of as a quality existing in an object or subject matter. So, just as one may ascribe hardness to this desk and glossiness to that magazine cover, one may say of certain other objects or subject matters that they are inherently interesting. Thus,

one may say that art history is interesting while accounting is dull. When one says this, one is doing more than simply stating a preference. One is attempting to describe the subject matter. Finally, according e may be talking about the connection or relationship that ties or binds a person with an object or subject matter. To say, for example, that Mary has a legal interest in this piece of property is to suggest that she is related to the property in ways in which those of us who do not have a legal interest in it are not related to the piece of property.

To repeat, when the Philosophy for Children teacher asks the deceptively simple question: "What do you find interesting about Harry?", not only is she/he defining Philosophy for Children's place in the political-educational spectrum, she/he is asking a rich and evocative question, a question which practice has shown generates all sorts of possibilities.

Now, let us continue on with our fictional lesson. A reading has been completed and the teacher asks what the children find interesting in the chapter. The next step is to record the children's responses. Let us suppose that the children have ten questions about the chapter. Let us further suppose that the questions fall into more or less natural categories. Some questions are about the logical rules ("if you take a true sentence and reverse it, it will become false") that are discovered in chapter one. Others are what one might call more philosophical, i. e., what does it mean to discover a logical rule or, stated another way, are logical rules discovered or invented? Others are clearly psychological, *viz.*, why was Harry so embarrassed in class, and why did he trust Lisa and not someone else to help him out of his difficulty? Still others are about the author's intentions--why did Matthew Lipman write this story? Do the names of the characters mean anything? Is it significant that part of Harry Stottlemeier's name sounds a lot like Aristotle?

At this point, a decision has to be made. Which question or group of questions should we deal with now, in this class? In this chapter we do not have to make that decision, but we can, however, point to some of the factors that weigh on the decision, or that could be taken into account in order to make the decision most productive.

Sometimes, one question forces itself on the community. The list of questions is read and, almost by unspoken consensus, it becomes clear that this question and not some other is the one with which to begin. Other times it seems natural to start with the first question, while in other cases the gestalt that emerges when soliciting questions determines that the last question asked will be the first question with which we

deal. Sometimes the class may vote and let majority rule decide the issue. Still in other cases, it may happen that the teacher takes a somewhat more directive role and suggests to the class, since all of the questions are of interest to at least some of the members of the community, that it may prove helpful to start with this question and not some other. The reasons that may support this suggestion (and note, we are talking about a suggestion and not a command) include:

First, the amount of time remaining in the class period.

Philosophy for Children, unlike, say, a Madeline Hunter-like program, does not demand "closure" for individual lessons. People involved in Philosophy for Children quickly come to the realization that thought and the process of inquiry proceed according to its own dynamic, and one cannot, without damage, fit it into neat, pre-packaged parcels. Still, the experienced Philosophy for Children teacher will realize that certain discussions, development of questions, exercises, and so on are better suited to some time periods than others. If, for example, there are fifteen minutes remaining in the classroom period, the teacher may suggest that the class deal with a question it can handle during that time frame rather than a more ambitious one. She/he may suggest the development of a textual question ("Who did what to whom?") rather than a more open-ended one.

Second, the teacher's knowledge of previous classes and previous discussions.

Only a dull teacher would think that previous experiences with other groups should generate or determine what is done with this group. Still, teachers who have experience with Philosophy for Children with other groups can learn things that are transferable from one group to the other. For example, she/he may find that starting with one question or one type of question at a certain time in the community's development may typically yield the highest payoff. On the basis of that experience, she/he may suggest (and not command) a starting point to the class.

Third, the teacher's knowledge of the present class and its recent history.

Philosophy for Children classes go through the same sorts of growth spurts and pains as do other groups. Sometimes, for example, as the community matures, it tends to focus on one sort of problem. It may, continuing the example, constantly deal with ethical problems and ignore problems of formal logic. When that happens, the teacher may find it appropriate to suggest starting with a problem of logic--assuming that such a question has been raised as one of those of interest to some member of the community. The teacher, borrowing a term from Neil Postman, has a "thermostatic" function. His/her

task is to monitor the discussions that take place and make sure they become neither too hot nor too cold. Stated another way, it is possible to go overboard on one type of issue, and ignore others. When this happens the teacher can counterbalance things by suggesting this point and not some other.

Finally, the teacher's knowledge of the novel, the teacher's manual, and the history of philosophy.

Harry and all of the novels in the traditional (Lipman) corpus come along with two things: a manual filled with discussion, plans, and exercises that are meant to open up each chapter and facilitate discussion of the issues contained in each chapter, and some training, both graduate and undergraduate, in the history of philosophy. After reading a chapter, one solicits questions from the class, when one asks, then, what they find interesting and what they would like to talk about in the chapter, one is setting an agenda. Typically, in the case of *Harry*, the chapter's agenda, assuming that the class meets twice a week, fifty minutes per session, will be played out over a five to six week period. It should be remembered, however, that even when the agenda is saved, on butcher-block paper or in students' notebooks, it frequently happens that the agenda develops and changes as the community begins discussing things. In the messy real world of classroom discussions, issues of interest frequently become pushed aside or pushed so far down the agenda that they never get discussed. This is not a glaring problem for many of the issues in *Harry*. If agenda item A in chapter one is overlooked, it will recur in chapters three and nine and fourteen. There is still ample opportunity to deal with it. Other items, however, are different. For instance, many of the logical rules are introduced and discussed in single chapters. Thus, if the class does not talk about symmetrical relationships at this point in *Harry*, it will not get another opportunity. Moreover, to the extent that one logical operation is essential to the next, if the class does not talk about the former, it will not be able to discuss the latter. Now, to make judgements like that, the teacher has to be very knowledgeable about the text, the novel, and the tradition. Given that knowledge, the teacher should make some suggestions about the starting point of the agenda.

Imagine for a moment a person almost totally unfamiliar with Philosophy for Children. The person's only exposure to the subject has come in the preceding pages of this paper where she/he has been told something about Matthew Lipman and Philosophy for Children. Our observer knows that given the "homogeneous" tradition (1974-1987), one begins with a philosophic text expressly written for the purpose of generating discussions, the class reads aloud from a

chapter from the text, the teacher gathers questions of interest from the class about the text which generates an agenda for discussion, and then some decision-making procedure is utilized to determine where to start. At this point, then, things are fairly straightforward. Now, however, our observer may begin to experience some difficulties, especially if she/he is the sort of person who likes to have nice, precise directions, because the next thing that occurs is that the community "simply" talks about the question. In order to help our observer, to help her/him deal with the perceived "vagueness" of this step, we will do two things: (1) look at different ways or different models of understanding what Philosophy for Children talk is and (2) remind ourselves of the nature of thinking this is presupposed by the traditional Philosophy for Children materials (*Harry*, especially) and that emerges from talk with students in a Philosophy for Children setting.

Those with a conventional background in philosophy (an undergraduate course in philosophy) tend to look at Philosophy for Children and suppose that things are fairly straightforward, i.e., teachers have been admonished to emulate the character and style of Socrates, and what they are trying to do is to engage their students in a "Socratic" dialogue.

Rosalyn Sherman Lessing was not the first to notice that there is a problem with the admonition to teach Socratically, but she is one of the clearest critics of that admonition (Lessing 1988). Simply put, a negative definition of Socratic teaching, which is defined as "not lecturing," will be of little pedagogical use to the prospective teacher. In a similar vein, to suggest that one exhausts the definition of "Socratic teaching" by means of a stipulation that the Socratic teacher asks questions is to ignore that Socrates asked many different sorts of questions for many different sorts of reasons. If one is to be in a position to imitate Socrates' behavior, especially as it relates to questioning, one must first have a feel for the variety of contexts in which those questions were posed.

To become sensitive to those contexts is to learn, quickly and forcefully, that there is more than one "Socrates" to imitate. The callow youth one meets in the *Parmenides* asks questions that cause Socrates a good deal of discomfort, not to mention throwing suspicion on the entire Theory of the Forms. On the other hand, the mature Socrates we encounter in the *Meno* uses questions to lead the slave boy to a series of "correct" answers that, not coincidentally, lends support to a Platonic doctrine of the recollection of knowledge.

The problem, then, is that discovery in Plato will differ from dialogue to dialogue and that if we are to choose among the discoveries, if we are to figure out

which one to imitate, we must have some criteria in place to make that choice. Presumably, those criteria will be related to the educative worth of the conversation. If that is the case, however, the use of Socrates as a model will be merely heuristic, and we would be as well served by simply listing those criteria. The same, of course, might be said of any existing models that are recommended--that is, in order to recommend them, we must have some criteria in mind.

The difficulty alluded to here was not lost on teacher education in Philosophy for Children during the period in question (1974-1987). It was recognized that at the heart of Philosophy for Children practice was something incredibly vague and hard to define. At the heart of the practice was an admonition, variously stated as, "talk with children," "engage them in dialogue or conversation or in a philosophical discussion," or, most open-ended, "do philosophy with children." Those commands had some cognitive context, but it was not easy to put it into words or reduce it to a neat formula. Instead, "philosophic talk" was modeled over and over again in the education of the prospective Philosophy for Chicago State College's Institute for the Advancement of Philosophy for Children and from 1979, Texas Wesleyan's Analytic Teaching Center, teachers were immersed in Philosophy for Children practice. I.A.P.C. ran **residential** workshops where teachers would meet for three week periods in the summer and read and discuss, say, Harry Stottlemeier's *Discovery* and one or two of the other Lipman novels. The sessions, typically lasting ten hours a day and running six days a week, showed teachers what worked and what didn't work, what were the pitfalls and what were the benefits of this talk that was being recommended. Those sessions, led by Lipman and Sharp, and later by people trained by Lipman and Sharp, made virtually no mention of theory and/or pedagogy. The belief, and it was pragmatic both in the ordinary sense and the philosophic sense, was that we would learn by doing, and that theoretical and pedagogical questions would be answered by practice.¹

Yet, prior to practice, prospective teachers still demanded some sort of theoretical underpinning to the practice. That was provided in large part by four dominant images that Lipman propounded in training sessions during this period. The images were not meant to substitute for practice but were meant to give the teacher a sort of rough glimpse that practice with adults, and later with children, would refine.

The first image, borrowed from psychology, suggested that every discussion and every inquiry had its own specific "gestalt." It had a pattern or texture and was leading in a specific direction. The task of the facilitator of the discussion (the teacher) was to help the

community discover the "gestalt" implicit in the discussion and then to encourage the students to follow the inquiry where it leads.

Another image, closely aligned with the preceding, was that the teacher "facing" the discussion was like a sculptor staring at a block of marble, trying to find the statue hidden in the marble. Just as different blocks of marble would yield different statues, so too different discussions would yield different disclosures. The teacher-sculptor's task was to discover that which was hidden.

A third image was that of the teacher as a sort of conductor of a large and varied orchestra. The conductor is faced with a number of different instruments, each with its own strengths, weaknesses, and limitations. In addition, she/he has a score, a piece of music that is played. Her/his task is to get the orchestra members to work together so that they can make the music that is represented by the markings on the page.

Finally, and although this image did not appear in print until 1992 in Lipman's *Thinking in Education*, it was used on occasion in training sessions at I.A.P.C. and Texas Wesleyan during this time period. Here the teacher was seen as the captain of a sailing ship. Straight-ahead was the port, but the wind was blowing against the ship. The ship must "tack" now to the left, and now to the right in order to get to the port. The teacher in a Philosophy for Children discussion was like that captain, "nudging" the conversation, now to the left, and now to the right in order to bring it to the port that is its conclusion.²

There are a few things that permeate the four images and that tell a good deal about Philosophy for Children practice. The first is that each image (the psychologist, the sculptor, the conductor, the ship's captain), in varying degrees, presents a model that blends craft with art. Each field has its own canons, techniques and each, at times, uses its own algorithmic decision-making procedures. One can, and at times, one must "do" psychology, sculpture, music, and ship-sailing in a mechanical fashion. There are times when it is reasonable to, simply follow the rules.

There are times, however, when a slavish following of the rules would be antithetical to good decision-making, when one must be more artful than craft-like. Paraphrasing G. E. Moore's famous saying, one should proceed by a step-by-step procedure until one is forced to leap. Then one should jump.

To recapitulate, each image suggests a complex model of the Philosophy for Children teacher. The teacher's practice will be informed by knowledge of the rules of her/his craft, but it will not be completely

determined by the rules. Stated another way, complete knowledge of the rules (whatever they may be) will not enable an observer to predict with complete accuracy, the teacher's behavior. The images are all anti-reductionist in the sense that while they all recognize the importance of mechanics, they refuse to equate leading a Philosophy for Children discussion with those mechanics.

The other thing that is worth noting is that while the student's interest determines what is originally talked about, there is more involved in a Philosophy for Children discussion than the more-or-less random following of interest. Just as, to deal with one of the images, the conductor has to be cognizant of the score and get the musicians to follow it, the teacher has to bring the students back to the discussion. That means, of course, that the teacher will have to monitor comments for relevance and, when necessary, gently bring the students back to the topic at hand.

There is one final thing to do in this section and that is to remind ourselves of the complexity of thinking that is presupposed by *Harry*. Philosophy for Children is often mistakenly called a "thinking-skills" program. Especially when people become aware of the formal logic component of *Harry*, they assume that by teaching children some rules of reasoning, the assumption is being made that thinking is being reduced to a set of skills, like bicycle riding or needlepoint, that can be improved by drill and repetition. A quick glance at *Harry* and at the manual (*Philosophical Inquiry*) that accompanies *Harry* should be sufficient to show that assumption is not justified. In *Harry*, every time that a logical rule is learned it comes with a caveat attached, almost like the warning on a package of cigarettes. Consider, for example, this exchange that occurs early on in *Harry*:

"I mean," said Harry, "your father said, 'All engineers are good in math,' right? but that's one of those sentences which can't be turned around. So it doesn't follow that all people who're good in math are engineers. And I'm sure that's so. I'm sure that there are lots of doctors who're good in math, and airplane pilots who're good in math, and all sorts of

other people who aren't engineers who're good in math. So it doesn't follow that just because you're good in math, you have to be an engineer!"

Tony said, "That's right! Even if its true that all engineers are good in math, it doesn't follow that only engineers are good in math." He stood up, gave Harry a snappy salute, and raced off home.

Harry decided to try the monkey bars a while before going home. He had a feeling that Tony's father wouldn't be too much impressed with Tony's new argument. But at least he'd gotten Tony to see that the idea had some use. With that thought, Harry put the matter out of his mind, and tried a new trick on the jungle gym. (Lipman, 1985)

Consider also that Lisa, the character who may be most directly responsible for the development of the formal logic in *Harry*, is perhaps the least analytical, the least methodological, the most intuitive character in the book. Indeed, by the end of the book, Lisa has serious doubts about any attempt to reduce thinking to a set of mechanical skills.

The point, then, that becomes clear when one looks at the traditional corpus (Lipman's novels) along with the manuals that occupy them and when one recalls the style and the extent of education in Philosophy for Children 1974-1987, is that thinking itself is complex. Anticipating the current fascination with multiple intelligences, Lipman recognized the fact that there was no such thing as intelligence defined as a single quality of mind which could be enhanced by a single methodology. Thinking, from the inception of Philosophy for Children was conceived of as having cognitive, affective, visual, mechanical, intuitive, aesthetic, ethical, and logical characteristics. To enhance thinking, in effect, was to attempt to deal with all of those qualities.

Complex problems, in this case the enhancement of thinking, do not always generate complex solutions. In this case, however, they did. What was required was a philosophically rich text that could be discussed in philosophically rich and provocative ways.

In conclusion, we hope there will continue to be an increase in the number of professionals interested in examining the ideas expressed in "My Pedagogic Creed." For those who are interested in pursuing the possibilities for establishing communities of inquiry, Philosophy for Children merits sincere review.

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Notes

1. During the period 1979-1980, the author attended and/or conducted over thirty I.A.P.C. workshops.
2. The four metaphors are derived from workshop practice.

The Philosophy for Children novels and accompanying manuals are published by the Institute for the Advancement of Philosophy for Children, Montclair State College, Upper Montclair, NJ, 07043.

Matthew Lipman has provided, through his "Philosophy for Children" program, an approach for establishing a true community of inquiry within the classroom setting--one in which both teachers and students feel free to explore ideas and, yes, even to make mistakes.

C. VANN WOODWARD: CHANGES IN SOUTHERN HISTORY

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It has now been forty years since the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of the Supreme Court declared that, "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."¹ To say that the society has changed in those decades is obviously an understatement. Shortly afterwards, a second event important to historians and students of this society was the publication of *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* by C. Vann Woodward which subjected Southern racial segregation to historical analysis beginning with the assumption that segregation and discrimination were not inevitable consequences of the events of Southern History. This book augmented, in several ways, his 1951 books, *The Origins of the New South* and *Reunion and Reaction*.²

C. Vann Woodward is a prolific historian whose work has become the starting point for much of the scholarship on the South. Michael O'Brien wrote in a 1973 article,

"Just as Frederick Jackson Turner pre-empted a generation of scholarship, Woodward is the only Southern historian of recent years to have come close to fashioning the discipline in his own image. His version of the Compromise of 1877, his conception of the Redeemer regimes, his account of the New South movement, Populism, and the rise of segregation have become the conventional wisdom. Historians may move to agree or disagree, but it is a tribute to his stature that one must begin with Woodward if the effort is to ring true. Woodward "... fashioned the most compelling image of the American South offered by his generation."³

John H. Roper called Woodward,
... a peculiar blend of activism with detachment, of radical egalitarianism with aristocratic provenance, or profound localism with universal concerns. (But even with such a blending (of) seemingly disparate and even contradictory elements in his character (he created) imaginative scholarship which could be, and generally was used for political ends (based on the assumption that) American history was a story of conflict and not consensus.⁴

And James R. Green said that,

By 1951, three Woodward books: *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel*, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, and *Origins of the New South 1877-1913*, had demolished Old South romance and New South optimism. In so doing, Woodward inspired a subsequent generation of historians of the South to rewrite and retrieve our past."⁵

What has made Woodward such an institution in the history of the South? How has his scholarship survived the storms of determinism, progressivism, continuity, consensus, racism, and elitism? What is left for the rebel or dissident historian to do? What are the compelling and provocative issues of the present? Some of the answers to these questions and others form the reason for this paper.

Any consideration of Woodward as a scholar must also include his background as a Southerner. I include here a brief biographical sketch to provide some of the essential facts of C. Vann Woodward's life.

Comer Vann Woodward was born in Vanndale, Arkansas in 1908. His mother was a member of one of that town's leading families and his father was the school superintendent. His name came from an uncle, Comer Woodward, who was Professor of Sociology at Southern Methodist University and at Emory University. Vann shared more than a name with his uncle. Comer became his model.⁶

School superintendents then as now tended to move from smaller districts to larger ones and the Woodwards were no exception. By the time Vann graduated from high school the family was living in Morilton, Arkansas near the center of the state. Vann matriculated at Henderson and Clark College, a small Methodist school in Arkadelphia. The Woodward family was active in the Methodist Church and helped support the Arkadelphia college.

In 1928, Vann transferred to Emory University to complete a Bachelor's degree in philosophy then went to Columbia University for a Master's Degree in Political Science. After taking a job teaching Freshman English at Georgia Tech, he spent the summer of 1932 in Europe with his most important experiences in the Soviet Union where the Scottsboro case was the primary topic of discussion.

At Georgia Tech, professor Woodward became involved in the case of a communist organizer, Angelo Herndon, who was charged, tried, and sentenced to

death for insurrection for speaking at a protest of the economic policies of the city of Atlanta, the elimination of food relief for the unemployed masses. Herndon eventually won an appeal in the United States Supreme Court and Woodward received an education in the politics of left coalitions, being elevated for a time to the chair of the defense committee.

Another lesson Woodward learned was that academic positions have their limits. He was pressured by the president of the university to leave the committee, then he was terminated along with about thirty other young faculty in what was said to be what we now call a downsizing of the faculty. Woodward was even forced to sue the university to recover back pay.

To survive, Woodward took a WPA job investigating living conditions in rural Georgia and also began a book project about Southern demagogues to be named *Seven for Demos*. After some research, Woodward settled on a more modest subject, the Georgia politician and demagogue, Tom Watson.

In 1934, Woodward went to the University of North Carolina with a grant and a dissertation topic. The grant from the Rockefeller Foundation was arranged by a family friend and UNC sociologist, Howard Odum. The dissertation topic was the subject of his proposed book, *Tom Watson*. The papers of Tom Watson were housed on the campus. Woodward's work was directed by Howard Beale.

After receiving his Ph.D. in 1937, Woodward went to the University of Florida. *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* was published in 1938. In 1940, Woodward took a job at Scripps College in Southern California but spent his summers at the Library of Congress where he became friends with John Hope Franklin. In 1943 he was commissioned in the navy serving as a historian. One of his navy projects, *The Battle for Leyte Gulf*, was published in 1947.

Woodward went to Johns Hopkins University as professor of history in 1946. While at Johns Hopkins, two of his important books were completed and published. As mentioned above, *Origins of the New South*, one volume of a multi volume history of the South and *Reunion and Reaction* concerning the end of Reconstruction were both published in 1951.

By 1952 Woodward was also working as an investigator for the Chief Counsel for the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall. He prepared a historical background for the Supreme Court brief in the *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* case. Woodward's most widely read book, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, which was based on his 1954 James W. Richard Lectures delivered at the University of Virginia and, perhaps, on the research he had done for the *Brown*

case, was published in 1955.

In 1961, Woodward was named Sterling Professor of History at Yale. During his tenure at Yale and after, he gained emeritus status in 1978, Woodward concentrated on essays and review commentaries and participated in the writing of the popular textbook, *The National Experience: A History of the United States*.

In an effort to satisfy my desire to understand the place of Woodward in Southern historiography and to try to answer some of the questions submitted above, I have made an effort identify some of the qualities of Woodward's work that have helped it to endure for more than five decades. The following discussion of the different characteristics evident in the works by and about Woodward is related, I believe, not only to his belief in change as opposed to continuity in Southern history, but also to his personal qualities and his professional skills. In enumerating those characteristics that I will discuss, I would list first, his view of history being based on change instead of continuity. Second, his dissidence and liberalism were important personal qualities that influenced his work. Third, the importance he placed on the Southern populist tradition is visible in his writing. Fourth, Woodward viewed the South from a colonial perspective long before such a perspective came into popular use. Fifth, he uses class analysis and studies hegemonic relationships in Southern society. Sixth, his analysis of race relations, segregation, and Jim Crow laws indicates his willingness to take on all aspects of Southern life. Seventh, Woodward uses irony to indicate the capricious nature of human behavior. Eighth, he views the identity of Southerners and the development of their society as unique. Ninth, he has the idea that the history of the South has distinct lessons for the nation, and Tenth, that history is usable in dealing with the present.

Obviously, there is no intent here to prioritize these qualities though I will admit to my own preferences. In some works it is easier to see some of these traits at work than others but I believe that most of Woodward's works contain most of these traits.

Among the qualities in Woodward's work that most appealed to me, none seemed to be more important or more basic than his propensity for dissent. As a dissident, he has acted both personally and professionally to combat the status quo. This quality of dissent perhaps preceded, but certainly arguments his self-proclaimed populism and the liberalism which, in his youth in the South, meant the pursuit of equality for black people.⁷

Woodward has also been known to subject himself to investigation. He found that he himself shared, at one time, the common illusion that since he "had grown up

with Black people all around, and since they were always there, ... (he) was already familiar with them and their problems." But he soon came to realize that what he was "familiar with was one side of the universally prevailing system of racial subordination the white side and white attitudes."⁸ The more general experience would have limited his contacts and deprived him of his questioning nature which was to eventually lead to his challenge of the existing Southern historiography.

Woodward made an effort to make friends with members of the African-American community. He participated, as mentioned above, in the defense of Angelo Herndon. Later, Woodward, among others, was responsible for the Southern History Association's 1949 invitation to John Hope Franklin to deliver a paper at the Southern History Association's meeting on the campus of the College of William and Mary.

Woodward perceived, through his research, that the internal struggle of Southern society was rooted in economic and class hegemony. He reasoned that the class that seized power in the South after the overthrow of the Reconstruction regime was neither the old planter oligarchy nor the small farmer. It was the rising class of capitalists, who wrapped themselves in the confederate flag and offered prayers at the shrine of the Old Order. Woodward saw that the agrarian view had not really been dominant in either the Old South or the New ... the conflict was far more than a rivalry between those who looked to the past and those who looked to the future.⁹

Although Woodward's first book and his dissertation began with the assumption that Tom Watson was nothing more than a racist demagogue worthy of his criticism, Woodward discovered Populism and another Tom Watson, "a voice of courageous dissent in the Populist period."¹⁰

This discovery of Populism confirmed Woodward's rejection of the then prevalent historiography of Southern social continuity. In place of the assumption of social continuity in Southern history, Woodward developed a thesis of discontinuity and change based, to some extent on a class analysis model similar to the work of Charles Beard and a rejection of the racist interpretation of Reconstruction which had been discredited by the work of W. E. B. DuBois.

As a result of Woodward's change theory-based research, the thesis of the South as a colonial economy became the basis of his *Origins of the New South*. While rejecting any kind of conspiracy theory, Woodward found that a system of mutual self interest worked to concentrate economic power in the Northeast while supporting the hegemony of the Southern ruling class. *Reunion and Reaction* developed the idea of the interlocked nature of the economics of the South

supported by northern capital with the political leadership that made the Compromise of 1877 possible. This was a break with the then-prevalent view of Reconstruction "as betrayal, humiliation and horror" and the "flattering image of redemption, the once-divided whites rallied around their old Confederate captains, put aside all differences, and became a solid South-- one in politics, one in credo, and one in all matters of race."¹¹

The hegemony of the capitalist class in the cloak of the Lost Cause was supported by the Northern capital imperialists and based on the co-opting of the ruled classes through the means of racial divisiveness and hatred through the mechanisms of Jim Crow laws and disfranchisement.

The Strange Career of Jim Crow, published in 1955, analyzed the development of segregated race relations and especially the possibility that other alternatives had presented themselves but had not been implemented. Woodward showed that the racial segregation so prevalent in the 1950s was more a product of turn--of--the-century attitudes than either the era of Reconstruction, the Black Codes era of the end of slavery, or the ante bellum practice of slavery.

Woodward also found it ironic that an unanticipated outcome of segregation was the development of the middle class and professional classes in the African-American community. Of course, he later commented on the problems for those classes once Jim Crow and segregation lost its legal status.

Also ironic in the long history of segregation was the profound significance of the role of law which, "rigidified practice, eliminated exceptions, and applied to all on the basis of race alone-- race perceived by any whites. The new laws took no account of status, class, or behavior of blacks but applied to all alike. The Jim Crow laws put the authority of the state or city in the voice of the streetcar conductor, the railway brakeman, the bus driver, the theater usher, and also in the voice of the hoodlum ..."¹²

The use of irony became common in Woodward's writing of the 1960s and 1970s. He observed that the use of irony in the historians craft is not easy, for "he must be able to appreciate both elements in the incongruity that goes to make up the ironic situation, both the virtue and the vice to which pretensions of virtue lead. He must not be so hostile as to deny the element of virtue or strength on the one side, nor so sympathetic as to ignore the vanity and weakness to which the virtue and strength have contributed."¹³

Woodward's historical philosophy is concerned primarily with the relation of history to society's understanding of itself. A sense of history involves an awareness of the tragic aspects of life which lie beyond

human control. History is incomplete without the dimension of human error and disaster following from error.¹⁴

One of Woodward's aspirations has been to provide a usable history that seeks to be relevant to the present. Woodward has made himself the foremost practitioner of a concept of history which holds that the experience of the past can find its highest relevance in the guidance which it offers in living with the problems of the present.¹⁵

The theme of reinterpretation or revision has been a recurring one for Woodward. In 1960, he analyzed three fields for reinterpretation, "the first occasioned by the end of the age of free and effective security in America, the second by the end of an age of mass warfare, and the third by the end of European hegemony."¹⁶ His thesis was that "these developments will and should raise new questions about the past and affect our reading of large areas of history . . ." ¹⁷

The historian plays the role of intermediary between the experience of men in the past and the understanding of men of the future. The rapidity of change in modern society affects our perspective upon the past. It is not enough for the historian to understand the past; he must also interpret it to those who live in the present. The accelerated process of historical change gives a peculiar urgency to the public demand for answers to questions about the past and its relation to the present and future.

Woodward's strong conviction is that history should speak to the present. Our image of the past is the product of historians rather than of history. The past might serve

to remind us that ideological dogmatism could separate a society from its friends and could impair the realism of the society itself. As Robert Westbrook said, "Woodward turns to history as a moralist, searching for a Southern past that can be raised to the level of an ethical precept."¹⁸ This indicates Woodward's more Kantian perspective on history that seeks guidance for the present and a basis for ethical social behavior.

Throughout Woodward's work, this Kantian model can be seen. It seems as if Woodward believed that there was a categorical imperative to be found in the history of the South. It could certainly be concluded that Woodward, by favoring the ironic and inconsistent in history and refusing to accept the inevitability of events resulting from one set of decisions that were made as opposed to another and the opportunities for change lost through that decision making process, rejects Hegelian ideas of an underlying order to history, or a rational process in the development of human societies.

Woodward has announced himself to be "the last living populist."¹⁹ "According to Populist doctrine, labor was the source of all values, and work was to be productive and have social meaning. Productive labor was the index to the health of a society. Farmers and laborers were producers, merchants, bankers, monopolists, and speculators exploited industrious farmers and laborers, did not do socially useful work but served only selfish ends."²⁰ Woodward certainly did not want to fall into the category of producing no socially useful work. Woodward's history is nothing if not socially useful.

ENDNOTES

- 1 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347US486.
- 2 C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. *The Origins of the New South*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951. *Reunion and Reaction*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1951.
- 3 Michael O'Brien, "C. Vann Woodward and the Burden of Southern Liberalism," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 3, June 73, p. 589.
- 4 John H. Roper, *C. Vann Woodward: Southerner*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987, pp 2-5.
- 5 James R. Green, "Rewriting Southern History: An Interview With C. Vann Woodward," *Southern Exposure*, Vol. 12, Nov./Dec. 1984, p. 87.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p.87.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

- 8 C. Vann Woodward, "Time and Place," *Southern Review*, Volume 22, Jan. 1986, pp. 4-5.
- 9 David M. Potter, "C. Vann Woodward," in *Past Masters*, edited by Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks, NY: Harper & Row, 1969, p. 380.
- 10 James R. Green, "Rewriting Southern History," p. 88.
- 11 C. Vann Woodward, *Thinking Back*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985, p. 64.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 93.
- 13 C. Vann Woodward, "The Irony of Southern History," in *The Burden of Southern History*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960, pp. 193-194.
- 14 *Ibid.* 385.
- 15 David M. Potter, "C. Vann Woodward," p. 407.
- 16 C. Vann Woodward, "The Age of Reinterpretation," *The American Historical Review*, Volume LXVI, Number 1, October, 1960, p. 16.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 18 Robert B. Westbrook, "C. Vann Woodward: The Southerner as Liberal Realist," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXVII (1978), pp. 60.
- 19 John H. Roper, *C. Vann Woodward*, p. 292.
- 20 C. Vann Woodward, *Point Counterpoint*, p. 23.