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JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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David Snelgrove, Editor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1. WEEDS IN FROEBEL'S GARDEN: NCLB AND EARLY CHILDHOOD MISEDUCATION**
Mary Williams Aylor, Central Michigan State University
- 7. DERISION FOR THE YOUNG FEMALE IN TODAY'S MODERN SCHOOL?**
Tiffany Ballard, Oklahoma State University
- 12. THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF PUBLIC EDUCATION: REFLECTIONS ON GUTMANN'S DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION**
Mike Boone, Texas State University, San Marcos
- 18. AMERICAN PRAGMATISM AND ROBERT PIRSIG'S METAPHYSICS OF QUALITY**
Douglas R. Davis Georgia State University
- 25. JOHN MACMURRAY, PERSONS AND COMMUNITY, AND EDUCATION**
O. L., Davis, Jr., University of Texas
- 31. THOUGHTS ON WRITING AN INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY**
William E. Davis, , University of New Mexico
- 36. MATTHEW ARNOLD AND JOHN DEWEY**
Mark Dietz, University of Texas
- 51. GREEK PHILOSOPHICAL ORIGINS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**
Lee Duemer, Texas Tech University
- 56. THE US SUPREME COURT AND THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE OF AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION**
Charles Fazzaro, University of Missouri St. Louis
- 62. WALLS TO WINDOWS: EXPLORING AMERICAN AND CHINESE NOTIONS OF CHANGE AND COLLABORATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY**
Clydia Forehand, University of Oklahoma
- 70. A BEHAVIOR INTERVENTION PLAN THROUGH FOUCAULT'S LENS**
Dana Moore Gray, Oklahoma State University
- 75. TEACHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE**
Taiebeh Hosseinali, University of Illinois at Springfield
- 78. CONFRONTING MODERNIST MISEDUCATION: A FRAMEWORK FOR CRITICAL REFLECTION**
Neil Houser, University of Oklahoma

JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF EDUCATION

VOLUME 57, 2007

David Snelgrove, Editor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

83. **CONFUCIAN THOUGHT: A HUMANIST PHILOSOPHY FOR THE TEACHER AS CONTINUING LEARNER**
Don Hufford, Newman University
91. **LEARNING STYLES: ALL SMOKE AND MIRRORS**
Stan Ivie, Texas Woman's University
97. **CULTURAL HYBRIDITY: PRESCHOOL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OF LATINO IMMIGRANTS**
Diana Lynd, University of Oklahoma,
101. **VIOLENCE, HABITS, AND THE WAYS OF PRACTICAL MEN**
Marsha Little Matthews, , University of Texas, Tyler
105. **GARLAND GODFREY'S CRUSADE FOR CHANGE AT CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE**
Molly Mirll, , University of Central Oklahoma
112. **NORMALIZING STRUCTURES, REBELLIOUS DELINQUENTS: A FOUCAULDEAN READING OF THE BOOK CLUB EXPERIENCE IN A HIGH SCHOOL IN THE MIDWEST**
Abdullah Modhesh, Oklahoma State University
117. **THE MAKING OF A PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR: THE SWEDISH CONNECTION**
Linda Morice, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville,
124. **TORNADOS ARE SWIRLING: IMPLEMENTING GAMES FOR THE DIGITAL NATIVES**
Ralph Olliges, Webster University
128. **THE AMERICAN'S WITH DISABILITIES ACT: A HISTORY OF RIGHTS**
Mary Ramey, University of Arkansas
136. **CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND CHEROKEE TRIBAL MEMBERSHIP**
Teresa A. Rendon, University of Oklahoma
141. **VIRGINIA WOLF MEETS GAYLORD FOCKER: (RE)-VISITING GENDERED OCCUPATIONS THROUGH FOR AN OUTSIDER CLASS**
Donna Sayman, Oklahoma State University
146. **NCLB: CATALYST FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE OR BULLY PULPIT**
Jerry Siegrist, Valdosta State University and Jim Van Patten, University of Arkansas,
158. **CONSUMER EDUCATION: ITS IMPORTANCE YESTERDAY AND TODAY**
Vanessa Sikes, University of Texas

JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF EDUCATION

VOLUME 57, 2007

David Snelgrove, Editor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 161. NORMAL SCHOOLS AND LABORATORY SCHOOLS: EGALITARIAN EDUCATION**
David Snelgrove, University of Central Oklahoma
- 167. DEWEY TALKS TO TEACHERS**
Sam Stack, University of West Virginia and Douglas Simpson, Texas Tech University
- 170. www.SUPERINTENDENTS**
Lu Stephens, San Angelo State University
- 173. DEWEY'S ARGUMENT FOR TEACHING HISTORY"**
George Stone, University of the Ozarks
- 185. LIVING IN A WORLD OF NOT**
Jim Swartz, Miami University of Ohio
- 191. GEORGE I. SANCHEZ: THE PIONEER IN MEXICAN AMERICAN RIGHTS**
Martha Tevis, University of Texas, Pan American
- 206. NOT "MERELY TOLD": TEACHING DEWEY THROUGH A COLLABORATIVELY
CREATED WEB SITE**
Peter A. Theodore, and L. Bill Searcy, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
- 210. CULTURE WARS**
Jim Van Patten, University of Arkansas and Jerry Siegrist, Valdosta State University
- 213. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INQUIRIES ON AMERICAN EDUCATION BEFORE 1600**
Donald Warren, Indiana University
- 219. GETTING STARTED WITH SCHOOL – UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS**
Cindy Wilson, Indiana University, Springfield and Brian Kahn, Elmhurst College

WEEDS IN FROEBEL'S GARDEN: NCLB AND EARLY CHILDHOOD MISEDUCATION

Mary Williams Aylor, Central Michigan University

“All reforms which rest simply upon the enactment of law, or the threatening of certain penalties, or upon changes in mechanical or outward arrangements are transitory and futile.” John Dewey, 1897

Early childhood education, the education of children from birth through age eight, has a long and rich history. Tracing its roots back to Comenius (Browne and Gordon, 2008), early childhood education has reflected his belief that the process of early education should be pleasant in nature and based upon the unique characteristics and needs of young children. Open to all children, early childhood programs have focused on the active involvement of children in sensory and concrete learning activities appropriate to their level of development. Such programs allowed children time to grow and to learn from the general to the specific and from the simple to the complex.

Drawing from Rousseau (Noll and Kelly, 1970), the budding field of early childhood education developed in ways that demonstrated respect for childhood itself. Programs for early education focused on creating safe and positive environments for learning where children were encouraged to develop according to their own timetable and to pursue, at least to some degree, their own interests, reflecting Rousseau's notions of the importance of maturation as well as freedom.

With Froebel's development of the kindergarten, early childhood education began to flower. The kindergarten, as its name proclaims, was designed as a children's garden (Browne and Gordon, 2008). In the kindergarten, children were to grow in love and in knowledge of themselves and the world around them as they worked with Froebel's gifts (manipulative materials) and engaged in his occupations (tasks such as cutting, lacing, etc.). When the kindergarten came to the United States it largely retained Froebel's emphasis on social and language development through play, music, games, songs, and the use of manipulative materials.

Montessori's success in working with young children reinforced the belief in the need for children's active participation in the learning process, as well as the notion that young children should have opportunities to make choices about the work in which they wished to engage. Her concept of the absorbent mind focused attention on the need for the classroom to be a prepared environment in which the child could find all that was necessary to meet his/her growing and changing needs (Montessori, 1912).

Dewey, too, contributed to the rapidly developing

field of early childhood education with his view of the learner as the starting point and the importance of the sociological aspects of education (Dewey, 1897). Early childhood classrooms and curricula expanded to include opportunities to learn about the communities in which children existed and the people, places, and things that made up that community. Indeed, early childhood education programs, more than elementary school programs, fostered the development of the whole child and the development of communities of learners rather than classrooms full of children.

Obviously the field of early childhood education continued to grow as the work and theories of others were incorporated (Browne and Gordon, 2008). Piaget and Vygotsky added support to the ideas that influenced the initial development of the field in their theories that children must construct their own knowledge through active engagement with people and objects in their environment. Erikson's and Maslow's theories reinforced those early notions of the importance of providing safe and supportive environments for young children and of considering the whole child and his/her basic needs. And so, from seeds to roots to flower, early childhood education unfolded as a field rich in history, tradition, and theory.

Early childhood education remained as a relatively stress-free, play-based process until the late 1960s. According to Elkind (1987), it began to lose its innocence when research findings pointed to the effectiveness of Head Start in raising IQ scores, improving attitudes about schooling, and reducing drop outs. Gradually, parents began to demand more academic programs for their young children. After all, they reasoned, if low-income, disadvantaged children could gain IQ points through early education, it would be equally effective, if not more effective, for other children. Other phenomena such as litigation against schools whose graduates couldn't read and the publication of *A Nation at Risk* (1979) resulted in the escalation of the curriculum and increased achievement expectations. Consequently, the curriculum and methods previously used in the elementary grades were pushed down into the primary grades and kindergarten.

Given increasingly inappropriate standards, expectations of what in-coming first-graders should

know and be able to do changed dramatically. Not surprisingly, first-grade teachers began to complain that many children weren't ready for first-grade. They were right! Many normal, average children weren't ready for what first-grade had become. In truth, first-grade wasn't ready for average children.

Rather than admit that the problem had more to do with inappropriate curricula, methods, and expectations than with children's "readiness," and bowing to pressure to raise standards, schools resorted to testing to determine who was ready for kindergarten. On the basis of test scores, often from fatally flawed or inappropriate tests, children were admitted to kindergarten or to some bastardized program such as "young fives" or "developmental kindergarten," or denied admission to any program ... euphemistically referred to as "a gift of time" (Shepard and Smith, 2002). Utter insanity ensued! Parents, wanting to give their children a better start at school success, began engaging in academic red-shirting, holding their children out of school for an additional year. Schools created a host of additional extra year programs such as transitional first-grade, K-1, and pre-first grade. Regardless of what they were called, they all boiled down to the same thing: retention.

Gradually, research findings began to point to the ineffectiveness of such extra year programs. Many schools abandoned the use of readiness tests and went back to using a birth-date cutoff to determine eligibility for kindergarten admission. Some raised the entrance age, an ineffective vehicle for raising achievement. Other schools implemented more effective and more appropriate structures for early childhood education such as looping where teacher and students remain together for two or more years or multi age programs. A number of schools introduced programs like Reading Recovery and First Steps which had been shown to have positive effects on literacy development. The National Association for the Education of Young Children issued a policy statement on developmentally appropriate practice and early childhood education appeared to be getting back on track.

Unfortunately, the attempted return to effective early childhood education was short-lived. The weeds in Froebel's Garden, *No Child Left Behind* and its implementation, are choking out developmentally appropriate early childhood education as well as the joy of learning. A recent *Newsweek* article entitled "The New First Grade: Too Much Too Soon" (Tyre, 2006) tells the story of Ashlyn, a bright five-year-old who wasn't measuring up to the tasks in kindergarten. In spite of repeated testing, she couldn't master the 130 word reading list or cope with writing the weekly

homework essays.

Kindergarten retention and academic red-shirting are increasing at an alarming rate (Hong & Raudenbush, 2005). The National Center for Education Statistics reports that academic red-shirting occurs at the rate of about nine per cent per year among kindergarten-age children. In a national survey, teachers indicated that 48 per cent of their students weren't ready for the current kindergarten curriculum ... they lacked important skills like following directions, academic skills, and the ability to work independently. The research findings on red-shirting to date are equivocal, but evidence suggests that some benefits of red-shirting are short-lived and may, in the long term, be disadvantageous (Hong & Raudenbush, 2005).

Research findings related to the effects of kindergarten retention indicate that promoted children, even poorly performing children, display better outcomes than similar students who are retained. Evidence indicates that retained children would have learned more had they been promoted. "Kindergarten retention ... leaves most retainees even further behind, and, therefore, impedes these children's cognitive development over the retention year. Rather than forcing these children to restart from the very beginning, exposing them to meaningful intellectual challenges on a continual basis is perhaps developmentally more appropriate" (Hong & Raudenbush, 2005, p 220-221).

Additional research findings are also beginning to identify the long-term effects of various pre-school models and later school success. "By the end of fifth grade, children whose preschool experiences had been academically directed earned significantly lower grades compared to children who had attended child-initiated preschool classes.... Their progress may have been slowed by overly academic preschool experiences that introduced formalized learning experiences too early for most children's developmental status" (Marcon, 2000, p 1). Marcon concluded that, "Children's later school success appears to be enhanced by more active, child-initiated learning experiences.... Pushing children too soon may actually backfire when children move into the later elementary school grades and are required to think ore independently and take on greater responsibility for their own learning process" (pp 19-20).

The primary component of NCLB related to the education of young children is Reading First. Even before the release of the Inspector General's scathing report on Reading First in late September, 2006, it was clear to anyone who had taken the time to look that this program had little or nothing to do with increasing the reading achievement of young children. Rather, it

appeared to be a boon for the publishers of specific reading programs and materials.

The relationship between the Bush family and the McGraw (of McGraw-Hill) family dates back to the 1930s and is discussed in an article by Metcalf (2002). Harold McGraw, Jr. is on the board of the national grant advisory board of Barbara Bush's Foundation for Family Literacy. The McGraw Foundation presented former US Secretary of Education Ron Paige its highest educator's award when Paige was Houston's Superintendent of Education. Paige was the keynote speaker at McGraw-Hill's "government initiatives" conference in 2002. Harold McGraw III was a member of President Bush's transition advisory team. An ex-Chief of Staff for Barbara Bush returned to work for Laura Bush after a stint with McGraw-Hill as a media relations executive. John Negraponte left McGraw-Hill when President Bush appointed him as ambassador to the United Nations. The wife of Chris Doherty, former Director of Reading First, is employed by McGraw-Hill as an educator for its Direct Instruction program.

As Governor of Texas, George W. Bush invited a small group of "reading experts," the majority of which were associated with McGraw-Hill, to testify about what would constitute a "scientifically valid" reading curriculum for Texas school children. According to Richard Allington, "Like ants at a picnic ... they wrote statements of principles for the Texas Education Agency, advised on the development of the reading curriculum framework, and helped shape the State Board of Education's call for new reading textbooks. Not surprisingly, the 'research' was presented as supporting McGraw-Hill's products." Equally unsurprising, McGraw-Hill captured a dominant share of the lucrative Texas textbook market.

When George W. Bush assumed the Presidency of the United States the connections with McGraw-Hill continued (Metcalf, 2002). The National Reading Panel was assembled to "determine the status of research-based knowledge, including the effectiveness of various approaches to teaching children to read." The National Reading Panel claimed to have screened more than 100,000 studies of reading (a number challenged by many experts in the field of reading) and found that the most effective course of reading instruction includes explicit and systematic instruction in phonemic awareness and phonics. So what's the problem?

For starters, the National Reading Panel's recommendations were based on only 38 studies and experts in reading question their relevance. The NRP cited only three studies that indicated that phonics instruction had a significant impact on reading

comprehension. One of these studies was conducted in Finland, one in Spain, and the third compared phonics to placing words and pictures into categories. Stephen Krashen, a reading researcher, has complained that the NRP misrepresented his research and is rife with errors.

Another problem with the NRP was the inclusion of individuals with ties to a particular publisher of reading instructional materials, i.e., McGraw-Hill. Further, the NRP recommendations promoted a very narrow view of the essential components of reading instruction and did not deal at all with factors such as motivation, socioeconomic status, previous experience, etc.

Finally, Elaine Garan, a professor of reading at California State University at Fresno, found "wide discrepancies between what was reported to the public and what the NRP actually found. While the summary proclaimed that systematic phonics instruction produces significant benefits for students in kindergarten through sixth-grade, the report itself said there were insufficient data to draw any conclusions about the effects of phonics instruction with normally developing readers above first-grade."

Nevertheless, the public relations firm hired by the government to promote the NRP's work, the same firm that represented McGraw-Hill's *Open Court Reading Program* during the Texas literacy drive and that still represents McGraw-Hill, wrote the introduction to NRP's final report, the summary of the report, and prepared the video and press releases. Not surprisingly, McGraw-Hill products have been widely adopted on the basis of their purported scientific validity.

Reading First grew out of the NRP's work. Christopher Doherty was named Director of the program and its billion dollar a year budget. As Head of the Baltimore Curriculum Project, Doherty brought *DISTAR*, published by McGraw-Hill to Baltimore's public schools.

Schools struggling to meet the demands of NCLB jumped at the chance to apply for Reading First grants. Those that received the grants, as well as many that didn't, changed their approaches to early literacy instruction to what the NRP and Reading First considered "scientifically valid" approaches. Reading aloud to children, known to be the most important factor in promoting reading readiness, increasing children's vocabularies, fostering concept development, familiarizing children with story structure and book language and concepts of print has been replaced with a focus on *DIEBELS: Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills* (Goodman, 2006). Gone is Comenius' notion of "whole language." Gone are *Reading Recovery* and *First Steps* and *Success for All*, programs

that have been shown to increase reading achievement but which take more time and aren't easily measured by standardized tests of language fragments. Gone are language experience stories, invented spelling that eases children into writing. Gone are the excitement and joy of becoming readers. Young children now worry about failing the tests, being retained, and embarrassing their schools (LaCoste-Caputo and Russell, 2006). Gone, too, is the excitement and enthusiasm of early childhood educators who know they are violating every principle of developmentally appropriate practice and best practice in reading instruction yet feel powerless to change the situation. In the climate of NCLB, teachers who disagree with the outcomes of the NRP or Reading First are labeled anti-literacy, just as opponents of the war in Iraq are labeled pro-terrorist.

But perhaps winds of change may be in the air. Some schools that accepted Reading First funds have decided to opt out. While that is good news for at least a small number of children and teachers, the findings of the Inspector General (2006) related to Reading First and the selection of a new reading panel to review the results to-date of the outcomes of the NRP's efforts may lead to much needed change. Even before the Inspector General's report was released, two publishers of reading instructional materials attempted lawsuits on the basis of their belief that Reading First had caused some school districts to discontinue using their programs in favor of "more scientifically valid" phonics programs. These publishers also believed that their materials were discriminated against in the awarding of Reading First grants. Although these suits were dismissed, the findings of the Inspector General lend credence to the publishers' claims and new suits have been initiated.

In brief, the Inspector General's report found that the Department of Education:

developed an application package that obscured the requirements of the statute;

- took action with respect to the expert review panel process that was contrary to the balanced panel composition envisioned by Congress;
- intervened to release an assessment review document without the permission of the entity that contracted for the development of the document;
- intervened to influence a State's selection of reading programs; and
- intervened to influence reading programs being used by local education agencies after the application process was completed.

An e-mail cited in the Inspector General's report from then Director of Reading First Christopher Doherty

urged staff members to make it clear to one company that it was not favored by the Department of Education. "They are trying to crash our party and we need to beat the **** out of them in front of all the other would-be party crashers who are standing on the front lawn to see how we welcome these dirtbags" (p. 24). It should be noted that the abuses cited in the report occurred during Rod Paige's tenure as Secretary of Education. The relationships between Paige and Doherty with McGraw-Hill have already been established.

The report also cites the fact that some (6) of the review panelists had conflicts of interest, i.e. they "had significant ties to a teaching methodology that requires the use of specific reading programs." An e-mail from the Assistant Secretary for OESE clearly indicates the intention to prevent a specific program from use in Reading First programs. "... I'd like not to say 'this must include early intervention and reading remediation materials' which I think could be read as 'reading recovery' even if it says this in the law, I'd like it taken out" (p. 15).

The Reading First Director personally nominated three individuals with significant ties to *Direct Instruction*, a product of McGraw-Hill. When Baltimore City public school officials expressed concern about the connection between some panelists and *Direct Instruction*, Doherty replied, "you know the line from Casablanca, 'I am shocked that there's gambling going on in this establishment!' Well, I am shocked that there are pro-DI people on this panel!" (p. 18). Given these and other examples of a cavalier attitude toward fairness, the Inspector General concluded that the actions of program officials demonstrated a lack of integrity and ethical values that created a control environment that allowed non-compliance with laws and regulations".

The reauthorization of NCLB is scheduled for this year. There are suggestions that there is growing dissatisfaction with the law, the lack of funding for it, and the growing list of concerns presented by school administrators, teachers, reading researchers, and others. It has been suggested that the reauthorization may even be delayed until 2008 (Ravitch, 2007) when a new US President will take office. Regardless, significant changes in this law and in the responses of schools to this law are necessary if early childhood education is ever to return to its roots.

Elkind (1987) referred to any education that puts children to risk for no good reason as miseducation. Meyer (2006) suggests that teachers have complained about and complied with what he calls the legislated censorship of NCLB but have done little or nothing to

change the status quo. Children, especially young children have been miseducated long enough. We cannot be content to turn education into the mastery of isolated facts and define curricula as what is on the test. We cannot blame young children for not meeting impossible expectations or developing behavior problems when placed in classrooms that deny the very nature of the young child. We cannot continue to drain the joy from learning and teaching. “What is joyful about learning and what makes us want to learn as much as we possible can, are the intangible qualities of

creativity, curiosity, compassion, wonder, and joy. By reducing human effectiveness in education to paper, pencil, and marking ovals, we are cheapening and even destroying the fundamental that drives learning ... We will not produce world class thinkers, or artists or scientists through threats or fear of punishment. Education is not – and never has been – a coercive act imposed by government on people. Nor is it, except in extremely authoritarian societies, so strictly controlled, mandated, and circumscribed by bureaucrats and politicians” (Henry, 2006).

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AYLOR: WEEDS IN FROEBEL'S GARDEN: NCLB AND EARLY CHILDHOOD MISEDUCATION

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DERISION: WOOLF'S GREAT TEACHER, JO MARCH AND THE MODERN-DAY TOMBOY IN THE PATRIARCHAL EDUCATION SOCIETY

Tiffany Ballard, Oklahoma State University

Abstract

Although Woolf's four great teachers are interwoven and are therefore difficult to isolate, I define and describe derision. Through the lens of derision, I read and analyze Louisa May Alcott's literary character, Jo March. I then examine girls/women in their current educational context to demonstrate the effects of derision. I propose many young girls feel societal restraints and limiting feminine roles during their patriarchal educational process.

Introduction

Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas* (1938) begins as a letter to an educated man who has asked her how one might prevent war. To adequately answer the educated man, Woolf first has to answer two letters that she has received from women seeking her assistance. These two letters function as prior questions Woolf must answer before answering the educated man's question: "How might one prevent war?" Embedding into his letter these two other letters, one to the treasurer of the college Rebuilding Fund and the other to the treasurer of a society that helps women enter into the professions, Woolf answers the first letter noting the discrepancies between males having a paid-for education and daughters of the educated men having an unpaid-for education. Within the letter to the women's society, Woolf identifies four great teachers of the educated men's daughters of the past, present and future generations: poverty, chastity, derision, and freedom from unreal loyalties. Although the four great teachers are interwoven and are difficult to isolate, for the purpose of this paper, I focus on derision. After defining derision and positioning it within Woolf's broader theory, I use this concept as a lens for reading Louisa May Alcott's character, Jo March in *Little Women* (1880). Lest one forget that Woolf's four great teachers are still working today, I then examine girls/women's current educational context to demonstrate the lessons Woolf's teacher teaches more than seventy years after Woolf published her treatise.

Woolf

In the letter to the treasurer of a society which helps women enter the professions, Woolf argues for women to maintain their differences, they should refuse to be separated from the four great teachers of the daughters of educated men: poverty, chastity, derision, and freedom from unreal loyalties. Poverty is denotes having

enough money to live upon. One must earn enough to be independent of any other human and to be able to buy health, leisure, knowledge needed for the full development of body and mind. Chastity signifies that a person only makes enough money to live on by their profession; not to sell themselves or their brain for the sake of money. Freedom from unreal loyalties is intends to rid a person of pride of nationality, religious pride, college pride, school pride, and family pride. "By derision, Woolf (1938) writes, "...is meant that you must refuse all methods of advertising merit, and hold that ridicule, obscurity, and censure are preferable, for psychological reasons, to fame and praise..." (p.80). The object of ridicule, as we know derision today, still speaks to the daughters of educated men through the patriarchal educational society. It speaks to girls/women in all different forms, including literature such as *Little Women* by Louisa May Alcott. In reading *Little Women* through this teacher of Derision, the answers are very clear.

Woolf's Theory and Jo March

Jo March, from *Little Women*, is a well-beloved literary character who has created fantasies and ambitions for readers and movie viewers through many generations. Jo can be characterized as boyish, having a restless spirit, ambitious to do something spectacular with her life, and having a love of sports. Alcott describes Jo's physical characteristics:

Jo was very tall, thin, and brown, and reminded one of a colt, for she never seemed to know what to do with her long limbs, which were very much in her way. She had a decided mouth, a comical nose, and sharp gray eyes, which appeared to see everything, and were by turns fierce, funny, or thoughtful. Her long, thick hair was her one beauty, but it was usually bundled into a net, to be out of her way. Round shoulders had Jo, big hands and feet, a flyaway look to her clothes, and the uncomfortable appearance of a girl who was rapidly shooting up into a women and didn't like it. (p. 14)

Jo's only girlfriends are her sisters, and her best friend is Laurie, a boy who lives next door. Laurie's real name is Theodore, and just like Jo he strays from the traditional male role by loving music, which is considered a female trait. All of her sisters and at times, Jo herself, fit the defined ideal of a Victorian young girl. Jo does try to ignore social ideals through various ways;

BALLARD: DERISION: WOOLF'S GREAT TEACHER, JO MARCH, AND THE MODERN-DAY TOMBOY IN THE PATRIARCHAL EDUCATION SOCIETY

her first to shorten her lengthy proper name to “Jo.” She is loud and at times obnoxious, she whistles and even swears. Jo eventually cuts off her hair as a sign of being in the male role of providing money for the family. When Jo walks in after cutting her hair she proclaims “my head feels deliciously light and cool, and the barber said I could soon have a curly crop, which will be boyish, becoming, and easy to keep in order” (p. 162). Jo declares in the exposition of the novel “I hate to think I’ve got to grow up. ... It’s bad enough to be a girl, anyway, when I like boys’ games and work and manners! I can’t get over my disappointment in not being a boy,” (p. 13).

Jo wanted to be a boy because society did not allow her to be who she wanted to be. She did not have the freedoms that boys had in society. Jo’s character traits, preferences, and unconventional choices incite society’s ridicule until she sacrifices herself to convention thus letting her teacher, derision, down.

Woolf’s Theory and Jo March in education today

Unfortunately, like Alcott’s Jo, the modern-day tomboy must also learn from Woolf’s teacher-derision. In my own experience, I knew that my desires clashed with societal expectations. Revisiting *Little Women* as an adult and reading Jo illuminated through the lens of derision, I realize how Jo March helped in shaping my identity. Many contemporary young girls/women feel these same societal restraints that Jo felt and I felt. Despite the common notion among contemporary young women that “all is well” girls and women in literature, comic strips, modern movies, Disney classics, and newspapers tell them of men’s superiority and urge girls to give up their dreams to wait for the prince. In fact Reynolds (2003) uses the movie *You’ve Got Mail* to show how movies can “conceal the ideological and hegemonic principles used to legitimate classism, racism, sexism, and corporations” (p.108). Reynolds feels that the “representation of women in this film never evolves past objectification. Even though we witness women in executive careers, they still need a man to flourish and be whole” (p.106). Lesley Shore (2000) states “aggressively marketed series romances that a girl reads in adolescence are read not as mere fantasy or entertainment but as a road map for life” (p.132). In fact Woolf (1929) describes literature as “impoverished beyond our counting by the doors that have been shut upon women... love is their only possible interpreter” (p.80). “But girls do not simply slip easily into the identities determined for them; identity is a process of repeated struggle and resistance, continually negotiated and renegotiated” (Shore, 2000, p. 132).

Caroline Conley (2005) feels:

Along with Alcott and Jo, my mother was torn between preparing her girls to learn how to operate in ‘a man’s world,’ and encourage us to break the boundaries of this world so that we might create spaces of our own. Thus, like so many mothers before her and with her, my mother was motivated to use *Little Women* as a sort of navigational guide between the femininity expected of young girls and the feminist ideas needed to develop a strong sense of self—despite the confines of their gender (p. 5).

Ann Trousdale and Sally McMillan (2003) believe “From the earliest days of literature produced for children, adults have recognized that stories potentially have a powerful effect on children’s self-understanding and behavior” (p. 1). Of course, stories alone do not determine children’s perceptions of gender. Societal influences include television, movies, advertisements, magazines, and popular music, together with literature send strong messages of gender norms and ideas. As Gilbert (1994) writes:

By entering into story worlds, and by being inserted into the storylines of their culture, students come to know what counts as being a woman, or being a man, in the culture to which the stories belong. They come to know the range of cultural possibilities available for femininity and masculinity—and the limits to that range. . . . Through constant repetition and layering, story patterns and logic become almost “naturalized: as truths and common sense. (p. 127-128)

Girls need to understand that language can be political and that they read, write, and speak in a language made by men. The challenge is to provide girl students with the skills to take apart texts without robbing them of the pleasure of reading.

Females still adhere to the view that it is better being a boy. In schools, girls and boys still learn many of the old lessons of gender. Diane Reay (2001) stresses “girls can position themselves differently in relation to gender discourses according to the peer group context they find themselves in. For example, it soon became evident in my research that girls assume different positions depending on whether they are in single-or mixed-sex contexts” (p.155). As teachers thinking about educating young girls/women they should realize that the equal treatment of girls and boys should not mean we make girls into the best boys they can be. Educators should have an educational process that compliments both genders that challenges both to reach their full potential (McDaniel, 1994, p. 43). In schools teachers can help by

designing coeducational career development classes, expose boys and girls to role models of women in professional fields, discuss nontraditional careers for women, discourage sexist messages in the media, challenge girls to defend their answers, and provide equal opportunities for girls to answer questions and lead discussions. (p.43) Shore (2000) suggests girls should study resistance movements in anti slavery, the Holocaust, and liberation theology so they can see there is intelligence to the process of making change (p.139).

Educators should realize that girls' identities are developed through a hidden curriculum or as Carole Funk (2002) calls the "evaded curriculum". This evaded curriculum refers to the "lack of information regarding women's contributions or about special interest to girls and women" (p. 4), this limits their future life choices. Laura Bierema states that the hidden curriculum:

teaches girls and women subordination to the dominant patriarchal system of power. Lessons learned from exposure to the 'curriculum' include gender roles, a devaluing of women, silence and invisibility, submission to male power and acceptance of role contradictions (e.g. use feminine wiles to get what you want—but don't be too feminine—while simultaneously playing by the men's rules). Girls and boys, and women and men learn and reinforce these gendered power relations throughout their lives. The rules and roles accompanying gendered power relations are so ingrained in the culture that they are practically invisible, neither questioned nor challenged by most people. (p. 5)

In fact Trousdale and McMillan (2003) describe how when girls are faced with conflicting cultural and "self-narratives, girls frequently 'go underground' with their thoughts and feelings, which puts them at risk of losing honest relationships with themselves and with others" (p. 24). Susan Laird (1995) reports that when a person encounters some type of harassment they try to avoid that person by staying home from school, changing seats in a classroom, giving up liked activities. These students usually performed lower in school and on test scores (p. 85). Research regarding teacher interaction informs us that teachers contribute to the idea of derision for females. Teachers send females messages that they have limited roles in society, which will follow them throughout their educational experiences. Funk describes research results taken from classroom observations:

... boys receive more praise, cues, criticism, encouragement, eye contact, questions, and attention than do their female classmates. Male students also

get more detailed assistance from teachers, while teacher do the work for girls who ask for help. According to these researchers, boys call for and get more attention from elementary and secondary teachers; therefore, earlier attention is given to them for learning and behavior disorders. Reinforcement is typically given to the more assertive and aggressive behaviors of male students by teachers who accept their answers out of turn, while girls are told by the same teachers to raise their hands. (p. 8)

Funk quotes Sadker and Sadker (1994) who indicates that schoolgirls "continue to face subtle and even insidious lessons regarding their gender that may appear to be rather insignificant but have a powerful cumulative impact" (p. ix).

Many teachers are not conscious of their discriminatory practice and they especially do not realize the impact on the professional and personal futures of the girls in their classrooms. Funk (2002) found many other types of discrimination based on disability, race, ethnicity, or class serve to compound the disadvantages that females face in school. Funk also noted "Without critical changes in all educational systems that reform the covertly unequal schooling for females, women of the 21st century will never be able to hold up their half of the sky" (p.21).

Females cannot find hostile environments as a great place for learning. Thea Renda Abu El-Haj (2003) tells about a group of young women in a math class who felt that "a hostile and competitive environment fostered by their male teacher and a small cadre of their male peers denied them equal educational opportunity" (p. 406). This is what young girls face in classes everyday in all settings. Boys are taught at home and in the classroom that girls are supposed to be quiet and submissive. When a female pushes boundaries of the society, the boys are threatened. This leads to derision and loneliness for the female. In Reay's study she found where in order to gain the approval and acceptance of their dominant male peers, the females endeavored to become active subjects in a sexist discourse which objectified girls. The girls began to use the classroom space differently, taking circuitous routes in order to keep as far away from these boys as possible. The "nice girls" in Reay's study were thought of to have an absence of toughness and attitude. Paul Connolly (1998) points out that girls assertive or disruptive behavior tends to be interpreted more negatively than similar behavior in boys. When females try to talk like boys, they will normally be ostracized, scolded or made fun of. If the females ways were different to traditional forms of femininity resulted in then being labeled at various times by teachers as "real

**BALLARD: DERISION: WOOLF'S GREAT TEACHER, JO MARCH, AND THE MODERN-DAY TOMBOY IN THE
PATRIARCHAL EDUCATION SOCIETY**

bitches, a bad influence, and little cows” (Reay, 2001, p. 7).

Education plays such an important role in enabling girls to access and secure their other rights. Educators can help by fostering learning opportunities that enable girls to engage in dialogue through the classroom where they can ask questions and challenge patriarchal ideas. Most children spend the majority of their waking time in school, a place that influences students’ social and gender identities and the interaction style between the sexes. Students should be allowed to sort out their identities based on their individual predisposition rather than predetermined categories. Educators can also give a voice to girls in learning situations and help deconstruct masculine and patriarchal identities and rules that are still in existence in society. Shore (2000) maintains that women “teaching in a girl-poisoning culture can begin to mitigate the effects of that culture by listening to girls and by honoring their own memories, thereby hoping to genuinely make room in the classroom for the embodied experiences, voices, and values of women and girls” (p.133). Educators should create a safe place that promotes all different types of learning about these issues. Girls should have the information and the opportunity to explore their interests and plans for the future, see women who have succeed in their career, and just the idea of someone telling them they can do

anything they want.

Until we as educators change the paid for education of which Woolf writes and “help all properly qualified people, of whatever sex, class or colour, to enter your profession,” and we “refuse to be separated from poverty, chastity, derision, and freedom from unreal loyalties” (Woolf, 1938, p. 80), young women will continue to sacrifice their futures to a patriarchal society. Bierema (2003) states “Educators can help foster opportunities for women to engage in dialogue through structuring learning experiences that raise questions and challenges about gender unconsciousness. They can also give voice to women in learning situations and help deconstruct masculine and patriarchal identities and rules that permeate society” (p. 10). Helping young people to learn to engage in deconstructive processes and work through the deeper meanings of texts through interaction. Teachers, through their awareness as well as their teaching practices, can have a profound impact on the kinds of lives girls have. Even with derision a young girl/woman “can have a mind of your own and a will of your own” (p.83) and “their mothers will laugh from their graves, “It was for this that we suffered obloquy and contempt! Light up the windows of the new house, daughters! Let them blaze!”(p. 83).

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DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITY AND EDUCATION: REFLECTIONS ON GUTMANN'S *DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION*

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Introduction

Public education occupies a highly visible place in today's political landscape. Both the state and federal governments have come to play major roles in defining the purpose of public education, the content of school curricula, and the assessment of student performance. State accountability systems and the No Child Left Behind Act together constrain the autonomy of parents, teachers, and local school authorities in governing the public schools. The direction of a public enterprise that has traditionally been the province of local citizens and parents has become increasingly centralized in the hands of state legislators and federal bureaucrats.

In this paper I contend that democratic authority over of public education has been seriously eroded over the last few decades by a shift in public policy away from a consideration of common purpose and the common good and toward an emphasis on private interests and what Gutmann (1999) calls "civic minimalism." The paper grows in part out of my own efforts to understand, and to help students understand, three critical issues: what is the purpose of public education in a democracy; how should democratic control of schools be structured; and what limits apply to democratic authority over the schools. Gutmann's *Democratic Education* provides a political theory from which to craft tentative answers to these questions.

Gutmann begins with the assertion that education in a democratic society has three characteristics that set it apart from education in more authoritarian societies. The first characteristic speaks to purpose. In a democratic society the role of education is to prepare citizens for participation in the political process by deliberately inculcating specific democratic values and skills (e.g. tolerance, mutual respect, nonviolence, nondiscrimination, and the habits of critical thought.) Second in a democracy educational policy is determined through an inclusive deliberative process in which citizens, parents, professional experts, and the state all have an equal voice. Finally, she notes that public authority over education is not absolute, but is limited by the necessity of adhering to the fundamental principles of non-repression and nondiscrimination. These characteristics are the starting points in understanding the role of education in a modern democratic society.

Education and Democracy

Over a century ago John Dewey (1916) noted the essential link between democracy and education. He

wrote that the any government that rested on popular sovereignty could not succeed unless those who elect and obey the governors are educated in the discipline and attitudes of democracy. But democracy is something more than a form of government. At its heart, democracy is "primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey, 1916, 87) in which each member of society has to balance his or her actions and interests against the actions and interests of others. This level of social interaction is impossible without well-educated citizens. In a modern democracy the issues of who should be educated, what the content of that education should be, and who will do the educating becomes a critical political question. But as important as the answers to these questions might be, the process by which the answers are derived are equally so. In a democratic society, the most justifiable way to reach political decisions resides in an inclusive deliberative process through which decision-makers are held accountable to those most affected by their decisions. But meaningful participation in deliberation and accountability require citizens who are prepared intellectually to deliberate and to evaluate the results of the deliberation, whether that deliberation involves themselves or their elected representatives. To participate meaningfully, citizens must possess certain intellectual and moral attributes derived from a proper civic education. Among these are literacy, numeracy, critical thought, contextual knowledge, and an understanding and appreciation for other people's perspectives. Democracy also requires citizens who value veracity, are committed to nonviolence, and who possess practical judgment, civic integrity, and mutual respect for one another (Gutman, 1999). The virtue of mutual respect is critical to the success of a democracy. In another context, Gutmann has written that a basic civic education should teach children more than tolerance, "a live and let live attitude that entails no positive regard for others" (Gutmann, 1995, 576.) More important than tolerance, citizens of a democracy must possess a mutual respect for others of diverse political, religious, social, ethnic, racial, or sexual identities. Without mutual respect citizens cannot be expected to honor the principle of nondiscrimination. Democracy cannot survive without "a tolerant citizenry whose minds are open to respecting reasonable...viewpoints with which they disagree" (Gutmann, 1995, 578.) Mutual respect goes beyond tolerance to a positive regard for fellow citizens who advocate reasonable but

opposing views. By cultivating these attributes in its citizenry, democratic societies are better able to afford basic opportunity for individuals and a collective capacity to pursue justice (Gutmann, 1999).

In a democracy, education must inculcate the skills and values required of a deliberative citizenry. This does not necessarily constitute the exclusive purpose of education or of all educators. Providing a good civic education is perhaps best done in elementary and secondary schools, leaving other purposes to colleges and universities. Nor is creating good citizens in any way the exclusive province of the state or professional educators. Parents are the primary educators (for good or ill) of their children and other agencies in society fulfill an educative purpose. But for a modern democratic society to flourish and maintain itself the skills and values required for civic deliberation must be taught. This instruction is best accomplished in publicly supported and sanctioned schools available to all educable children without restriction of race, gender, or socioeconomic status.

The nature of the relationship between a democratic polity and education is not a recent matter of concern. Woodruff (2005) has described how ancient Athens (the "First Democracy") saw the relationship between education and democracy.

Paideia (education) is the lifeblood of democracy. It should be translated "general education," but is more than that. It is less than expert training, because it will not prepare a citizen to compete with an expert....But *paideia* should give a citizen the wisdom to judge what he is told by people who claim to be experts....If citizens do not have the good judgment that *paideia* is supposed to develop, what good can they do in discussions? And how will they be competent to judge a debate? But without useful debate and discussion the people cannot rule well (Woodruff, 2005, 191).

For Athenians, good education enabled young people to use good judgment and to make decisions with justice. Although Plato and Socrates dissented from the general consensus (Woodruff, 2005), for the average citizen of the *polis* the link between education and democracy was unmistakable.

We live a modern constitutional democracy more complex than any Athenian could have imagined. The very diversity of our society works against the kind of consensus around education and democracy that ancient Greek city states might have enjoyed. Rather, we are confronted with widely divergent opinions not only regarding the place of education in a modern democracy, but also competing versions of the role of

the state, the authority of parents, and the advantages of public or private control of education. Our modern discussion of the role of education in America is marked by several competing views, three of which Gutmann discusses in detail. The theory of *the family state* places authority over education in the hands of the state as a means of establishing harmony between the good of the individual and the good of society as a whole. In educational matters the state acts as a *paterfamilias*, that educates children to want only what is good for the children themselves and for the larger society. The difficulty here is the near impossibility of objectively identifying the nature of the good life and the inevitable disagreements that arise in a pluralistic society over what constitutes the good life for every citizen.

The direct opposite of the family state is *the state of families*. This viewpoint places educational authority exclusively in the hands of parents, permitting them to educate their children to prefer a way of life consistent with family heritage and values (Gutman, 1999.) Following Freidman (1962), Fried (1978) and others, those who hold this view maintain that parents are both the best determiners of their children's future and have a natural right to authority over their education. Moreover, supporters of exclusive parental rights to educational authority note that if the state is committed to the freedom of individuals, it must surrender educational authority to parents "whose freedom includes the right to pass their own way of life on to their children" (Gutmann, 1999, 29.) The flaw in this approach to education in a democracy lies in the fact that children are more than members of a family. They are also citizens of a democracy. As future citizens, the state has an interest in the nature of their education. Parents alone cannot be counted on to equip their children with the intellectual skills necessary for participation in a democratic society nor to expose them to the viewpoints of others with whom they must live in a democratic society. This point of view amounts to "civic minimalism," which holds that parental authority over public schools can be limited only by the requirements of a minimal civic education. Parents retain the right to determine the rest of their children's education, albeit at public expense, or to exempt their children from public schooling as long as what is substituted meets the minimal requirements for civic education. But in point of fact both parents and the state have an interest in the education of children and, while both share authority over education, neither exercise exclusive control.

Adherents of the viewpoint that Gutmann calls the *state of individuals* reject both the authority of parents and the state over the education of children. Neither

entity has the right to bias the choice of children in favor of one conception of the good life over another. Educational experience should maximize the child's opportunity for future choice without prejudicing children towards or away from any controversial idea of the good life. The goal of education is to equip children with the opportunity for choice while maintaining neutrality among competing conceptions of what constitutes the good life. From this point of view, a just educational authority "... must not bias children's choices among good lives, but it must provide every child with an opportunity to choose freely and rationally among the widest ranges of lives" (Gutmann, 1999, 34.) Children should be protected from both the prejudices of parents and the dictates of the state. Strict neutrality in educating children is probably unattainable and perhaps unwise. Within certain limits, parents do have the right to pass on their values and religious beliefs to their children without interference from the state. But as fellow members of a democracy, all citizens have a vital interest that children are taught to value tolerance, non-discrimination, and mutual respect and have the intellectual skills to fully participate in the democratic process rather than becoming intolerant, discriminatory, self-centered, and ignorant. Democratic education is never value free nor the choices of the good life unlimited. We are certainly not free to choose to reinstitute slavery or repeal the Bill of Rights for example. But the way in which a democracy arrives at what values are taught in publicly supported schools is critical:

There is no morally acceptable way to achieve social agreement on a moral ideal of education.... We can do better to try instead to find the fairest ways for reconciling our disagreements, and for enriching our collective life by democratically debating them (Gutmann, 1999, 12.)

The process of democratic debate may even result in the modification of our own deeply held moral ideals of education in light of other ideals and viewpoints.

As a counterpoint to the three theories described above, Gutmann proposes a theory of democratic education that balances the authority of parents, citizens, and professional educators and that recognizes the limits of democratic authority. She begins by recognizing that the cultivation of character is a legitimate function of education and that a democratic society may legitimately tolerate a wide range of moral character. The question is "who decides?" The family state places that authority in the hands of the state; the state of families reserves authority over education to parents; the state of individuals declines to place authority

anywhere without assurance that children will not be prejudiced in favor on some ways of life and against others. In contrast, a truly democratic state of education envisions a shared authority among parents, citizens, and professional educators "even though such sharing does not guarantee that power will be wedded to knowledge, that parents can successfully pass their prejudices on to their children, or that education will be neutral among competing conceptions of the good life" (Gutmann, 1999, 42.)

This broad distribution of authority supports the core values of a democracy. Unlike the family state, a democratic state recognizes the value of parental education in perpetuating particular versions of the good life. Unlike the state of families, it recognizes the role of professional authority in assisting children to appreciate and evaluate ways of life other than those valued by their own families and unlike the state of individuals, a democratic state of education recognizes the value of political education in predisposing children to accept those ways of life that are consistent with sharing the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in a liberal democracy. A democratic state of education is, thus, committed to allocating educational authority in such a way as to provide its members with an education adequate to participating in democratic politics, to choosing among (a limited range of) good lives, and to sharing in the several sub-communities, such as families, that impart identity to the lives of its citizens (Gutmann, 1999, 42.)

The right to participate in democratic deliberation must therefore be as widely distributed across society as possible.

Deliberative Democracy

What then is the mechanism for distributing authority of education in a democracy? In another context (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004) discuss the concept of "deliberative democracy" and its relevance for facilitating the exercise of democratic authority. They define deliberative democracy as ...a form of government in which free and equal citizens (and their representatives), justify decisions in a process in which they give one another reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible, with the aim of reaching conclusions that are binding in the present on all citizens but open to challenge in the future. (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, 7)

Grounding their theory in the work of Jurgen Habermas (1996) and John Rawls (1993) among others, Gutmann and Thompson note the need for widespread public discussion as an absolute need in a democratic

form of government. In a democracy, the only legitimate source of authority rests in the collective judgment of the people. But his legitimacy must be grounded not in any “unmediated popular will” (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, 9) but in a set of disciplined practices defined by the idea of deliberative democracy. The ability of deliberation to contribute to the health of a modern democracy rests solidly on the quality of the civic education of those who deliberate.

But as Gutmann and Thompson point out, the legitimacy of deliberative democracy rests not only on a set of procedures, but also on the inclusiveness of the process itself. The key to democratic deliberation is not the purity of its procedures but the expansiveness of the definition of who is included in the process of deliberation. The “answer to the questions of who has the right (and effective opportunity) to deliberate to choose the deliberators, and to whom do the deliberators owe their justifications” determines the democratic nature of the process (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, 9-10.) The aim of deliberation is to provide the most morally justifiable way to deal with disagreements on issues affecting public policy.

The conditions under which deliberations take place also contribute to the legitimacy of deliberation. The process is most likely to succeed if the deliberators are well informed, have relatively equal resources, and take their opponents views seriously. Even when background conditions are not optimum, citizens are more likely to come to a mutual understanding of public issues through deliberation than in a setting where political power is the only persuader. Moreover, deliberation can contribute to a mutually respectful process of decision-making in that it provides a forum where the most common sources of disagreement---competing moral values---can be discussed. Deliberation cannot resolve the issue of incompatible moral values, but it can help participants recognize the merit of opponents’ claims when those claims have merit. It can also allow participants to distinguish between those disagreements that come from genuinely incompatible values that cannot be resolved from those values that may be. Finally, deliberation can support the practice of mutual respect, without which a democracy cannot honor the essential values of non-repression and non-discrimination. Deliberation also permits citizens to avoid policy mistakes or correct them more quickly. Mistakes in public policy arise most often from individual and collective misunderstandings. Through the give and take of deliberation, citizens are better able to identify both their own and other’s individual and collective understandings and to develop new views that

can minimize (but not totally eliminate) conflict (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004.)

Limits on democratic authority

There are two basic limits on the exercise of democratic authority over education. First is the need for a liberal democracy to honor the essential principles of *non-repression* and *non-discrimination*. Second is the difficulty involved in the structuring of deliberative participation in ways that maximize inclusion of participants and accountability to those affected by a decision.

The principle of non-repression prevents the state, or any group within it, from using education to restrict deliberation of competing conceptions of the good life or the good society. The application of the principle of non-repression is limited in that, while it forbids the state or individuals from using its educational authority to bias children in favor of one vision of the good life and against all others, it does not bar that same authority from inculcating in children the values and attitudes that are the foundations of rational deliberation---honesty, tolerance, and respect for the opinions of others. Non-repression secures for the citizens of a democracy the freedom to participate in a deliberation of differing ways of life. Participation in deliberation is thus the most relevant freedom in a democracy. But adults may not use this freedom to undermine the future deliberative rights of children by restricting future deliberations to a narrow range of acceptable ways of life and the good society. Communities in a democracy are not permitted to use education to constrict the rational deliberation of competing views of society. The principle of non-repression represents a strong defense of democratic education (Gutmann, 1999.)

A further limitation on democratic authority over education is the principle of *non-discrimination*. Non-discrimination means that, for a democratic society to consciously reproduce itself, all educable children must be adequately prepared to participate in deliberations about the good life and the good society. No educable child or group of children may be excluded from the basic civic education that prepares them to participate fully. The principles of non-repression and non-discrimination are interrelated. The exclusion of certain groups of children from a full education---girls, racial minorities, the poor---results in the exclusion of whole groups from participation in the democratic processes that frame choices about the good life and the good society. Applied to education, the principle of non-discrimination prevents the state and all groups within it from denying an education to anyone. The principle of non-discrimination becomes the principle of non-

exclusion (Gutmann, 1999.)

In what ways can these restrictions on popular sovereignty and parental freedoms be seen as democratic? Citizens of a democracy are shaped both by their membership in one or more sub-communities and by membership in a larger communal whole. Since neither the sub-community nor the larger society has absolute control over education, citizens are free to participate in a sub-community or sub-communities, and at the same time take part in the deliberative processes by which a democratic society makes choices. Non-repression and non-discrimination thus support both deliberative freedom and communal determination. By preventing any single group from controlling educational authority and by permitting professional educators to develop the deliberative capacities of children, these principles allow families and other sub-communities to shape, in part, but not absolutely control, their children's future choices. "Democratic education," writes Gutmann, "thus appreciates the value of education as a means of creating (or recreating) cohesive communities and of fostering deliberative choice without elevating either of these partial purposes to an absolute or overriding end" (Guttman, 1999, 46.)

Critiques

Gutmann's theory of democratic education had been criticized on several points. Perlstein (1989) noted that Gutmann's theory seemed to ignore the differences in social power created by differing levels of education and to assume that existing political arrangements were adequate. Moreover, Perlstein argues that Guttman neglected to address the failure of educational policies to reduce economic inequalities or to explain how these inequalities impact the access of all citizens to democratic participation. Finally, Perlstein implies that rational deliberation can occur only when citizens have interests in common. But it is unreasonable to assume that the lives of disadvantaged children have not been improved in some way by schooling unless one argues that the poor are better left unschooled. Neither must we postpone our democratic aspirations for schooling until a time when the living and working conditions of all are improved and all citizens share common interests. We

cannot ignore the impact of schooling on the lives of disadvantaged children even while we strive to improve those lives as far as possible. Nor is it reasonable to assert that democratic deliberation should be postponed until all social and economic inequities have disappeared and citizens share common interests. One of the purposes of democratic deliberation is to facilitate the identification of those issues on which people of diverse backgrounds do agree and then to act on that decision. Waiting for total or even major commonality of interests to develop among citizens of a democracy as pluralistic as ours before deliberating the issues confronting us is to invite disaster.

The purpose of a democratic education is to prepare citizens to participate meaningfully in rational deliberation. Yet the process of deliberation itself is problematic. Farrelly (2004) addresses some of the more practical of these. Deliberation is frequently contrasted to aggregative democracy, the hallmark of which is voting. Although most theorists believe deliberative democracy to be more a transformative process than aggregative democracy, deliberation is not always capable of resolving conflicts. At what point then, does deliberation cease and another process take its place? More important, what is that process? Do we revert to an aggregative democracy or pass deliberation to an elite of some sort? And if consensus is the only legitimate way of reaching a decision how long must we wait for that consensus to emerge? How much deliberation is enough? Further, to maximize the effectiveness of deliberation participants must have access to as much information as possible. But unrestricted access to information is not always possible, for reasons ranging from the sheer bulk of the information needed to issues of national security. Finally, deliberative democracy may be a utopian ideal. For example, how does one structure deliberation in a democratic state of some 300 million citizens? Is mass participation in deliberation possible, or even desirable? And if participation is restricted can the process be truly democratic. These are issues that must be confronted even as we work out a truly inclusive deliberative democratic polity.

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A QUALITY EDUCATION?

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Quality ... you know what it is, yet you don't know what it is. But that's self-contradictory. But some things are better than others, that is, they have more quality. But when you try to say what the quality is, apart from the things that have it, it all goes poof! There's nothing to talk about. But if you can't say what Quality is, how do you know what it is, or how do you know that it even exists? If no one knows what it is, then for all practical purposes it doesn't exist at all. But for all practical purposes it really does exist. What else are grades based on? Why else would people pay fortunes for some things and throw others in the trash pile? Obviously some things are better than others ... but what's the "betterness"? ... So round and round you go, spinning mental wheels and nowhere finding anyplace to get traction. What the hell is Quality? What is it? (Pirsig, 1974, 184)

Introduction

Education is obsessed with quality. This obsession with quality is manifest most strongly through policies that have resulted in systematic and bureaucratic solutions to the "problem" of poor quality in public education. In this paper, I describe these policy initiatives as variations of performance-based management (PBM) and argue that PBM is currently the controlling ideology for management in public education and that PBM is most clearly understood as bureaucratized quality control. PBM focuses on the measurement of outcomes as objective measures of quality. On the surface, the measurement and judgment of performance outcomes seems both rational and natural. After all, should not an organization, and the individuals in the organization, be held accountable for the quality of measurable outcomes? Should the school, or the educator, that fails to educate be allowed to continue? In response to this question, I use Robert Pirsig's *Metaphysics of Quality* (1974, 1991, 1995) to argue that distorted notions of Quality and concurrent systems designed to measure quality have utterly failed to capture what it truly means to educate. The effect of this has been a series of educational policies designed to improve quality that, rather than improve quality, damage the profession of public teaching and the institution of public education.

Performance-Based Management in Educational Policy

A lecture by British scholar, Richard Gombrich in 2000 to The Tokyo Graduate Institute of Policy Studies on the impact of British higher education policy resonated in me as relevant to the current policy environment in the United States. Gombrich began by stating that "British higher education policy over the last twenty years has been an unmitigated catastrophe" (2000). Gombrich focused his remarks on three themes: Truth in human society, education as a human activity, and what it means to be a professional. The twenty year period of higher education policy in Britain described by Gombrich is characterized by increased national control

and quality assessments. Contrary to the stated narratives of limited government issued by policy makers at the time, the increased national control resulted, according to Gombrich, in the "... dehumanizing illusion of quantification, negative egalitarianism (also known as jealousy) and the arrogance of power." It is not a stretch to see the similarities between this policy environment in Britain and its impact on educators and the current situation in the United States.

American educational policy over the past twenty years has also been in many ways, an unmitigated catastrophe. There has been in U.S. public education an economic determination of truth, the loss of education as an essentially human activity, and a deprofessionalization of teaching. Currently, teachers and school administrators are responsible under the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) for improved student achievement on tests and other standardized measures of organizational performance. Public elementary and secondary educators who fail to achieve measurable improvement goals receive increasingly severe sanctions from the state eventually leading to loss of employment.

Although the current emphasis on performance has achieved primacy following the passage of NCLB (2001), PBM has a long history of influence on public education. The key tenets of performance-based management, including the use of outcome data, are highly consistent with past efforts to focus on organizational quality. The most prominent of these was the application of Edward Deming's (1986) Total Quality Management (TQM) to educational organizations in the 1980's and 90's.

As a citizen-funded institution, public education is particularly vulnerable to whims of government pressure stemming from the current politicians in power. Given the confluence of economic and political power in the U.S., it is not surprising that corporate market ideology guides the priorities of educational policy makers. Beginning with the Reagan administration in 1981,

federal goals for education have increasingly focused on the production of literate and numerate workers needed for successful competition in a global economy. One method for achieving these goals was to increase the use of managerial technologies within educational institutions based on the best-selling book, *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies* (Peters & Waterman, 1982).

While Peters and Waterman highlight the importance of people over 'bean counters,' they nonetheless maintain allegiance to a focus on quality that is measurable. According to McWatt (n.d.), measurement (audit) technology can be "insidious, subtle, and effective since they form self-reinforcing rhetorical systems based on the criterion that all organizational practices should be auditable." This, McWatt continues, results in structural changes whereby power is transferred from professional educators to managers responsible for monitoring and regulation. The origins of the quality narrative in business management and education stem from the allied success during World War II and the enormous industrial production achieved by the United States during the war. Although this is widely known, it is less widely known that statistics and the applied use of data played an important role in this success. The work of one young statistician, W. Edwards Deming, was particularly valuable (Tribus, 1981). Deming has since become the philosophical inspiration of the TQM system (Walton & Deming, 1997). For Deming, the most important success factor for any organization is long-term quality. Specifically, Deming provided a set of 14 recommendations for organizations along with his Plan-Do-Check-Act Cycle (PDCA). Deming (1986) believed that determining an organization's goals and collecting and analyzing data in support of those goals is necessary for improvement.

Nationally, the work of Deming and the focus on organizational quality was endorsed and supported by the federal government in 1987 with the passage of The Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Improvement Act. As part of the Baldrige Act, the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award was established. The award is provided annually to education, business and health care organizations. Recipients of the award in education are selected based on a set of measurable criteria (Baldrige National Quality Program, 2005). These criteria stem from a set of interrelated "Core Values and Concepts" (1) including visionary leadership, learning-centered education, organizational and personal learning, valuing faculty, staff and parents, agility, focus on the future, managing for innovation, management by fact, social

responsibility, focus on results and creating value, and a systems perspective. It is believed that these values and concepts are normative in high-performing educational organizations.

Quality became a highly visible focus in school administration in the early 1990's and a range of literature promoted the use TQM in education. Frase (1994) edited a series of twelve books entitled, "Total Quality Education for the World's Best Schools"; and English (1992) edited a series of nine books entitled, "Successful Schools: Guidebooks to Effective School Leadership." Kaufman & Zahn (1993) developed a comprehensive model for using TQM in schools and declared their system to be "sensible, rational and logical" (viii).

Regardless of the widespread adoption of the early TQM strategies for school improvement, some educational scholars have critiqued TQM efforts. Evans (1996) labels TQM a theoretical corpse and declared the high level of staff cooperation required and concepts such as "zero defects" irrelevant to schools (177). Sergiovanni (2001) rejects the use of the word *customer*, the use of slogans, and the use of extrinsic rewards in education. Maxcy (1995) critiques and questions the use of any type of framework in guiding educational management. Rather than frameworks, Maxcy posits that leadership should be viewed as a cultural dynamic, a way of life, a moral-ethical, aesthetic concern, and as a form of democratic community.

Regardless of the criticism and the array of political forces impacting school management, a focus on quality remains. Nonetheless, TQM does not seem to be the focus of discussion that it was during the 1990's. Lerner (n.d.) does not believe this is because the ideas of quality have been rejected; rather:

The reason I believe these ideas are not being discussed to the extent they were just a few years ago is that we have, even without our awareness, accepted them as true. My contention is that we have incorporated into our beliefs and behaviors a set of three closely related threads of thoughts that woven together form the foundation of total quality management. This foundation is captured best by Deming's point number five: Improve constantly and forever the system of production and service. This is evident in education in current policy and practice.

Building on the goals and ideals of the Baldrige Act, institutions like State Action for Educational Leadership Project (SAELP), with broad support from government and business, are continuing to demand and support organizational quality in educational institutions. The

SAELP is a national consortium led by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and funded by the Wallace Foundation. According to the CCSSO (2005), the goal of SAELP is to:

...not only develop and support effective leaders in an educational system but change the conditions of leadership at all levels of the state system to improve student achievement. It is anticipated that this systematic approach to advance education leadership will result in the improvement of student achievement throughout a state and produce important lessons learned for application across the nation.

While the use of the TQM label is currently rare, there is a continued emphasis on systems approaches to educational organizations (Hoy & Miskel, 2004).

Many advocates of reform and critics of current educational practices are demanding systematic approaches to school improvement. In his highly publicized research critical of the preparation of school administrators, Levine (2005) cites Britain's National College for School Leadership (NCSL) as a promising model because of, among other things, its unrivaled focus on "continuous self-assessment and performance improvement" (58). Hess & Kelly (2005) are emphatic in their call for organizational management using systematic approaches:

Ultimately, the question of content is pivotal; principals receive limited training in the use of data, research, technology, the hiring or termination of personnel, or evaluating personnel in a systematic way. The reading lists suggest that aspiring principals receive little exposure to important management scholarship or sophisticated inquiry on educational productivity and governance. (36)

Further, leading scholars in educational administration are continuing to cite TQM as an effective model for systematic school improvement. The authors of the leading text in educational administration, Hoy & Miskel (2004), devote considerable attention to Deming and TQM. Specifically, Hoy & Miskel adapt Deming's principles of management to education and declare "Deming's principals of management seem applicable to schools. They are clearly consistent with the systems approach taken in this text; in fact, the reinforce many of the concepts that we have developed" (262). Another author of a text in educational administration, Fire (2004), also cites T.M. and states, "... some of the most relevant business leadership theories can be quite revealing for educational institutions" (96).

While the term "performance" has largely replaced the term "quality" in the policy discourse, the

management philosophy and recommendations for organizational improvement are consistent. The *Education criteria for performance excellence* (Baldrige National Quality Program, 2005) describe a system of PBM that is essentially quality management in disguise. The Baldrige Award is a result of the quality management movement and the language of the education criteria of the award is similar and supportive the performance-based language in the NCLB Act (2001). The education criteria for the Baldrige award state that: "The Criteria are designed to help organizations use an integrated approach to organizational performance management that results in delivery of ever-improving value to students and stakeholders, contributing to educational quality, improvement of overall organizational effectiveness and capabilities, and organizational and personal learning" (1).

According to the U.S. Department of Education (n.d.), the NCLB Act (2001) "is based on stronger accountability for results, more freedom for states and communities, proven education methods, and more choices for parents." Specific accountability practices include annual state and school district report cards, annual yearly progress goals, and rewards for success and corrective actions for failure on the part of the state. There is also a mandate to use objective, scientific measurement to determine best-practices:

No Child Left Behind puts emphasis on determining which educational programs and practices have been proven effective through rigorous scientific research. Federal funding is targeted to support these programs and teaching methods that work to improve student learning and achievement. (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.)

Schools that do not meet the required goals are labeled as "low performing" and parents of children in low-performing schools have the option to transfer their children to a better-performing school. School districts are required to pay transportation and other costs associated with parental choice.

I have argued in this section of the paper that the operational narrative of public schools in the U.S. is performance-based management. Tracing the origins and development of total quality management, I suggest that the key constructs of TQM have achieved a level of hegemony whereby they are institutionalized in practice and rarely questioned or challenged. These constructs include a focus on the quality of the product, objective measurements of quality, and the use of sanctions and rewards to increase quality. The problems I expose in the second section of this paper stem from the assumed

objective meaning of quality. Specifically, I contend that the positivist interpretation of quality obfuscates the purpose of education and endorses a purely economic rationale for public schooling. In contrast, Pirsig's (1974, 1991, 1995) *Metaphysics of Quality* describes what he terms dynamic quality. Toward this end, the next section critiques objective quality, briefly describes Pirsig's *Metaphysics of Quality*, explains the meaning of Dynamic Quality, and offers Dynamic Quality as alternative narrative to understand the purpose of schooling.

Pirsig's Metaphysics of Quality

There are problematic epistemological implications in using the term quality in policy discourse. Simply, the specific meaning of quality is philosophically and epistemologically elusive. This was made clear by Pirsig in his classic novel, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values* (1974). The indistinct nature of quality may be one reason that performance is the concomitant term currently in vogue. Regardless, the previous section of this paper demonstrated similarities in ideology and practice between PBM and TQM. Therefore, this section uses Pirsig's *Metaphysics of Quality* as a means to argue that the model of PBM is limited in its understanding of the meaning of education and in its potential to promote the achievement of the broader social purposes of schooling.

Pirsig (1995) begins his articulation of his metaphysics of quality with a description of the difference between science and art: "Science is all about subjects and objects and particularly data, but it excludes values. Art is concerned primarily with values but doesn't really pay much attention to scientific data and sometimes excludes objects." Fundamental to the NCLB Act (2001) is the doctrine of continuous improvement with the implied assumption that quality is measurable. This measurement assumption is, I trust, based on an objective, or positivist epistemology. In fact, NCLB unabashedly privileges science. Regardless of the claim to science, the policy is based on specific metaphysical assumptions. That is, specific answers to epistemological, ontological and ethical truths are assumed. Lerner (n.d.) argues that the metaphysical assumptions within TQM (and, I am assuming PBM as well) are consistent with Ayn Rand's philosophy described in *The Fountainhead* (1943). According to Lerner, "Ayn Rand contends that nature is composed of only one reality that is perceived through man's sense and integrated by the mind." This is, Lerner suggests, a metaphysical view.

Objective metaphysics is best expressed by the

phrase "what you see is what you get" (Lerner). But in education and just about everywhere else, what you see is not what you get and this is the problem. McWatt (n.d.) uses the term "qualispeak" to denote what he calls an Orwellian use of the term quality and provides a detailed list of damage of values in the educational profession by qualispeak (While McWatt is writing about the impact of British higher education policy, all of his points are relevant to the current K-12 policy context in the U.S). Qualispeak, according to McWatt, does damage to intellectual values of trust, truth, and, most importantly, Pirsig's notion of dynamic quality.

Trust, McWatt claims, is required for the work of teaching because it requires expertise and ethical commitment. Teachers are paid for work that is rarely publicly viewed. Traditionally, professional educators have taken responsibility for exercising their own practice in the interest of their students. The public allowed the profession a high degree of self-regulation through professional colleagues in administrative positions. Under NCLB, self-regulation is no longer the case and it appears that schools can only be trusted if their performance is revealed through school report cards. Regardless of the potential lack of personal value placed on standardized measures of achievement, most educators work toward the goals. In addition, efforts to demonstrate adequate performance take considerable time. Thus, because of an apparent lack of trust, many educators are doing work they would not normally do and wasting their professional time doing it. This, McWatt suggests, engenders dishonesty, cynicism, and hypocrisy.

In addition, the loss of trust between the public and the education profession has further implications. Public policing requires regulations; yet, the more regulations there are the more opportunities there are for marginal performers who know the rules to manipulate them. This requires more auditors who in the end will need auditing themselves. Finally, because of the realities of measurement, "only what can be counted counts" (McWatt). McWatt concludes:

... It is also quite human to conflate the institution established to carry out noble intentions with noble intentions themselves and then to stick up for an idealized notion of the institution as signifier of the intentions, even when it demonstrably spells mayhem.

The end result of this loss of trust is the need for additional bureaucratic layers that in turn, must be trusted.

Education is fundamentally about the pursuit of truth but, McWatt contends, truth suffers because

D. R. DAVIS: A QUALITY EDUCATION?

performance-based assessments (audits) are distortive. Specifically, quantifiable outputs are given priority over outputs which are not measurable. Thus, schools focus on the outputs that are measured and focus less on what is not measured. In addition, the performance-based (audit) “culture of objectivity rests on the erroneous assumption that numerical measures are the only reliable means of assessing anything. This leads to the overlooking of values” (McWatt). Examples of values often overlooked include curiosity, enthusiasm, the ability to cooperate, intellectual generosity, artistic independence, originality, and innovation. McWatt concludes that these dynamic qualities are the most important.

Pirsig (1991) described his term dynamic quality (representative of the unknown, the creative and the intuitive) as the most important aspect of his metaphysics of quality. McWatt believes that it is unfortunate that “dynamic quality is the one most seriously damaged by the static oriented procedures....” Performance measurement is static because it is based on goals that are already established. Innovation cannot be measured because it is not established. PBM stifles creativity and innovation in education. Further explanation of the metaphysics of quality is necessary at this point in order to posit Pirsig’s metaphysics as an alternative view.

In *Lila* (1991, 373), Pirsig states that “the metaphysics of quality is a continuation of the mainstream of twentieth-century American philosophy. It is a form of pragmatism, of instrumentalism.” Pirsig developed his metaphysics of quality while searching for understanding of good by critiquing modern subject object metaphysics. Pirsig explains in a 1995 paper:

In the Metaphysics of Quality the world is composed of three things: mind, matter, and Quality. Because something is not located in the object does not mean that it has to be located in your mind. Quality cannot be independently derived from either mind or matter. But it can be derived from the relationship of mind and matter with each other. Quality occurs at the point at which subject and object meet. Quality is not a thing. It is an event. It is the event at which the subject becomes aware of the object. And because without objects there can be no subject, Quality is the event at which both awareness of both subjects and objects is made possible. Quality is not just the result of a collision between subject and object. The very existence of subject and object themselves is

deduced from the Quality event. The Quality event is the cause of the subjects and objects, which are then mistakenly presumed to be the cause of the Quality! (12)

Lerner (n.d.) explains that Pirsig identifies two components of quality consistent with the philosophical tradition, romantic (in the mind) and classic (in the object). Romantic quality is an aesthetic value incorporating the appearance or design of an object. Classic quality is the substance of an object. Lerner makes clear, however, that Pirsig’s view of quality is more than a simple joining of romantic and classic quality. Lerner explains: “What Pirsig discovered is that it is not the joining of the classic and romantic that form quality, but our awareness of quality that allows us to discern its classic and romantic characteristics.”

While Pirsig’s metaphysics equates quality with reality it does not define quality. The reason quality remains undefined is because it is “shapeless, formless, indescribable” (Pirsig, 1974, 252). Pirsig explains:

The Metaphysics of Quality says there can be many competing truths and it is value that decided between them.... The Metaphysics of Quality follows the empirical tradition here is saying that the senses are the starting point of reality, but – all importantly – includes a sense of value. Values are phenomena. To ignore this is to misread the world. (1995, 14)

Clearly, Pirsig’s Metaphysics of Quality suggests that PBM and similar systems that depend on outcome measures are inappropriate for educational institutions whose primary concern is the intellectual value of truth (McWatt). The Metaphysics of Quality also, however, provides an alternative.

If Pirsig’s notion of quality is a justifiable view, then it supports challenges to systematic solutions to educational problems. According to McWatt, the metaphysics of quality provides “conceptual tools that assess how adequately the various definitions of ‘Quality’ employed in auditing promote intellectual and Dynamic values such as truth, trust, creativity and enthusiasm.” McWatt concludes that the metaphysics of quality implies that educators should be assessed on the extent that their teaching promotes “truth” and non-quantifiables: “In other words, a return to the original understanding of ‘education’ as a Dynamic ‘drawing out’ from students rather than an inculcation by the lecturer of predetermined static information largely dictated by the State.”

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D. R. DAVIS: A QUALITY EDUCATION?

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TEACHERS AND STUDENTS AND COMMUNITY: REFLECTIONS ON JOHN MACMURRAY'S
PHILOSOPHY OF THE PERSONAL AND THREE IMPORTANT EDUCATIONAL MATTERS

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John Macmurray, a 20th century Scottish philosopher, marched to the beat of a different drummer throughout his career. Although he understood the importance of systematic philosophic formations, he chose to direct his intelligence to concerns he believed to be of practical importance to individuals in contemporary society. He surrendered the possibility, in this regard, that he would achieve the international prominence of some of his British contemporaries. For almost a quarter century following his death in 1976, Macmurray and his philosophic work all but disappeared from scholarly attention. Recently, however, Macmurray and his philosophy of personal agency and relationships have attracted revived attention especially from political and theological scholars as well as a few educators.¹

Macmurray's philosophy is grounded in his conception of the personal self. Rather than a theoretical subject, this personal self is a practical agent. Moreover, the personal self, he held, cannot exist in isolation, but only in a serious mutuality of relationship with another, a second person. A number of other ideas are also fundamental to Macmurray's philosophy. They include, but are not limited to, his understanding of the relationship of the theoretical to the practical, one in which the practical is the source of inquiry that leads to action in particularity. Of special importance, also, is his differentiation between the nature of community and of society.

Macmurray's position about persons and relationships appears to have a direct relevance to contemporary education. This paper, among other things, assays dimensions of that possibility.

Macmurray: An Overview of His Life²

John Macmurray lived (1891-1970) from the latter years of Queen Victoria's reign until the dawn of the Thatcherite conservative resurgence. Born in Dumfries in the Scottish border region, Macmurray, the eldest of four children in his working-class family, was immersed from infancy in a Calvinist Presbyterianism of both faith and culture. Near the turn of the century, young John's father moved the family to Aberdeen in order that his children might enjoy the availability of what he believed would be a strong education.

During his secondary schooling, Macmurray studied the usual classical subjects. Especially piquing his interest and imagination, however, were his studies in

science, particularly biology and chemistry. Indeed, for a time, he thought that science would be his career specialty. The family's move to Glasgow in 1909 made impossible Macmurray's planned enrollment at the University of Aberdeen.

A few years earlier, Macmurray began his intense engagement with evangelical Christianity. His lighted religious fervor was constructed, to be sure, on the basis of his and his family's substantial faith as well as their attention to Bible study and regular devotions. These developments in the growth of his spirituality continued through the next decade and, although they dipped and waned throughout the remainder of his lifetime, they never disappeared. Indeed, according to some observers, his religious beliefs constituted much of the rich soil from which Macmurray developed his philosophy. In 1909, however, his religious ideas were just beginning to expand beyond his childhood learning and observances.

Enrolling at the University of Glasgow and at the urging of his headmaster at Robert Gordon's College, Macmurray read classics rather than the sciences that he preferred. His Glasgow years saw him become deeply involved in various activities of the Student Christian Movement as well as increased personal Bible study and reflection. The intensity of this focus contributed to his development of a personal pacifist position. Applying for but failing acceptance as a missionary to China, he nevertheless seriously considered the full-time ministry even as he began to experience a weakening of his religious fervor. Also during his years of university study, he met and fell in love with his future wife. His academic record was substantial and he received his degree with First Class Honors in September 1913. Very quickly afterward, he moved to Oxford and enrolled in its classics degree program. Macmurray was at Oxford but for a year before the Great War consumed Europe.

Torn between his pacifism and the riotous patriotism of 1914 England, Macmurray enlisted in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He went with his unit to France in the summer of the following year. There, his intimacy with death, dismemberment, and triage took a heavy toll on both his religious faith and his personality. By early spring of the next year, he applied for a commission and assignment to a fighting unit such that he could "share the worst." On June 1, 1916, Lance Corporal Macmurray became a Second Lieutenant in the Queen's

Own Cameron Highlanders and received orders to join his regiment in the Somme sector of the Allied lines. His regiment participated in the continuing and devastating trench warfare of the next two years. In March 1918, his war ended during the fierce battle of Arras. Macmurray, the only survivor from his company, received serious combat wounds and, for his battlefield gallantry, he received the Military Cross. By war's end, he and uncounted other surviving veterans wondered why they had escaped death. Additionally and based on his experiences, he accepted as real that war was utter folly.

Wartime ushered in his marriage, even as it profoundly disrupted his theological commitments. Unlike thousands of comrades, however, he did not abandon religion, but he became profoundly disenchanted with church membership. A dramatic event in the process of his abandonment of institutional churches occurred in early 1917. On leave from the front, he delivered a sermon at a North London church. In this sermon, he called on the congregants to reject vengeance toward Germans and, in the coming peacetime, to seek serious reconciliation with formerly warring peoples. For the remainder of his life, Macmurray remembered the frigid hostility of the congregation and noted ruefully, "...no one spoke to me after the service was over."

Back at Oxford after the war's end but still in uniform, Macmurray resumed his academic studies, but turned them from classics to philosophy. He received an Honours MA the following September. For the next two years, he taught at the University of Manchester. He then spent a year at the South African University of Witwatersrand. Returning to Oxford's Balliol College for six years, he accepted the Grote Professorship in Mind and Logic at University College London in 1928. He held this appointment for the next 16 years until, in 1944, he assumed the renowned Chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. He retired from this Chair in 1958, and he and his wife moved to Jordans, a village near Edinburgh. A year later, both became members of the local Quaker community. Macmurray died in 1976.

Macmurray's Philosophy of the Personal

During his Balliol College tutorship in the mid-1920's, Macmurray launched his career as a philosopher. He began deliberately to develop his philosophy of the personal. Prominent among its sources were the independence he enjoyed from institutionalized church affiliation as well as his continuing acceptance of the importance of religion, specifically, the basic tenets of

Christianity, in the society he knew (the West) as well as in his own life. Unquestionably, his wartime experiences and his reflections about them, as well as his understandings of the vagaries and vulgarities of postwar England, constituted another important source of his emerging notions of the personal. Importantly, his understandings of the personal did not simply emerge. Rather, he pursued and developed these meanings throughout the remainder of his career.

This pursuit is evidenced throughout copies of Macmurray's lectures, essays, and books. Important partly because it offers his early conceptions and reasoning about the personal was his *Freedom in the Modern World*, originally published in 1932.³ His formulations in their mature expression appeared in the prestigious Gifford Lectures which he delivered at the University of Glasgow during the spring terms of 1953 and 1954. Subsequently, and for an expanded readership, he revised these lectures for publication in two books, *The Self as Agent* (1957)⁴ and *Persons in Relations* (1961).⁵

Basic to his conception of the personal was his rejection of dualism (e.g., mind-body, secular-religious, cognitive-emotional). Similarly, he held that the personal *cannot* develop by itself or, in other words, in isolation from another person (individual). For a person to be real, s/he must not only *not be* alone, but must be seriously *in relation* with another. Additionally, a person in relation abandons the primacy of self or ego or individual gain/profit. So doing, persons in relation are individuals who share a mutuality that insists on the overriding good *for the other* more than for one's self. In this conception, the self is a *doer*, an *agent*, and *not* a subject.⁶

Macmurray's ideas of the personal, to be sure, recognize the value of wholeness rather than of segmentation. They also undermine the Enlightenment's focus on lone individuals or on each individual. As well, they depreciate the values of competition between individuals to the advantage of one and to the disadvantage (or destruction) of the other. Macmurray reasonably, no— properly— understood that persons in relation constitute a community. In Macmurray's words, "The members of a community are in communion with one another, and their association is a fellowship."⁷

Certainly this system of ideas can be named, at least in part, as "communitarian." It can be maligned and misrepresented as "communistic." The former category seems to add little to meaning, although the category name may assist some readers to increase their understanding of Macmurray's position. The latter

categorization, on the other hand, is delusional.

In a community or a fellowship of persons, affiliation and differentiation are voluntary actions. In a “communistic” society, an individual’s application for affiliation (membership) may be rejected as well as it may be accepted and disaffiliation commonly is neither voluntary nor routinely permitted. “Expulsion” [by death or other means], however, remains an option held by “the leaders” of that society. Thus, an attempt to label Macmurray’s position as “communistic” extends far beyond the limits that he set and, consequently, fails miserably.

Similarly misguided is the insistence that a community of persons constitutes a democratic society. As but one example, American history reveals all too often that the US society cannot be characterized as a community of persons in fellowship and, moreover, frequently has exerted powers vested in a variety of privileges in order to control rather than to free individuals.

Macmurray’s meanings, however, seem not necessarily to elevate “community” above “society.” Rather, Macmurray appears to insist that each of these notions must be differentiated with care rather than to be employed capriciously or less than with rigorous attention to pursued meanings and logical relationships.

Explorations of Possible Understanding: Two Educational Advocacies and Macmurray’s Meanings

What follows are two analyses of educational advocacies that constitute adventures toward understanding. Each of these different adventures employs (a) different aspect(s) of Macmurray’s philosophy of the personal. Admittedly, conclusions and the logic of these efforts should suffer reanalysis, criticism, revision, and, perhaps even, rejection. They are adventures-in-progress.

The relationship of teaching to learning

Educators and the public at large commonly hold that *teaching is consequential* that it *causes learning*, or, noted differently, *learning is the criterion for teaching*. For example, American philosopher William Heard Kilpatrick wrote in 1925, “The salesman hasn’t sold unless the customer buys. The teacher hasn’t taught unless the child learns. I believe in the proportion: teaching: learning = selling: buying.”⁸ Too, contemporary legislative requirements (e.g., NCLB), insist that teaching (and even school administrative leadership) causes learning and, in the event that students’ test scores do not improve to reach expected levels, teachers may be disciplined or may lose their positions. Almost never challenged is the widely held conviction that teaching causes learning. Indeed, this

belief constitutes a kind of self-evident cultural “truth.” Upon careful analysis, however, this asserted relationship more likely constitutes only fools’ gold.

Note Macmurray’s reasoning. “Since Self and Other are primary correlates, any determination of one of them must formally characterize the Other also. The form of the Self and the form of the Other must be identical: the categories through which both are thought must be the same. If I am the agent, then the Other is the other agent. If my act is the realization of my intention, then the activity of the Other is the realization of his intention. Thus, the primary correlation, on which all knowledge rests, is the ‘You and I’ in active relation. How then is it possible for the Other to be known as non-personal? Only by a *reduction of the concept of the Other which excludes part of its definition*; only, that is to say, by a partial negation: only by downgrading the ‘You’ in the ‘You and I’ to the status of ‘It.’”⁹

Thus, for this all-to-brief exploration, the ‘Self’ may be known as the teacher and the ‘Other’ may be understood to be that teacher’s student. Only if the teacher’s student is conceived to be an ‘it’ might the nature of teaching be claimed to be causative. Such a claim, however, seriously *complicates* rather than *clarifies* the nature of the individual under instruction and, as well, the relationship of teacher and student. More specifically, this claim makes no theoretical or practical sense inasmuch as both the teacher and the teacher’s student act in accord with their own individual perceptions¹⁰. Or, as Harold Benjamin contended, the student “is under his own command”¹¹ and, by extension, so, also, is the teacher under their own command. Or, to extrapolate from John Macmurray’s position about agency, neither the teacher nor the student is an *It*, but, rather, each is an *agent*.

Additionally, the term “student” indicates that the individual under instruction is or reasonably is engaged *at the present time* in a special process (i.e., studying). This meaning describes what most but not all individuals under instruction really *do* rather than what they *have done*. Most teachers, for example, have fresh memories of students who *do not* study lessons that their teachers offer and/or who are motivated to do something other than study. Thus, although “student” carries some problematic baggage, this term carries not only a different kind, but, also, much more and more serious baggage than does the term “learner.”

Also having at least two major meanings is the term “learner.” Both of these meanings reasonably appear to be hollow.

One meaning holds that the individual under instruction is motivated or intends to learn what the

teacher intends for them to learn. In the everydayness of their teaching experience, however, teachers recognize that some number of asserted "learners" truly are *not motivated* or *do not intend* to learn the lessons taught, but *are* motivated, instead, to learn something(s) altogether different from those emphasized in those lessons and/or have decided *not* to learn from lessons at all (e.g., to "opt out" of any personal engagement with the offered lesson).

The other major meaning of "learner" insists that the individual under instruction *has completed* their "in process" of studying or, in fact, already *has learned* what the teacher intended for them to learn. This understanding begs the issue inasmuch as "learner" in ordinary discourse identifies an individual student both prior to and following the completion of the teacher's instruction. Again as many teachers certainly know, some asserted "learners" actually did not learn the lessons offered by teachers.

Extending this analysis with the use of Macmurray's language, the teacher exists as agent and the student *also* is an agent. Each, furthermore, *acts* to realize their separate intentions. Thus, the teacher "teaches" (acts or behaves with intention such that another – (a) student(s) – may, but not "must" learn). Similarly, the student "studies" (acts or behaves with intention to learn what the teacher offers). Of course, common experience recognizes that *expected* or *assumed* intentions cannot or, at least, should not be understood to be *actual* intentions – of "a specific teacher or teachers in general or of a particular student or students in general. Furthermore, if a teacher is understood to possess agency and a student is assumed to have *no* agency, the student in this contrived relationship is conceptualized as an "it," one only *acted upon*. In truth, this latter conceptualization of the student is faulty, even fraudulent, certainly unrealistic. Again, awareness of reality insists that *both* teachers and student *must* be understood as *agents* and *not* as *subjects*. Each possesses or comes to have personal intentions and, ordinarily but not always, acts according to those intentions. A number of practical, realistic examples of altogether possible intention-action relationships of teacher and student can be generated with relative ease. Two are used as examples here.

A particular teacher may assert an intention to teach what should be a compelling lesson, one substantively rich. However, she may only "go through the motions" to display her stated intentions. Her actions, thereby, reveal that her stated intentions were cosmetic and essentially corrupt. Moreover, her actions exhibit her

real intentions, e.g., "to get by" even as she "advertises" her teaching as attractive. In a similar vein, a specific student may consent to his parents' wishes or demands that he "pay attention" to the day's mathematics lesson and to engage the content. This student may "sleep through" his mathematics lesson, actions that are consistent with his *real* intention (e.g., to think of something other than mathematics), no matter his promise to his parents to engage the lesson (to behave consistent with his assertion).

That these intentions-actions are not desirable fails to admit the realities embedded in Macmurray's position. To expect that the teacher and the student (the 'Self' and the 'Other') intend and act in ways that are non-personally derived and/or externally demanded is to substitute wish for reality. Simply, persons as *agents* act consistent with their *real* intentions.

Logically, then, Macmurray's position assists in understanding the relationship of teaching and learning. Because both teacher and student are agents, teaching does *not* mean that it is *consequential* (i.e., that teaching causes learning). It can only be *intentional* and, thus, not easily (if at all) controlled by external authority or definition. Clearly, the widely-held belief that the teacher controls student learning is *not supported* [or *is rejected*] by Macmurray's conceptions of personal agency and the intention-action relationship. Nevertheless, the emperor continues to insist that he wears new clothes.

Advocacies of 'communities of learning'

A number of contemporary educators insist that the creation and/or existence of communities of learning in schools and classrooms will or do characterize successful reform efforts. This advocacy not uncommonly claims that such groupings (surely) will yield improved teaching (or instructional practices) as well as higher achievement by students. Additionally, the advocacies imply or note at least three assumptions for these groups' assured success. One, a community is a group of individuals who share the same sentiments. A second assumption is that these community's members are and will continue to be consistent learners. Third, the translation of a theoretic *should* into reality can be accomplished, often with ease. Mindful consideration of each of these assumptions affirms that they are seriously flawed and more than likely unjustified. Importantly, these advocacies are or can become realities – at least for the most part – by assertion only.

Remembering Macmurray's ideas about community, no group of persons can become a 'community' by fiat. Their being in communion or fellowship comes first,

before they can become a community. Groups of students and their teacher come together in “classes” or “sections” primarily by administrative assignment, that is by fiat, rather than by decisions (choices) to associate with others who share their intentions about some matter of being or of schooling. They may be a kind of *society*, but they do not constitute a *community*. Ordinarily, these students and teachers undertake their work for the term according to a fixed calendar and clock schedule, often even before they know one another’s names. The school, moreover, has no explicit expectations that the class members will develop into a fellowship. Students and teacher, however, may share a related-ness through variables such as course name (e.g., physics) or classification year (e.g., sophomore) or asserted rigor of the course (e.g., Advanced Placement English). In such circumstances, they undoubtedly are not and likely will not become *in relation* with another student or much less with several other classmates. Individual class members reasonably may share no interest in a developed friendship with even one other member of the class group. Under such circumstances, how can these students constitute a *community* of any kind, much less a *community of learners*? Except possibly as a ‘community’ asserted by teacher or principal or newspaper reporter, no real fellowship should be expected, and, therefore, no real community can be expected to exist. The appeal for a *community of learners* appears to be an attractive slogan, but it likely will remain fictive.

On the other hand, a *community of learners* is not impossible to imagine. The major problem of such an educational imagination is that it is theoretic only. Reality and the theoretic may be related, but translation of educational theory into school realities (or practices) is almost always *impossible*. As biologist and philosopher Joseph Schwab has observed, the *theoretic* and the *practical* differ profoundly.¹² Most important, they almost never are or can be congruent. Theory commonly is a parsimonious expression in which variations deliberately are reduced or excluded. The practical, on the other hand, is “messy.” It is complex and particular at the same time. To attempt to force such complicated practice into conformity with a single theoretical formulation can only leave many important aspects of practice untouched or excluded. The possibility, moreover, of any satisfactory translation of an educational theory, much less of a political slogan, into real, educational practice (e.g., community of learners) appears only presumptive and wished, but seldom if ever to be achieved.¹³

Imagination of possibilities, on the other hand, need

not be dismissed outright. Imagination coupled with John Macmurray’s conceptions of community and of persons seem necessary to any reenvisioned and possible *community of persons (students and teachers) in schools*. Imagination, also, may foster the development of alternative ends in view. Indeed, imagination expressed within deliberations by persons directly to be involved in acts to construct, even invent, a *real* community of persons in schools is an intellectual tool properly used. Imagination linked with considerations of context and of understanding can contribute to decisions to act, even inadequate and inconsistent decisions to act, such that a community of persons in schools may develop in reality. A *community of learners* likely cannot be imagined into reality. Also, imagination, however useful, is insufficient. Actions based on thoughtful deliberations may but also may not enable the development of a *community of persons in schools*. Its possibilities remain untested in thought as well as action.

The advocacy of *communities of learners* is both a popular and attractive slogan. Its assumptions, for the most part, are empty. A substituted possibility of *communities of persons in schools* seems to much more substantially grounded, due in large part to John Macmurray’s conceptions of community. However, until serious deliberation considers this substitution and actions are taken on the basis of decisions made, the new prospect remains more theoretic than practical. To be sure, that prospect can change.

Some Concluding Remarks

John Macmurray, throughout his career, attended to aspects of education, albeit in Scottish and English contexts. Unfortunately for contemporary educators, however, he published little explicitly about or related to education. Some number of essays and notes on education, however, exist. They remain in his papers at the University of Edinburgh Library. Only a few scholars have studied them. I suspect, however, that this situation will change soon. With the renewed interest in Macmurray and his philosophy, his thoughts on education surely will become more widely known.

I must confess that I am not an academic philosopher. On the other hand, I claim to be, in its original meaning, an amateur, one who loves or at least enjoys the pursuit of philosophy. Accordingly, I have offered my thoughts about Macmurray and the relationship of his ideas to education and its improvement. My study of Macmurray’s philosophy has served both to inform and to complicate a number of meanings about curriculum and instruction. I invite readers and others to join in adventures with

O. L. DAVIS, Jr.: TEACHERS AND STUDENTS AND COMMUNITY: REFLECTIONS ON JOHN MACMURRAY'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE PERSONAL AND THREE IMPORTANT EDUCATIONAL MATTERS

Macmurray's ideas. Now, only a few of us educators appear to admit to our engagement with Macmurray and his philosophy.

Only within the past fifteen years did I discover Macmurray's works. I am confident that I would have remained ignorant of them had my son, Matthew, not taken a summer course with Professor John Score at Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas. Matthew remarked one day that Professor Score had talked about ideas of a Scottish philosopher whose book had been the source of his class remarks. Soon afterward, I talked briefly with Dr. Score who gave me the author's name, John Macmurray, and the title of the book, *Freedom in the Modern World*. I quickly bought a copy and found it to be easy to read. I also have found that I had to re-read it several times before I took on some of the fresh meanings of Macmurray's words. I

continue to reread my favorite books by Macmurray even as I search for other of his books and essays. For the past several summers, my seminar students and I have studied his *Persons in Relation*.

I believe that John Macmurray's philosophy has much to offer to the understanding and critique of contemporary schooling. I know that it is not a template by which education may be reformed. On the other hand, I believe that it can stimulate educators and the public at large to think, to plan, to engage education more richly than many have treated it in years past. I predict that this difference will not be overwhelmingly dramatic, but, in some particulars, it surely will be significant. Earlier, I invited you to pursue Macmurray's ideas. Now, I encourage you to begin this pursuit much sooner than later.

ENDNOTES

1. See, for example, David Fergusson and Nigel Dower (Eds.), *John Macmurray: Critical Perspectives* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); Adam Hood, *Baillie, Oman and Macmurray: Experience and Religious Belief* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003); Frank G. Kirkpatrick, *John Macmurray: Community beyond Political Philosophy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005).
2. This overview was developed from John E. Costello, *John Macmurray: A Biography* (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 2002).
3. John Macmurray, *Freedom in the Modern World* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1992).
4. John Macmurray, *The Self as Agent* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1991).
5. John Macmurray, *Persons in Relation* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1991).
6. Macmurray, *The Self as Agent*, p. 90.
7. Macmurray, *Persons in Relation*, p. 146.
8. William Heard Kilpatrick, *Foundations of Method; Informal Talks on Teaching* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 282.
9. Macmurray, *Persons in Relation*, pp. 79-80.
10. Arthur W. Combs, *Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior* (New York: Harper, 1947).
11. Harold R. W. Benjamin, *Under Their Own Command* (New York: Macmillan, 1947).
12. Joseph J. Schwab, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum," *School Review* 78 (1969): 1-23.
13. See, for example, Joseph J. Schwab, "The "Impossible" Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education," *School Review* 67 (1959): 139-159.

WHY AND HOW TO WRITE A UNIVERSITY HISTORY

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Why write a university history? For me, I would quote Sir Edmond Hillary's response when queried as to why he climbed to the summit of Mount Everest. Simply put, "Because it is there" – the mountain or a university's history. For every university there is a story to be told – a challenge to curious scholars.

So, for starters, I believe writing a university history is a noble endeavor. Will Durant, famed historian, in the preface to his multi-volume history of civilization, believed that writing history was a duty we owed to our posterity, stating, "Let us, before we die, gather up our heritage and offer it to our children." He believed: "There are not many things finer in our murderous species than this noble curiosity, this restless passion to understand."

On a lighter, more self-serving note, even the greenest, aspiring, struggling scholar in academe is aware that to become a full-fledged member of the academic faculty, one must publish or perish. There sometimes is an ungodly humor reflected in irreverent jokes such as the one concerning two Roman soldiers casting dice on a robe at the foot of a cross. One looked up at the unfortunate victim nailed to the cross and mused,

"I hear he was truly a great teacher."

"Yes," said his companion, rolling the dice as he rolled his eyes, "but what has he published lately?"

Writing often is a lonely job. However, as a student writing a university history in 1963, I was fortunate in having a kind and loving graduate committee to advise and oversee my work. Years later, in writing the history of another university, I worked with a committee of former members of the faculty and staff. Truly, writing a university history can become a team effort, and I have always been grateful for the interest and advice from good friends and colleagues eager to help in telling the story.

My graduate committee used to chide me about hauling my manuscript around the campus in a wheelbarrow, all of us praying that a strong wind would not seize and scatter it along the front range of the Rockies. A mere four-volumes totaling 1865 typed pages, it seemingly weighed a ton; and those august professors feared dropping it on their feet – or so they said. Watered down to book size, it was only 798 printed pages. Its selling price in book stores was a staggering \$10 a copy – which was roughly what an aspiring scholar expended on ALL of his books a semester.

I feared that the publisher would go under and lose a fortune on the book. Fifty years later, I am proud to say that all copies were sold; it is now a rare book, and sells for \$180 a copy if one can find one.

This experience led me to the conclusion that university histories ultimately sell out. Meanwhile, if one's profession is in academe, having a book published enhances a personal resume. Thus, from both an economic and academic standpoint, a university history is both publishable and marketable.

While ascending the slippery slopes of academe I was delighted to learn that from my historical research I could create short articles and biographies and market them in magazines and newspapers as well as academic journals. But, along the way, I confess I had more fun as a story teller than as a sanctified scholar.

As for getting a full-blown university history into print, current trends suggest that many universities now underwrite publishing costs – the president's office, the university press, the alumni and/or development foundation. Sometimes a copy of the book is given to alumni or friends of the university as an incentive or reward to those who make a substantial donation to the institution.

In reviewing the literature related to histories of universities, one of my favorite books was *The Masters*, by C.P. Snow – a novel on the selection of a head master at Cambridge. I particularly liked Snow's appendix, wherein he related his reflections on Cambridge University and its long, long history, stating: "It had begun as nothing very lofty. In had begun, in fact, as a kind of boarding-house . . . a boarding-house such as grew up round all the medieval universities . . ." I particularly found some humor in Snow's observation that "the students liked the life. It was wild, free, and entirely uncontrolled. . . The students liked their life, but no one else did." *That* aspect of higher learning hasn't changed much in eight centuries.

According to Snow, these glorified boarding houses came to be called colleges. Describing Cambridge in the 13th Century, Snow wrote: "This was the college when it began. It was poor, unpretentious, attempted little save to keep its scholars out of mischief, counted for very little."

What *goes into* a book is seldom criticized. I discovered that the most strident complaints often come from what *is left out*. For example, how can the author (me) cite the All-Americans in athletics and neglect

listing the names of the people who played in the string quartet?

Specifically, readers and critics often express concern on the amount of attention given to intercollegiate athletics. As one university sports information director observed: "Athletics gets 1% of the budget and 99% of the media coverage." Actually, the facts are probably even more alarming. At one point in time I decided to do my own independent research on newspaper emphasis on sports, and in a 44-day period compared the coverage of the resignation of the university president, the award of a National Medal of Arts by the U.S. President to a noted author and faculty member, and the firing and hiring of a basketball coach. Column inches of newspaper coverage was 2,007 for the coach, 155 for the resigning president, and 31 for the teacher-writer.

In the last half century, my personal research has revealed that following a major scandal in a university's athletic department, within three years the head coach of the sport, the athletic director, and the president of the institution *are all gone!* There is an old saying that intercollegiate athletics is like sex – it may be over-emphasized, but it is hard to make it unpopular with the masses.

By virtue of the fact the author of a history is in a position to include or exclude any material which over a period of time may impact on the image of a university, the selection of material may be highly biased. For example, for the most part, references to a president as a womanizer or boozier are seldom found in a university history. The same can be said for any references to a governing board that builds a freeway around the authority of the president – or a governor whose appointments to the board are doled out as political favors – or faculty who abuse their power over students by bullying them with vulgar language under the guise of free speech.

The peremptory dismissal of an outstanding president in the early years of the University of New Mexico serves as an excellent case in point. Unbeknownst to members of the governing Board, upon being hired by the UNM Regents a newly appointed prexy abandoned a wife and child in Ohio to move to Albuquerque. Popular with the faculty and students, the fledgling university made great strides under his leadership. Quietly, in his private life, he got a divorce, paid child support, and from all public accounts conducted his personal affairs within the letter of the law.

In some quarters, however, divorce was not an acceptable solution to a marriage that had gone awry.

Unhappily for the President, when a Catholic priest and a Baptist preacher were appointed to the Board, the balance of power changed and he was in deep trouble. His problems were exacerbated when he took a female faculty member for an unchaperoned buggy-ride. At the next meeting of the Regents, he was summarily fired. No reason for the action ever appeared in the Minutes of the Regents.

On another note, a good historian is well aware that often there are many versions of the same historical event. One humorous example of differing versions of the same story alludes to what Custer must have been thinking at the climatic moment in the Battle of the Little Big Horn. One answer is that as he scanned that pastoral scene of cattle anointed with halos grazing in lush meadows, fish leaping from the sparkling river, and Indians picking cotton, Custer was thinking: "Holy cow and jumping catfish! Look at all those cotton-picking Indians!" From the horrified looks on the faces of people in the listening or reading audience, the historian knows they have heard another version of this story.

And although not sanctified as a proper professional practice, there are instances that history has little basis in fact. A prime example is the origin of the word "Idaho." Allegedly, it is an Arapaho word meaning "gem of the mountains." Horseradish! Colorado historians know it was a name invented for a mining town. Later it was used by backers of statehood for the Colorado Territory and was rejected and changed back to Colorado when the fabrication was discovered. However, politicians responsible for creating the state of Idaho latched onto the name and included it in the legislation founding the state. Today Idahoans think the translation of their state's name means "gem of the mountains." Its real origin is as clouded in mystery as it was to the people of Idaho Springs, Colorado, when it first came into use in 1860.

A personal experience with accidental history relates to Idaho State University. When I became President in 1965, the head of the physical plant, John Korbis, known as the Galloping Greek from Portneuf Creek, informed me that four Greek columns had been donated to the university by a funeral home. He wanted permission to erect them on Red Hill, which overlooked the ISU campus. I agreed. The pillars were planted. Then patrons of the university began asking, "What the hell are those pillars doing on Red Hill?"

Chuckling, John Korbis and I told them that the pillars symbolized the transition of the culture of higher learning from the old world to the new world. Disgruntlement turned to pride, and a quasi-legend was born. Years later, however, I was dismayed when

reading about Idaho State University that the pillars had been erected to symbolize the transition of culture from the old world to the new. Spur-of-the-moment whimsy had become historical lore.

Meanwhile, the students had come up with their own pragmatic historical perspective. According to them, the pillars had been arranged in a cluster of three separated from a single pillar standing all alone. The student version was that the placement of the pillars signified that the odds were three to one that you would never graduate.

In the actual mechanics of how to write a university history, it is important to analyze *how* people will read the history. Unlike reading a novel, few people will read a history from cover to cover. They read selectively. One faculty member at the University of New Mexico who reads a lot of histories remarked that readers first turn to the index. If their name is not in the index, the book is relegated to the coffee table or waiting rooms in medical or dental offices or beauty salons where page turners can look at the pictures.

Other readers often flip to the sections covering their time in the university and feel more comfortable if each chapter is self-contained. Often, prominent and highly successful students or faculty or staff make multiple appearances in multiple chapters of a history – as students, as alums, as distinguished members of their professions. Often, they even make a final appearance by retiring or dying. Certainly, these repeated appearances sometimes involve recall of previous references. My purely personal opinion is that readers dislike having to go backward or forward in a text to check prior or future references.

Finally, as both a reader and a writer, I firmly believe that some chronological order is important. Therefore, I have organized the university histories I have written in chronological order by administrative tenures of presidents. This does not imply that the leadership of any given president is the primary feature in these years – rather, presidential tenures serve as a point of reference, a point in time – often a time of significant and traumatic change in the mission of the institution. Also, since the average tenure of a president of a state university is less than four years, a lot of the chapters are very short. (Some historians, however, prefer a thematic approach built around the liberal arts, science and technology, business, law, medicine—the whole gamut of academic and professional degrees.)

In my approach to organizing the history of a university, sub-topics in the tenure of each president include: the appointment of the president, makeup and action of the governing board, critical issues of fiscal

management, development of academic programs in the schools and colleges, significant academic achievements of faculty, breakthroughs and research activities, campus construction, adjunct campuses, off-campus programs and distance learning, student events and achievements, athletics, alumni, development, and the resignations and departures of presidents – plus anything else that might be of interest or importance.

Most of the above topics involve people. Thus, I like to include personal biographies of administrators, faculty, and staff – where they came from, where they were educated, and the contributions they made to their profession and to the university. These biographies reveal the diversity of backgrounds that make up the faculty and staff of a university which attracts people from literally all over the world. A university becomes a melting pot of learning and culture – a mosaic of people of many races and ethnic backgrounds.

Further, for institutions located in the high, dry, clean air of the Southwest, student bodies and faculty and staff often were enriched by what the locals called “lungers” – men and women afflicted by consumption seeking cures or longer lives in the more healthful climate. Often, history records how persons of great intellect, leadership qualities, and impressive academic credentials affiliated with southwestern universities for health reasons – often at bargain prices for salaries.

In a university history, official documents such as minutes of the governing board, correspondence, and annual reports provide essential primary sources. In addition, however, student, staff, faculty, and alumni publications as well as local newspapers also provide leads and insights into what is happening at a particular time. The latter reflect the moods and feelings and reactions of those directly affected by “happenings” on the campus at the time they are “happening.”

Further, I also believe a university history should capture those feelings of what it is like to be a part of a university – that special relationship between students and faculty and students and students. It also should convey that personal awareness and sensitivity to the beauty and serenity of majestic halls of learning – the trees and lawns and ponds and landmarks that forever become a part of the memories in the lives of students and faculty. Campus life is loaded with fun and adventure and fabulous characters, and a history should transmit that feeling.

Each university has its special “bragging rights” or distinctive features. For example, at the University of New Mexico, the charm of the pueblo architecture is a source of pride – something that makes the UNM campus different from all others. Today’s students cheer

when regaled by the tale of pioneer educator Dean Charles Hodgkin's reply to a critic of Pueblo architecture. The critic questioned whether the University should copy an architectural style 2000 years old. Hodgkin informed him that the Greek and Roman architecture on Eastern campuses also imitated the design of buildings constructed 2000 years ago and that we in higher education often turn to the past for inspiration.

Logically, it might be assumed that any comprehensive history of a university should begin with the beginnings. It is important to roll back the clock and share with the reader what the university was like in those early days. When the University of New Mexico opened its doors in 1892, that lone building on a barren mesa probably did not seem like much of a college. There were good reasons, the most important being it was not much of a college. Because there was no school system in the state, for years what was called a university really was a high school, or pre-high school. The students were young; some boys were still in knickers. The classes were small, and no students were taking college courses.

The isolation of the campus also was a significant issue. That first building was two miles from town—and there were no residence halls, food services, or campus life. Students had to live in town and walk two miles uphill to the campus. The boys often rode horses, so one of the earliest buildings on the campus was a stable. The “girl” students trudged up the dirt or mud road in boots and carried their “good” shoes in paper bags. At the top of the hill they would stash their boots in the bags, put on their “good” shoes, and go to classes. The procedure was reversed at the end of the day.

Later, the trip up and down the hill could be made by a horse-drawn wagon if one had a nickel to pay for the ride. Still later came horse-drawn trolleys, and even later, street cars, paved roads, and, finally, automobiles.

As was often true in the West, Albuquerque was not a typical college town. For many years, it was rail's end for the Santa Fe Railroad. Its population was mostly males, and the streets were lined with saloons, bordellos, gambling halls, and opium dens. Clearly, it was a place where a young person could be educated, but in ways that did not pay off in college degrees.

But times changed. Churches and women helped civilize Albuquerque and grammar schools and high schools and Indian schools altered the educational landscape. The young university took root and grew. Accompanying its academic growth was the development of a campus culture. Legends and folklore added to the aura of the university. Tall tales and campus pranks, such as the horse in the chapel or the

President rounding up the cattle and driving the herd into downtown Albuquerque, became a part of the growing history. References to President Gray clad in academic gown and mortar board hat riding around the campus on a bicycle in his desire to create an atmosphere of Oxford on the Rio Grande brought quiet chuckles behind his back and have endured for generations. Students of that time love to be reminded that there was some question as to whether the fences around the campus were to keep the cattle out or the students in. Campus life became an integral part of a student's “college education.”

And, certainly, the history of the university should be related to what is happening on the national and international scene – the wars, the depression, the GI Bill, the space age, the lap-top computer, cell phones, I-Pod – all those things that impact the lives of students. In addition, a history should reflect how the institution relates to sister institutions in the state, the nation, and around the world.

Perhaps, above all, the history should trace the evolving and ever-changing mission of the institution as it seeks to meet the needs of the people of the state and prepare them for positions of leadership for every profession.

One problem prevalent in the western universities was the dilemma of whether the curriculum should adhere to standards set for prestigious universities in the East or upper Mid-West or be tailored to fit the needs of young people on the raw western frontier. Many parents and students felt they probably would have little use for Latin and Greek in their battle for existence in an undeveloped territory. Others, however, felt that the purpose of higher education was to prepare students to meet the exacting requirements of great universities wherever they were. Today, more than a hundred years later, that battle continues.

And no history is complete without evaluating how well the University is fulfilling its mission and how it might measure its impact on the educational, cultural, and economic life of the people it seeks to serve. It is the story of the students, the alumni, the faculty and staff and administrators – their aspirations, their failures, their disputes and conflicts, and, above all, their high achievements in adding value to all the lives they touch.

Finally, the appendices of the book should be one of the most important aspects of a good history because it records and preserves the roster of people and events -- governors, governing boards, presidents, school and college administrators, departments, beginnings of academic degrees, and other records of the institution. It represents the archives of an institution – a record that

will grow and be added to – a chronicle that will and should endure for centuries – a record of human endeavor that traces the story from its origins to the current and future times – sometimes humble – always proud.

It is my strong opinion that histories should be updated at each change of administration and capture and preserve the lore of the institution, the state, the people, the events, and the time they portray.

One or more centuries from now, perhaps even sooner, a university history will become a definitive account of what happened in a particular era of time. For most universities in the U.S. West, at this time the time frame encompasses little more than a century. Patrons can see and feel what education on the frontier was like in its raw beginnings. For those who have been a part of a university, for those who have been touched by its influence and carry on its spirit, it will be a piece of immortality. Within a university, good things don't just happen. Good and dedicated people make them

happen. And their stories and their pictures will endure as long as there is a university.

In looking back on the history of a university, often its beginnings are more than humble – they are downright impoverished. However, those involved in the struggles over the years know that every building, every appropriation, every program represents a battle fought and won.

I close by again referring to my *alma mater*, the University of Colorado. Above the main doors and entrance to the Library is an inscription which reads: "Enter here the timeless fellowship of the human spirit." At a time of renovation of the Library, there was another sign: "Use Side Doors."

A good history makes use of ALL the doors!

Lieutenant General James G. Harbord stated it well when he said "The road you travel so briskly leads out of dim antiquity, and you study the past chiefly because of its bearing on the living present and its promise for the future."

CULTURE AND EDUCATION: MATTHEW ARNOLD AND JOHN DEWEY

Mark David Dietz, University of Texas at Austin

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,
With nowhere yet to rest my head,
Like these, on earth I wait forlorn.
Their faith, my tears, the world deride –
I come to shed them at their side.
—Matthew Arnold, “Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse”

Matthew Arnold died on April 15, 1888. He and his wife, Fanny Lucy, were in Liverpool to meet their daughter who had just returned from America. Fanny Lucy had run ahead of Matthew to stop a horse-drawn tram that would take them to the Liverpool Landing Stage where they would meet their daughter. As Arnold approached the tram, he fell forward into the street. Fanny Lucy called for brandy to revive him. Four minutes later, in the study-room of a doctor who lived nearby, Arnold was dead of the heart disease he had inherited from his father.¹

John Dewey was twenty-nine years old at the time Arnold died. Dewey had read Arnold while an undergraduate at the University of Vermont where library records show him checking out a collection of Arnold's literary essays, two of Arnold's works on religion, *Literature and Dogma* and *God and the Bible*, and one of Arnold's volumes on education, *The Popular Education of France*.² Two years after Arnold died, Dewey published a critical essay on Arnold (essentially Dewey's only excursion into poetry criticism). In this essay, entitled “Poetry and Philosophy,” Dewey wondered if something in the agnostic sentiment of the age had led Arnold, as a poet, to respond to the modern condition with such deep pessimism and such a profound sense of isolation.

Arnold's distinguishing sign among modern poets is the melancholy beauty with which he has voiced the sense of loss; his sad backward glance at the departure of old faiths and ideals; the brooding memories of joys whose spring has fallen away; the shapeless, hopeless hope for the dawn of a new joy, new faith. I should say that the source of regret which expires from Arnold's lines is his consciousness of a twofold isolation of man—his isolation from nature, his isolation from fellow-man. No longer, he seems to say, may man believe in his oneness with the dear nature about him: the sense of a common spirit binding them together has vanished; the sense of a common purpose outworking in both has fled. Nature, in ceasing to be divine, has ceased to be human. The faith that one idea, one fulfillment,

unites in cherished bonds man to nature, is no more; in its stead, the consciousness of isolation.³

Matthew Arnold was the foremost literary critic of his generation, famous in both England and America. His poetry was compared with that of Alfred Lord Tennyson and Robert Browning (in the essay quoted above, Dewey compares Arnold to Browning and finds Arnold's poetry too pessimistic, while Browning's he sees as having a more “human touch”).⁴ Arnold earned his living as an inspector of schools. His wide-ranging critical essays took him into a variety of subjects including politics, religion and education.

John Dewey, the American pragmatist and educational philosopher, as we have seen, overlaps with Arnold for but a few decades, and these were Dewey's formative years, before he had made much of a name for himself. Although, Dewey's philosophical and academic career had begun before Arnold passed on, Arnold surely knew nothing of this young American. The same cannot be said for Dewey; he knew Arnold, read Arnold and, as we shall see, responded extensively to Arnold's thoughts and ideas.

In a recent book,⁵ Donald D. Stone has established the influence of Arnold upon Dewey across the various paths of thought that were common to both. As Stone shows these influences were extensive: Arnold, and not Mill, was Dewey's primary influence in his conception of democracy; Arnold created an intimate link between democracy and education upon which Dewey enlarged and expanded; and (as, frankly, others have noted) Arnold's Spinozan religious theories had a significant impact on Dewey's ideas of religion particularly as expressed in his late book, “A Common Faith.” The relationship between these two notable thinkers is larger and more revelatory than the extant comparisons of the two would suggest. One can only imagine that, coming from two such different worlds (Arnold is known best in literary circles; Dewey amongst philosophers and educators), has left the comparison between the two largely under-explored until now. Stone's book deals with Arnold's relationship to many other thinkers, but he ends with Dewey, and we can little doubt that he sees

Dewey as inheriting the primary valences of Arnold's thought more nearly than any of the other thinkers he turns to.

Stone's argument will be dealt with more fully in the section below entitled "Communications with the Future" (the title of Stone's book and a phrase from one of Arnold's essays), but we may say, at this point, that his argument for Arnold's influence on Dewey is strong and persuasive.

My own study of Arnold and Dewey suggested many of the same findings that Stone relates in his book. Frankly, I had inclined, at first, to be more tentative in my conclusions relative to Arnold's influence on Dewey. However, I have found myself, more and more, the deeper I get into the study of these two thinkers, agreeing with Stone on all his major findings relative to the two. The influence is, no doubt, present, and its depth is greater than I had expected to find. Reading Dewey in light of Arnold provides something of the same significance as reading Dewey in light of William James or George Herbert Mead— apparently elliptic thoughts take on a greater richness and vitality in light of these influences. Not particularly, one suspects, what Dewey had hoped for in his writing, but the dialog that Stone sees Arnold engaged in, we must also see Dewey engaged in if we are to understand him fully.

The influence of Arnold on Dewey having been reasonably established by Stone, the next step in comparing the two is to look more closely at the junctures of their thoughts and explore both sides of the comparative question: not only how do their thoughts converge, but, also, how do they diverge? Where do they agree; where do they disagree? But, most importantly, what can we learn from such a comparison that may suggest a more complete theory of education than either man was able to elaborate on his own? The last question suggests, and I hope to show this to be the case, that Arnold and Dewey complete each other. Arnold's focus on culture as the means of achieving the aims of education addresses the social and cultural inheritance that Dewey's focus on problem-solving and individual needs under-emphasizes. But Arnold's focus on culture by itself is impractical and incapable of addressing the variety of individual needs that the modern world demands. Some combination of the two may better meet the future, progressive needs that were essential to both of their philosophies.

Communications with the Future

Frankly, little has been written on the influence of Arnold on Dewey, but what has been written frames many of the issues of greatest significance. Lionel

Trilling saw Arnold as a sort of proto-pragmatist. S. Morris Eames drew the conclusion that Arnold's conception of poetry as "a criticism of life" significantly influenced Dewey's overall conception of philosophy as a "criticism of criticism." Alexander Meiklejohn connected Arnold with Dewey in a tradition of anti-dogmatism. Alan Ryan demonstrates the dependence that Dewey's *A Common Faith* had upon Arnold's writing. He also argues that Arnold and Dewey were alike in their faith in liberal education as a means of achieving a democratic society. However, Donald Stone provides the most thorough comparison of the two men's thoughts.

S. Morris Eames, in his introductory comments to the third volume of Dewey's *Early Works*, comments broadly on Arnold's influence on Dewey.

Dewey is appreciative of many of the insights of Matthew Arnold, and in later years he turns again and again to ideas he attributed to this poet and critic. Arnold once wrote that "poetry is a criticism of life," and while Dewey thinks that poetry is more than this, he was influenced by Arnold's view in transferring it into philosophy, for he later writes that philosophy "is inherently criticism," and in his own method makes philosophy "a criticism of criticisms."⁶

Some mention must be made of Alexander Meiklejohn's *Education Between Two Worlds* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1942). With a chapter on Arnold, five chapters on Dewey and a title that clearly alludes to Arnold's famous line about "wandering between two worlds, one dead,/ the other powerless to be born" (Stanzas from the *Grande Chartreuse*), one would expect more of a comparison between Arnold and Dewey than is provided. What we get is, however, a solid confirmation of our general theme: "The animus of pragmatic education has been directed against Victorianism. With greater force and sharper weapons it has fought essentially the same fight in which Matthew Arnold was engaged."⁷ He goes on to say that Arnold would have seen the pragmatist agenda as little more than a "mopping up" action. Arnold was quite a strong in his anti-dogmatist views as was Dewey. Meiklejohn recognizes this and astutely places Dewey in the Arnoldian educational tradition.

In *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism*, Alan Ryan provides an intellectual history of Dewey that rivals Lionel Trilling's intellectual history of Arnold. He mentions, as he must, Arnold's influence on Dewey's *A Common Faith*,

With the assimilation of religion and poetry we are in the territory of Matthew Arnold and Coleridge;

neither is discussed at any length, but their presence broods over Dewey's discussion. Dewey does quote Arnold's famous definition of religion as "morality tinged by emotion" (just as he later mentions Arnold's definition of God as that "power not ourselves that makes for righteousness") and whatever may be said against this as a definition, it catches the point that what is common to religious experiences in Dewey's account of them is their confirmation that nature is 'on our side,' implicated in our projects, friendly rather than hostile to our ideals.⁸

He does not point out what we should note here and that is that Dewey most likely first absorbed Baruch Spinoza through Arnold.

Donald Stone's *Communications with the Future: Matthew Arnold in Dialogue*⁹ is, like the present paper, a study in influence. In it Stone looks at Arnold's thought through the dynamics of influence, seeking both those who have been influenced by Arnold and those who influenced him characterizing each as a part of an ongoing dialogue that centers on Arnold. Amongst those he discusses are Henry James, Charles-Augustin Saint-Beuve, Ernest Renan, Friedrich Nietzsche, Michel Foucault, Hans-George Gadamer, Richard Rorty, Sidney Hook, and John Dewey. Stone draws some significant insights, and his analysis of the impact of Arnold on Dewey is the most thorough to date.

...Dewey[']s ... faith in education as the instrument best capable of nourishing cultivated and creative democracy resembles Arnold's own abiding faith. Arnold's description of himself, in the introduction to *Culture and Anarchy*, as "a Liberal tempered by experience [and] reflection," as, "above all, a believer in culture" is not a bad description of Dewey, too. For if Arnold's keyword *culture* gives way to Dewey's keyword *democracy*, the two terms were intertwined from the beginning in Arnold's mind. Arnold's culture was never meant to be a defense against democracy but was meant to be a preparation for, and safeguard, of democracy.¹⁰

Stone sees Arnold and not John Mill as Dewey's "true forebear" for his faith in democracy. Arnold, "like Dewey, ... suggests that the worship of individual freedom is often done at the expense of the other two principles of the French Revolution, equality and fraternity."¹¹ He points out that charges of elitism against Arnold, the prophet of high culture ignore Arnold's desire to achieve education for "all our fellow-men."¹² Mill was far more laissez-faire in his approach to education, allowing parents the freedom of full choice

in education, even should that include the null choice of no education, a choice that Arnold felt modern changes in society would ultimately mitigate. Arnold saw democracy as a process "trying to affirm its own essence; to live, to enjoy, to possess the world, as aristocracy had tried, and successfully tried, before it."¹³ He saw a role for the state in education that Mill would have regarded as state interference. According to Stone, Arnold is not setting up the state as an authoritarian ideal. Rather, he is positing an ideal of the solidarity of men, "a true bond of union," in which the "best self" of each citizen finds a "rallying-point for the intelligence and for the worthiest instincts of the community." To those who demand, "Leave us to ourselves!" Arnold suggests that they look at the present state of England, to the widespread indifference to beauty, the paucity of intelligence, the scarcity of essential services that such an attitude has prompted."¹⁴

Comparing Arnold's essay "Democracy" (the preface to *Popular Education in France* and thus one of the writings that we have reasonable evidence Dewey read, and read early) with Dewey's 1888 essay "The Ethics of Democracy," Stone sees Dewey as building on "Arnold's position that each individual in a democracy is not to be seen as a 'disorganized fragment' ... but rather as a member of an 'organism.'"

There is no such thing as a "non-social individual," Dewey maintains, and the Platonic (and liberal) notion of that "democratic freedom" means "doing what one likes," without respect for ideals is wrongheaded. ("For men are solitary, or co-partners; and not isolated," Arnold says in a late religious essay. ... Dewey's democracy is thus "a social, that is to say, an ethical conception"; "it is a form of government only because it is a form of moral and spiritual association." Dewey's vision of democracy is more idealized than Arnold's; but for both educators, the goal of their vocations is the guidance of the masses toward ideals of self-fulfillment (affirming "one's own essence") and solidarity. ... only with "equality," Dewey and Arnold agree, do we have an "ideal of humanity."¹⁵

Stone recognizes that to have a common conception of democracy, to recognize in democracy the demands not only of the freedom, but of equality and fraternity, would not account for the pragmatic movement in the thoughts of either Arnold or Dewey.

The pragmatist thrust of Arnold's and Dewey's essays rests upon their belief in the efficacy of the ideal to move us forward. ("Perfection will never be reached," Arnold says in the conclusion to "Democracy"; "but to

recognize a period of transformation when it comes, and to adapt ourselves honestly and rationally to its laws, is perhaps the nearest approach to perfection of which men and nations are capable.”) And they share an awareness that “civilization” or “culture” is connected to “character,” to conduct.¹⁶

Stone sees Dewey’s philosophy of education as expanding “three basic Arnoldian premises: that in a democracy all students should have access to the best, that critical thinking should be encouraged, and that education should instill a sense of social solidarity.”¹⁷ “Education,” says Dewey, “must have a tendency, if it is education, to form attitudes.”¹⁸ Conduct and the forming of attitudes were for both Arnold and Dewey more important aspects of education than the attaining of any explicit knowledge. In this, Arnold is not entirely at odds with the general conception of education in England during the Victorian age, while Dewey, in an aspect of his thought seldom commented upon, seems to be reaching back to older notions more easily associated with the morality of religious sentiment than with progressive concepts of socialization.

Both Dewey and Arnold were concerned with progress, movement forward, the need to be responsible to the future; as Arnold put it in his essay on Falkland, “he and his friends, by their heroic and hopeless stand against the inadequate ideas dominant in their time, kept open their communications with the future.”¹⁹ But Arnold tempered his concerns for the future with a passion for the past. As Stone points out,

Such Deweyan disregard for the past might seem to mark a considerable gap between Dewey and Arnold, the former fixated (as Santayana complained) on the “foreground,” the latter supposedly enmeshed (in the eyes of detractors) in a flimsy web called “culture.” But many of Dewey’s views are extensions or restatements of Arnoldian ideas, especially Arnold’s views on education, culture, and democracy. The two men shared a common faith in the efficacy of a democratic culture that included (or came to include, in Dewey’s case) the fruits of science, religion and art.²⁰

Pragmatism is more than a way of seeing the world; it is more than Arnold’s desire to “see the thing as in itself it is.” Rather it is to see and act and in acting to know that one’s actions have become a part of what it is one sees, and, as well, a part of the future of what one sees and how one acts— or to use Dewey’s term it is *experience* in both its character as act and thing, that which we do and that which we may anticipate and reflect upon. In other words, knowing that democracy is not only freedom, it is as well equality and fraternity,

becomes relevant only once we have incorporated this concept into our sense of how we conduct ourselves, how we will act. Education becomes the means by which our understanding *and* our experience of how we will act, how we conduct ourselves are formed.

One might think, at this point, that Dewey and Arnold were of a mind on many of their most fundamental thoughts. Stone, however, points to several divergences between the thought of the two. Their disagreement over the relative value of a scientific or literary education we will see drawn out when we examine Arnold’s “Literature and Science” and Dewey’s “Science as Subject-Matter and as Method.” As Stone puts it Dewey takes “issue with what he interprets to be Arnold’s underestimation of a scientific education,” siding instead “with Arnold’s friendly opponent, T. H. Huxley.”²¹ However, as we shall see, Dewey’s primary argument in “Science as Subject-Matter and as Method” is with Huxley and not with Arnold. Dewey’s concern is explicit in his title; he wishes to focus upon how science should be approached in education. Thus the question of a preference in subject-matter for science over literature is important, but secondary to the question of method, and Arnold’s appeal to critical thinking, which Dewey overlooks (or “under-reads”) in the case of this essay places him closer to Arnold than to Huxley. Of greater concern to us will be to understand this singular case of misreading.

Stone points to another misreading that will concern us. “In a brief account of “The Aims and Ideals of Education, Dewey in 1921 condensed the Arnoldian program into two goals: to transmit ‘the “best of what has been thought and said,”’ and to work for the reformation of society.”²² More than merely condensing Arnold’s position, Dewey goes on to say that “the ideal of transmission,” which he associates with Arnold through the phrase that Stone quotes, “regards education as essentially a process of instruction by which the mind is molded into conformity with the models presented in the subjects studied.”²³ While this may apply to some of those who have followed Arnold, it does not properly characterize Arnold’s approach at all. For Arnold the reality of conformance to models of thought and conduct is the very thing he disparaged in philistinism and for which he saw culture as the cure. Thus, we are confronted with Dewey having misread Arnold’s most fundamental conception of education.

Stone admits that he has underplayed the “differences in taste and sensibility” between Dewey and Arnold. “Arnold,” he points, “makes more of the internal dimensions of culture and education than does Dewey, although both ultimately agree on the social

ends of these two forces.”²⁴ So much of Stone’s analysis concurs with my own, as will be born out in the study that follows, that this final note from his fine essay on Arnold’s influence provides an excellent segue into my own inferences and intentions. In the next section I will suggest that a critical analysis of the internal and external, the individual and social in Dewey’s and Arnold’s conceptions of education may suggest what is both present and absent in their thoughts and how combining their ideas may give us a more complete, rational and human philosophy of education.

Convergences and Divergences

Our look at the comments of Eames, Ryan and Stone have established numerous instances of convergences and divergences between Arnold’s and Dewey’s thoughts (which may or may not be evidence of influence, as we shall see in the section entitled “Patterns of Influence” below). What follows is a brief statement of these convergences and divergences. Each will be explored at greater length in the study that follows. Where influence seems relevant, it will be noted as such, but the primary purpose of this study will be to discover how the educational thoughts of Arnold and Dewey converge and diverge one from another.

Convergences

1) **Education and Democracy** – Arnold saw education as essential to meeting the demands of democracy. Whether Dewey took this idea wholesale from Arnold, or evolved the idea separately through experience, we cannot doubt that he and Arnold were very much of a mind on this particular issue. That Dewey read Arnold’s essay “Democracy” early in his academic career (his junior year as an undergraduate) suggests that the idea took root then. In any event, neither Dewey nor Arnold diverge from this thought in any significant way in the course of many years of writing about education. This idea, that democracy demands a vital and effective educational process, animates the educational philosophy of both men, creatively enlarging their thought beyond the momentary demands of the educational debates with which each engaged the age in which he lived.

2) **Freedom** – This issue would seem to be larger than the concerns of education (and no doubt it is), but both Arnold and Dewey saw it having a very significant role in education. Arnold, reacting to John Stuart Mill and to the slogan of the French Revolution, “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,” conceived freedom as an insufficient foundation for democracy if dealt with as an isolated phenomenon. The highly individualized liberty that Mill promoted and which allowed little room for state action did not appeal to Arnold. He feared that without state

involvement the tyranny of the masses would become all too real an imposition upon the nation and that the needs of equality and fraternity would suffer. In education, this meant that he would advocate increased state involvement in English schools (which in his times lagged behind American schools in this and, frankly, many other respects). Dewey tied this issue to his general understanding of freedom which he could not treat, so central was democracy to his concerns, in a monotonic fashion, as an end in itself. Freedom must be understood in how it served democracy, not the individual. Thus freedom alone is insufficient and if carried too far, to what Arnold called “doing what you want” the real freedom of democracy would suffer.

It may be a loss rather than a gain to escape from the control of another person only to find one’s conduct dictated by immediate whim and caprice; that is, at the mercy of impulses into whose formation intelligent judgment has not entered. A person whose conduct is controlled in this way has at most only the illusion of freedom. Actually he is directed by forces over which he has no command.²⁵

3) **Critical Thinking** – Relative to education, the phrase ‘critical thinking’ is more Dewey’s than Arnold’s. In Arnold the thought is first tied to poetry which Arnold regarded as “a criticism of life,” then it is tied to education wherein Arnold feels that literature (poetry used in a general sense) provides the best access to the thought processes that allow one to perform such a critique of life. Arnold and Dewey’s thoughts may diverge on the role of literature, but not on the necessity for education to provide the means for a criticism of life, or the faculty of critical thinking.

4) **Progress and the Future** – Arnold’s progressiveness is harder to see than Dewey’s. Dewey calls his educational philosophy progressive and as late as 1938 (in *Experience and Education*) was setting progressive education in opposition to traditional. Arnold, on the other hand, was seen by his contemporaries and, perhaps even more so today, as overly enamored of the ancients to be truly progressive. But Arnold understood the ancients, Greece and Rome, as moderns, as having modern problems to deal with and of dealing with these problems in a very modern way,— their solutions were applicable today and necessary as humanity moved from an age of faith to an age where it must depend upon itself, in isolation from nature and divinity. Arnold was not, in turning to the past, turning his back upon the present or the future. Nonetheless, as we shall see, Dewey seems, at times, to have read him that way.

5) **Morality and Conduct** – For Arnold the ultimate aim of education was to develop patterns of conduct and

morality that would allow for a rational and benign (“sweetness and light”) democratization of the nation. In Dewey, morality and conduct often float at the final edge of his arguments on education,— present, demonstrably important to Dewey’s argument, but, perhaps because they are not nearly given the emphasis that Arnold gave them, they are often overlooked by Dewey’s readers. In *Experience and Education*, Dewey seems to have grown somewhat impatient with this inevitable misreading, insisting that control and direction were not alien to progressive education. He attempts to establish, something of a middle ground, a “general principle of social control of individuals without the violation of freedom.”²⁶ We can see something similar in Arnold’s attempt to harness reason and faith together into a morality that could survive the loss of divine and natural authority.

6) **Pluralism** – Dewey inherited his pluralism most directly from William James, and was constantly railing against the “Either-Ors” that are foisted upon us by ill-considered dualities. Arnold expressed his own pluralism in the *Preface* to the *Essays in Criticism*, “To try and approach truth on one side after another, not to strive or cry, nor to persist in pressing forward, on any one side, with violence and self-will,— it is only thus, it seems to me, that mortals may hope to gain any vision of the mysterious Goddess, whom we shall never see except in outline, but only thus even in outline. He who will do nothing but fight impetuously towards her on his own, one, favorite, particular line, is inevitably destined to run his head into the folds of the black robe in which she is wrapped.”²⁷ One hears Dewey’s “Either-Ors” echoing in the “one-favorite, particular line.” This does not sound like the words of a man who would have us seek explicit answers in ancient Greek texts ignoring all but the voices of a monolithic and inflexible canon.

Divergences

1) **Literature vs. Science** – On its surface the debate between Arnold and Dewey, relative to literature and science, is fairly straightforward. Is literature or science the superior subject matter for educational purposes? Both add the caveat that education which achieves the capacity for critical thinking is good education no matter its source. And both tell us that subject-matter is generally the lesser concern in educational matters. Nonetheless, Arnold makes his preference for literature clear and Dewey shows his preference for science. These preferences make for no small divergence in thought. This debate has been renewed time and time again (that between C. P. Snow and F. R. Leavis being one of the more notable occurrences). No attempt will be made here to directly mend the breach, but in this

divergence of thought we will find, no doubt, much that will concern us. As Dewey says,

We must bridge this gap of poetry from science. We must heal this unnatural wound. We must, in the cold, reflective way of critical system, justify and organize the truth which poetry, with its quick, naïve contacts, has already felt and reported. The same movement of the spirit, bringing man and man, man and nature, into wider and closer unity, which has found expression by anticipation in poetry, must find expression by retrospection in philosophy. Thus will be hastened the day in which our sons and our daughters shall prophesy, our young men shall see visions, and our old men dream dreams.²⁸

2) **Culture and the Best** – Dewey uses the word “culture” in both the anthropological sense and in the Arnoldian sense. He occasionally referred to “culture” as that aspect of education representing something higher, finer, better— the refinement of society, humanity at its best. Dewey, nonetheless, makes clear that culture, particularly in its implication that the best consists solely of the classics, Greek and Latin literature, is insufficient for attaining that critical faculty that education is meant to achieve. As with the debate over literature and science, Dewey’s concerns here are expressed in such a way that we cannot doubt that he is consciously contradicting Arnold.

3) **The Past** – the distinction here reflects an aspect of Arnold’s thought noted by Dewey in his essay “Poetry and Philosophy.”

Arnold’s distinguishing sign among modern poets is the melancholy beauty with which he has voiced the sense of loss; his sad backward glance at the departure of old faiths and ideals; the brooding memories of joys whose spring has fallen away...²⁹

One of Arnold’s favorite critical terms was “adequacy” by which he meant that the critic should understand the gap between the past and present of self and subject sufficiently to draw conclusions that are relevant to the critic, his audience and the original author,— to go beyond that he regarded as useless historicizing. This concept of adequacy shows something of Arnold’s pragmatism.

Arnold struggled with the weight and presence of the past,— so much written, so much to read, so many thoughts moving in so many directions and none of it providing anything like a clear path to follow. Dewey often felt he could reject tradition; Arnold seldom felt he could do so; he was, as Dewey has suggested, overly imbued with a powerful “sense of loss,” so powerful that he was loathe to ever freely dismiss the past. To put it simplistically, and no doubt too reductively, for

Arnold the past was a mixed blessing to be cherished and explored; for Dewey it was a burden to the present which was of relevance and value only in so much as it might be put to use in solving the problems of the present. Both are overstatements, but their tenor is real, and they will present to us notable problems as we attempt to reconcile the thoughts of the two.

4) **The Social Horizon** – The divergence here is more one of emphasis than of absolute divergence (which may well be said of all of the divergences we have enumerated here). Arnold insisted that the poet must constantly be raising his eyes to the horizon, both the literal horizon in descriptions of landscape and the metaphorical horizon in that “criticism of life” which Arnold saw as essential to poetry. The modern condition had the effect of internalizing the poetic vision, pulling the poet into him or herself, and (in this respect not unlike the psychologizing effect of the personal God of Christianity) widening the individuality of the poet at the expense of the social and communal. Part of Arnold’s response to modernity was to insist that the poet needs to present a broader picture of the poetic landscape which, if not impersonal, was equally not unsocial. Arnold’s poem “Empedocles on Etna” contains just such a rejection of this over-intellectualizing internal voice. When we place literature and the arts in the Social-Internal quadrant of our model in the “A Pluralistic Model” section below, it will be Arnold’s conception of art and poetry that will inform our decision.

Dewey in *Art as Experience* and his other references to the role of art and literature in education (in *Democracy and Education*, in particular) is not that far off of Arnold in this respect. But Dewey comes at the issue through individual experience, with aesthetic “appreciation” serving to enlarge the individual’s view, allowing for more effective problem solving. Arnold begins at the social horizon and uses individual experience to provide resonance for the larger view. (Frankly, Arnold, was accused of being much too philosophic or polemic a poet; Dewey, we may rest assured was never accused of being too poetic a philosopher, but he was, like Arnold, inclined to be more than a little polemical.)

5) **Problem Solving** – For Dewey, problem solving was central to not merely the experience of life, but the very living of life. As a result, problem solving must in turn, be central to education which was not to be merely “a means to living,” but rather “the operation of living a life.” Education which did not succeed in allowing one to solve such problems as daily life presented and to make of that life something “fruitful and inherently

significant” did not deserve the name of education.³⁰ For Arnold the problems of everyday life were but a hindrance that prevent us from gaining that leisure in which the real business of life occurs. “What do you think of those who turn to action before learning, whom labour itself exhausts in the city, in the field, and daily business before they can conjecture anything about leisure?”³¹

One Thought: Two Minds

In truth, the least interesting of influences is that in which the one being influenced takes over the ideas of the influencer wholesale, sycophantically. We may rest assured such was not the case with Dewey and Arnold. Dewey’s response to the thought he found in Arnold was complex. He disagreed with him on some basic points: he preferred science to literature as subject-matter for educating the young; he overtly dismissed culture as the aim of education (but as we shall see returned to it in his desire to enliven scientific thought with the aesthetics of appreciation). He recurred to Arnold’s concepts of criticism with only an occasional nod to the earlier writer, and we may reasonably wonder if he was fully conscious of this particular and potent Arnoldian influence. Arguably, Dewey misread Arnold’s concept of “culture” limiting it to the general idea of a “high culture” of classics and Greek history, apparently accepting the general conception (and reduction) of Arnold’s ideas over those that Arnold had expressed and which are most apparent when his writing is taken as a whole and not reduced to the aphoristic sayings for which Arnold had been his own most zealous marketer. (Arnold, himself, must take a large part of any blame for the reduction of his conception of culture to “the best that has been thought or said,” or to the isolated study of Homer and classical literature.) Arnold’s influence upon Dewey, then, is a complex pattern of influences that includes that recurrence of thought we would expect to find as well as disagreement, misreading, and what we might call “under-reading.”

As we have seen in the list of convergences and divergences above, Arnold’s effect on Dewey was hardly to make of Dewey a mindless parrot. And yet we find that in Dewey something of the anxiety of influence appears to have been present and to have affected his thought on education. Moreover, this anxiety seems to have had some unique relevance to those thoughts that we have already suggested were the result of Arnold’s influence.

This activity, the being influenced by another mind, has had a tendency to produce in most of us some significant anxieties; we can see these anxieties in such

common human feelings as our sense of guilt or shame, our anti-authoritarianism and robust loyalties, our fears of being conned (a fear Dewey expressed a number of times) or of being out of step with the mainstream. These anxieties affect us in so many ways that we could quite possibly write a history of social life (and arguably Freud did precisely this) upon the singular effects of these anxieties.

Some of the convergences and divergences between Arnold and Dewey may amount to clear cases of influence, for example, Dewey's reaction against literature and toward science appears to have some genesis in his reading of Arnold (although this is admittedly an oppositional influence). On the other hand, Dewey's desire to delineate a religious spirit separate from superstitious belief may or may not have its origin in reading Arnold's *Literature and Dogma* and *God and the Bible* as an undergraduate. More importantly for our purposes here, when Dewey titled his most thorough study of educational philosophy *Democracy and Education*, had he in mind the introduction to Arnold's *Popular Education in France* to which Arnold later gave the title "Democracy"? Such is the nature of influence that we may never know with any certainty how it functions in any individual case.

Dewey follows (was influenced by) George Herbert Mead in understanding and believing in a "social construct" model of cultural knowledge, in the realization that a major portion of the thoughts that we share as members of society come from common social constructs. They are part of the way that the external world in which we live finds expression in our thoughts.

Unless we naively define cultures as closed and impenetrable systems of thought, we can safely assume that Arnold and Dewey shared many common cultural thoughts that informed their thinking processes. Nonetheless, we can also see where differences impacted their thoughts significantly. In Arnold's England the state's role in education was still a very uncertain thing, the separation of church and state was not the reality it was in America, and the possibility of a secular education was a question upon which few Englishmen could agree. A secularist educational approach much debated in the 1840s and 1850s in England, called the Massachusetts System and formulated upon the educational system that Horace Mann introduced in Massachusetts, would have been familiar to Arnold.³² Thus American educational cultural artifacts would have some influence on Arnold and his peers on the other side of the Atlantic, just as we may assume that some of Arnold's thought (which was widely influential) would have come to Dewey

indirectly through its influence on cultural thought that he absorbed as a member of an American society which had an open dialog with many parts of Europe, not just England.

I have suggested that Dewey's educational philosophy was very dependent upon the common experience we have of the world we live in. Of Jungian archetypes, he was abruptly dismissive,³³ much as one would expect. But the common experience of the world shows itself in his ready use of what he calls the primitive ("recourse to the primitive may furnish the fundamental elements")³⁴ and to his ongoing insistence upon the intimate relationship between man and nature. Culture alone cannot account for the pattern of thoughts that we come to share one with another and absent any overarching universalistic mechanism such as Jung's archetypes, nature itself and the effects of living in the world must play a larger role in our lives – even if in so accounting for our thoughts something of a kind of romanticization of nature occasionally creeps into his otherwise remorselessly pragmatic educational theory. Dewey has already pointed us to the problems that Arnold had in this regard.

I am aware ... of no passage of Arnold's which comes to us so laden with the gospel of the isolation of life as that poem which gives us his reading of history, "Obermann Once More." The sad tone reaches its highest note in the description of the loss of Christian faith. From the land whence once came the words of humanity's life,—

Ah, from that silent, sacred land
Of sun and arid stone,
And crumbling wall and sultry sand,
Comes now one word alone!
From David's lips that word did roll,
'Tis true and living yet:
No man can save his brother's soul,
Nor pay his brother's debt.
Alone, self-poised, henceforward man
Must labor.³⁵

Not from him who identified himself with the woe and the joy of all men's lives, but from David, sounds the final word of Palestine. The life of common brotherhood, struggle and destiny of Christianity has given way to the old isolated struggle of the individual.

No man can save his brother's soul
Nor pay his brother's debt.

That is, I take it, the last word of Arnold's poetic message, his last interpretation of life. Perhaps I should rather say this is the keynote of it all. To say it is the last is to say his last message is one of

weakness and despair. Contrary to this, the philosophy which Mr. Arnold leaves us is one of endeavor, of strenuous, almost buoyant, endeavor, in spite of the fact that this endeavor must spring from sadness. If man is isolated, in that isolation he may find himself, and, finding himself, living his own life, lose all his misery. Although man may not commune with Nature, he may yet follow and repeat her.³⁶

From whence, if not from nature, nor from each other, nor from a supernatural divinity, do we pull that common core of our humanity that lies at the heart of our culture and thus, for Arnold, at the core of education. Man is isolated from nature, from other men, and from the divine. Only through a careful study of how others before him have studied nature and found themselves and the critical free play of mind that allowed them to understand and successfully live their lives might we come to a capacity for living in this modern, fragmented world. Thus, Arnold turns to man where Dewey turns to experience.

The Swallowed Seed

Dewey gave us a portrait of how he personally reacted to influences. Taken as an autobiography "From Absolutism to Experimentalism" is little more than a fragment, as a personal assessment of the role of influence in the development of the thought of a unique and significant philosopher, it is a singular and important document. In "From Absolutism to Experimentalism," Dewey insisted that his primary influences came from experiences and personal relationships. "Upon the whole, the forces that have influenced me have come from persons and from situations more than from books — not that I have not, I hope, learned a great deal from philosophical writings, but that what I have learned from them has been technical in comparison with what I have been forced to think upon and about because of some experience in which I found myself entangled."³⁷ Influences from books, and it was only through books that Dewey could have known Arnold,³⁸ Dewey regarded as secondary influences, less relevant. These were undeniably given less value in Dewey's writing where direct quotations and citations are rare.

But does this mean that Dewey gained no influence from books. Dewey clearly avoids saying this; he knows all too well that his reading has had an influence on him. After all, he clearly did not know Hegel personally and yet acknowledges the influence Hegel had on him, perhaps most notable to Dewey because of his feeling of having to undo that specific influence, to reinvent his thought processes in light of his desire to move beyond

the thoughts of the earlier philosopher and engage the concreteness of the world in ways that idealism would not allow. He makes no mention of Arnold in "From Absolutism to Experimentalism" perhaps because he was unconscious of the influence, or because he felt that Arnold was less an influence and more someone with whom he had a few distinct disagreements, or because, conscious of those thoughts he held in agreement with Arnold, he felt that he had come to his understanding through experience and relationships, not through Arnold's books, or, and this is most likely, perhaps Arnold's ideas, where they existed in Dewey's mind, were anonymous, mere aspects of thought that he had breathed in over the years and which he felt no need or desire to personify.

Literary theory today suggests that this impossibility of achieving an equality between intention and inference qualify any attempt to uncover authorial intention which is often referred to as "intentional fallacy." Dewey's essay, "Poetry and Philosophy," although it has some fine examples of textual analysis, might easily be termed an exercise in intentional fallacy. Clearly, Dewey's immediate desire was to understand, through Arnold's poetry, the nature of Arnold's philosophy. Dewey made it clear that he placed no greater privilege upon the text than he did on thoughts that the poet was attempting to communicate through the text; in Arnold we need have no misgivings, as we might with some poets today, that recognizable thoughts, intentions, lay behind each poem, nor that Arnold struggled to get these thoughts across to his readers; his correspondence with his friend and fellow poet Arthur Hugh Clough makes this clear. Dewey, himself, struggled to express his own thoughts without losing the reality ("the thing as in itself it is" to use Arnold's phrase) of the matter upon which he spoke. If we, in reading Dewey, were to pay too great an homage to the texts he wrote and fail to ask ourselves what was his intention in thus writing, we would most likely be doing a disservice to Dewey. Speaking of his own writing, Dewey tells us,

The marks, the stigmata, of the struggle to weld together the characteristics of a formal, theoretic interest and the material of a maturing experience of contacts with realities also showed themselves, naturally, in style of writing and manner of presentation. During the time when the schematic interest predominated, writing was comparatively easy; there were even compliments upon the clearness of my style. Since then thinking and writing have been hard work. It is easy to give way to the dialectic development of a theme; the pressure of concrete experiences was, however, sufficiently

heavy, so that a sense of intellectual honesty prevented a surrender to that course. But, on the other hand, the formal interest persisted, so that there was an inner demand for an intellectual technique that would be consistent and yet capable of flexible adaptation to the concrete diversity of experienced things. It is hardly necessary to say that I have not been among those to whom the union of abilities to satisfy these two opposed requirements, the formal and the material, came easily. For that very reason I have been acutely aware, too much so, doubtless, of a tendency of other thinkers and writers to achieve a specious lucidity and simplicity by the mere process of ignoring considerations which a greater respect for concrete materials of experience would have forced upon them.³⁹

Dewey had a few well-publicized battles with other scholars over the years (most notably Randolph Bourne and Walter Lippmann), but as often as not, he seemed less interested in the personalities behind ideas than in the ideas themselves. The argument *ad hominem* did not appear significantly in his rhetorical tool box. Dewey took ideas as they came to him, reframing them in his own language, without the concern for the evasions of language that so significantly inhabit today's literary theory. How strange that he should show, in this early essay, "Poetry and Philosophy" such a facility for close reading, for textual analysis, while in his ongoing career as a writer and philosopher he would consciously abandon such techniques. Dewey's pragmatic philosophy, however, would, no doubt, have regarded the notion of "intentional fallacy" as an attempt to further isolate the mind from the body.⁴⁰

We need to ask ourselves, how well did Dewey read Arnold? What signs of understanding does he demonstrate? Or to reverse the question, what signs of misreading (misprision⁴¹) does he show? The two (understanding and misreading) are really twin sides of the same coin. If understanding may never be perfect, likewise misreading may never achieve perfection. Every understanding an individual achieves of a given text must contain some element of misreading, just as every misreading must contain some element of understanding. Thus, misreading may be treated as an influence that diverges from the intention of the original author, but we must recognize that, equally, this is true of all influence to some degree. Influence that is characterized as a misreading merely emphasizes the divergence and not the convergence of understanding. In the case of Dewey and Arnold, we shall have to deal, as we have pointed out, with both divergence and

convergence, misreading and understanding.

In "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," Arnold wrote:

The notion of free play of the mind upon all subjects being a pleasure in itself, being an object of desire, being an essential provider of elements without which a nation's spirit, whatever compensations it may have for them, must, in the long run die, of inanition, hardly enters into an Englishman's thoughts. It is noticeable that the word *curiosity*, which in other languages is used in a good sense, to mean, as a high and fine quality of man's nature, just this disinterested love of free play of the mind on all subjects, for its own sake— it is noticeable, I say, that this word has in our language no sense of the kind, no sense but a rather bad and disparaging one. But criticism, real criticism, is essentially the exercise of this very quality. It obeys an instinct prompting it to try to know the best that is known and thought in the world, irrespective of practice, politics, and everything of the kind; and to value knowledge and thought as they approach this best, without the intrusion of any other considerations whatever.⁴²

This often quoted passage from Arnold's "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" points toward post-structuralism's "free play of mind" in a reader whose privilege it is to think openly, broadly and free of any authoritative tug from text or writer toward a pre-existing meaning or intention. However, it also contains the phrase that Arnold himself would repeat to the point that it would and, indeed, had to take on a life of its own, unguarded by that "free play of mind" that here makes it both the object of veneration and the catalyst of play: "the best that is known and thought." Like Dewey, Arnold will not let the object stand alone, but insists that its very quality of being the best that it is of thought or memory attracts the process of curiosity, play and knowing, just as Dewey would tell us that the problems of the real world are the things that in themselves incite and enliven the test and reflection of science's experimentation— is it the instrument or the experiment? Somehow both are sufficiently of a kind that we can never have the one without the other. In both cases, "the best that is known and thought" and the ever-present Deweyan "problem" are more than mere catalysts. They do not disappear as the mind turns upon them, and the mind does not, in turning, lose itself in a subjective isolation of careless dubiety.

Arnold's object of free play is a product of the past and inheritance while Dewey's problem is of the eternal present. This divergence I am not so sanguine as Stone

to too quickly diminish. I recognize, as Stone does, that both men direct their processes toward an unattainable future— and so converge upon the uncertain, unrevealed path of progress. This and the other divergences we find between Arnold and Dewey are real and merit our attention, as do their equally real convergences. How to account for both, for the convergences and the divergences, has been the greatest concern I have felt in my study of the two? And that desire for an accounting goes beyond the question of influence, as distinctly interesting as it may be. Supposing Arnold and Dewey to have derived their thoughts outside of any influence (even if the very functioning of “free play” and “experimentation” suggest the impossibility of such), I should still want to know how to account for the convergences and divergences between them, reading “to account” in the sense of reconciling both strains of thought for the sense they share of a common progression toward the unknown future.

Both Arnold and Dewey promoted a pluralistic view that was a middle state between the ideal unities of monism and the utter fragmentation that appeared to be overwhelming the modern condition. Pluralism must inevitably be seen as a balancing act between fragmentation and unity, between the Either-Ors of dogma and the relativism of the intellect. But, most particularly, it must be seen as a mind at play ever seeking the multiple views of a thing, ever challenging and appreciating, ever active, ever doing.

A Pluralistic Model

Before going on to the pluralistic model which I hope will prove useful in analyzing the relationship between Arnold’s and Dewey’s writings, a few words about the concept of pluralism may be helpful. The word as used here is a philosophical, not political term. While the philosophical conception of pluralism influenced the political conception, Dewey’s use of the term and the impact of the concept upon his thinking inevitably hearkens back to its philosophical relevance. William James’s *A Pluralistic Universe*,⁴³ with its unabashed attack upon Hegel was a strong influence on Dewey’s pluralism and is the basis (although not the sole source) for the pluralism I will describe here.

James sets pluralism in opposition to monism. Monism is the belief that all things merge toward an ideal, toward a single indissoluble state, and eventually toward a single evanescent godhead that is the unity of

all things. Pluralism suggests, to the contrary, that things have distinct existence, one from another. If we say this is a table and this a chair, we do not mean to suggest a unity between the two, even if we may immediately see an association between them. The table and chair are discontinuous, but contiguous. They are not joined in a unity, but they are side-by-side (contiguous). Pluralism sees a world in which many things exist, often side-by-side (contiguous), without dissolving into unity (continuous). At the extreme, this plurality can become a state of unresolved fragmentation, the very sort of isolation that Dewey shuddered at when he read Arnold’s poetry,— an isolation in which man is separate from nature, separate from divinity, and, most uncomfortably, separate from other men.

Three states, then, face us when we speak of plurality (although James only speaks of two). The ideal or continuous (unity – monism), the side-by-side or contiguous (pluralism), and a complete state of fragmentation in which no relationship amongst objects is possible (we might call this entropy, but in doing so we must recognize that the word is anachronistic to Arnold and Dewey). Dewey and Arnold both shared a concern with the fragmentation of the modern world, indeed, the isolation which Arnold described in his poetry was the state he wished relief from, and his own lack of optimism led him to turn away from some of his poetic offspring and attempt in his essays to find solutions that moved back toward a less isolated and pessimistic view.

Figure 1 illustrates a model I wish to propose as a means for analyzing the thought and ideas of both Arnold and Dewey. Stone’s comment quoted above suggests the necessary elements of analysis for understanding and reconciling the divergent and convergent thoughts of Arnold and Dewey. “Arnold makes more of the internal dimensions of culture and education than does Dewey, although both ultimately agree on the social ends of these two forces.”⁴⁴ Stone here suggests that social is in opposition to internal. I have, alternatively, opposed social to individual and external to internal, not out of any sense that Stone’s inference is wrong, but that the additional pairings that result (social-external, social-internal, individual-external, and individual-internal) offer a wider canvas for comparison.

Society	Manifest Culture	Cultural Inheritance
Individual	Problem Solving	Reflective Self
	External	Internal

Figure 1: A pluralistic model of educational aims

I toyed with several labels for each of the four quadrants; none seemed quite perfect, thus the labels here are at best contingent and will depend upon further analysis of Arnold and Dewey's thought to carry them beyond what is, at present, a rather reductive and schematic view. Nonetheless, the tool, to be usable as a tool, needs some initial reading to inform its use, even as I am hopeful that, following the hermeneutic cycle of reading and rereading, we may find in it more meaning than it contains at present. Of its utility, I would, at this point, claim for it no more than its possible efficacy in analyzing the thoughts of Arnold and Dewey. Beyond that, of its possibility for application to today's educational problems, I am content to remain agnostic.

Manifest Culture: In this quadrant we find the external manifestations of society, or as I have labeled it, the manifest culture. Here we would find such traditional aims of education as knowledge of a society's laws and institutions, the traditional subject-matter of social studies, or the rules and etiquette of social behavior. I say "traditional subject-matter of social studies" knowing that for both Arnold and Dewey such a tradition was formative at best. However, I cannot help but note that we may find suggestions of this quadrant going all the way back to Plato.

Problem Solving: I have labeled the individual-external quadrant with Dewey's own term, problem solving. Here we would expect to find those concerns that the individual has in functioning in the external world, solving the problems of the present, of daily tasks, of dealing with the manifestations of nature and man that project into the present the immediate obstacles that we, as organisms, must navigate. This is Dewey's quadrant of choice, although, as I shall point out below, I have little doubt he would look upon this model in general quite unfavorably. Nonetheless, here is where Dewey's experimentalism has its fullest play.

Cultural Inheritance: This quadrant represents the social-internal which Stone's comment, treating the two as opposites, would suggest is a bit of an oxymoron. To me it suggests that some aspects of culture are internalized in something of the way suggested by Dewey's peer at Chicago, George Herbert Mead,— that

is to say they are socially constructed. While those aspects of society and culture that are present in the manifest culture quadrant have a reality to them of which we are almost invariably conscious, those that make up this quadrant are often absorbed by each of us unconsciously, learned in the cradle, imbibed with mother's milk. This is, no doubt, what Dewey meant when he said, "There is no such thing as a 'non-social individual.'"⁴⁵ However, at least in his education theory, Dewey seems to go no further,— leaving us to ask, are the external problems of the individual sufficient to educate one upon the rich core of that from the society which each of has already internalized? Or is it sufficient to know that we have these internal-social elements already, that we have absorbed them into us as we breathe, eat, sleep and live? Or must we learn our sense of beauty (which I take to be an aspect of this quadrant) as Arnold would have us do through a familiarity with culture?

Reflective Self: Our final quadrant brings the question of the aims of education home to the individual, to our capacity to reflect not only on what we have learned in the other quadrants, but upon who we are within that larger context of society and the individual, externalities and internalities,— to overhear ourselves and thus to realize our own humanity. Here is Socrates', so oft quoted it has become unpleasant and empty, "Know thyself." We must hope that through Arnold and Dewey we might find in this, the essence of our humanity, something less empty, less egotistically hermetic, than it has seemed of late.

Arnold's "culture" rather intriguingly has elements in each of these quadrants. Often it is read as little more than the objects that are manifest in ancient literature and learning, but Arnold always suggested that within this "culture" we may learn who we are and how we think, we may learn the nature and importance of beauty and literature, of our cultural heritage. Through his "criticism of life" he meant to show us how to solve the problems of our age (if not exactly of our daily existence). He attempted to dislodge "nobility" from its comfortable home in the aristocracy and democratize it at least sufficiently (adequately) so that those willing to

engage the reflective self and our cultural inheritance could find that humanity that is larger than the self. As Stone suggests, Arnold fails most notably in the external dimensions that I have labeled here problem solving.

Dewey, on the other hand, succeeds most significantly in the lower left-hand quadrant of problem solving. His disinterest in and animus toward tradition suits him poorly for addressing the cultural inheritance of the upper right-hand quadrant. Indeed, arguably he

has not Arnold's rather intriguing ability to constantly raise his eye toward the social horizon. Nonetheless, both Arnold and Dewey give us complex, pluralistic, definitions of education, and it will only be by further exploring the plurality of Arnold's "culture" and Dewey's "democratic education" that we will be able to understand how they separately and jointly address the full, pluralistic aims implicit in the model in Figure 1.

ENDNOTES

1. Park Honan, *Matthew Arnold: A Life*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1981
2. Lewis S. Feuer, "John Dewey's Reading at College."
3. Dewey: Page ew.3.114-115.
4. Dewey: Page ew.3.121.
5. Donald D. Stone, *Communications with the Future: Matthew Arnold in Dialogue*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
6. Dewey: Page ew.3.xxxvii.
7. Alexander Meiklejohn, *Education Between Two Worlds*, New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1942, p138.
8. Alan Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995.
9. Stone (1997).
10. Ibid, p. 143.
11. Ibid, p. 145.
12. Arnold: CPW 5:216.
13. Arnold: CPW 2:7.
14. Stone (1997), pg. 145; Arnold: CPW 2:19.
15. Ibid, pg. 146; Arnold: CPW 8:43; Dewey: Page ew.1.240.
16. Ibid, pg. 146; Arnold: CPW 2:29.
17. Ibid, pg. 166.
18. Dewey: Page lw.11.189.
19. Stone (1997), pg. 148; Arnold: CPW 8:204.
20. Ibid, pg. 162; George Santayana, "Dewey's Naturalistic Metaphysics" in *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, ed. Paul Arthur Schilpp (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1939) pg. 251.
21. Ibid, pg. 164.
22. Ibid, pg. 166-167; Dewey: Page mw.13.400.
23. Dewey: Page mw.13.400.
24. Stone (1997), pg. 173.
25. Dewey: Page lw.13.42.
26. Dewey: Page lw.13.33.

27. Arnold: CPW 3:286.
28. Dewey: Page ew.3.123-4, quoted in Lionel Trilling, *Matthew Arnold*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1939/1977, pg. 194. And can one find a more visionary, nearly mystical passage in all of Dewey?
29. Dewey: Page ew.3.114.
30. Dewey: Page mw.9.248.
31. [In Super?] The Creweian Oration of 1858, in *Essays, Letters, and Reviews*, ed. By Fraser Neiman (Cambridge, Mass. 1960), p. 29.
32. W. F. Connell, *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950, p. 49.
33. Dewey: Page mw.14.107.
34. Dewey: Page mw.9.223.
35. Dewey here quotes from the 1877 or 1881 editions of the *Collected Poems* which contain the quatrain beginning with "From David's lips..." Earlier editions have "From David's lips this [rather than that] word..." Later editions drop all four lines. (PMA pg. 527) As these are the lines that most interested Dewey, Arnold's decision to drop them is interesting, to say the least. Allott offers no explanation for the excision, but points out (PMA 518) that in *God and the Bible*, which Dewey had read, Arnold is clear in his belief that the human race cannot live without Christianity, but that Christianity must change. Arnold may have been responding to his own sense of what Dewey here notes, that the quatrain leads away from this reinvented Christianity and back toward the un-Hellenized Hebraism of which he complained so forcefully in *Culture and Anarchy*.
36. Dewey: Page ew.3.116-117.
37. Dewey: Page lw.5.155.
38. Dewey could have gone to hear Arnold speak during Arnold's lecture tour of America in 1883-84, but no evidence exists that he did so.
39. Dewey: Page lw.5.151
40. While the concept of intentional fallacy, coined by Cleanth Brooks, had currency in Dewey's lifetime, it comes from the world of literary criticism with which Dewey never significantly concerned himself. When he spoke of literature and poetry in *Art as Experience*, his allusions were often to earlier literary critics: Arnold, Johnson, Coleridge..., when he turned to issues associated with hermeneutics, he focused upon its philosophical aspects and was most concerned with how to understand the divergence of symbols and meaning as implicated in the filed of logic.
41. *Misprison* is Harold Bloom's term from his innovative deconstructionist study, *Anxiety of Influence*. He adopted the term from Shakespeare. In Shakespeare misprision is a "mistake," subtle and partial, which "better judgment" can remake. This subtlety seems absent from its general use today when misreading (misprision) has become an absolute state to which no moderation can or ought to be applied and upon which no intention can ever be founded. Let us send its "patent back again," swerving or wanting or deserving; Shakespeare bequeathed us here an idea of greater subtlety, as for that matter did Bloom.

SONNET 87

Farewell! thou art too dear for my possessing,
And like enough thou know'st thy estimate:
The charter of thy worth gives thee releasing;
My bonds in thee are all determinate.
For how do I hold thee but by thy granting?
And for that riches where is my deserving?
The cause of this fair gift in me is wanting,
And so my patent back again is swerving.

Thyself thou gavest, thy own worth then not knowing,
 Or me, to whom thou gavest it, else mistaking;
 So thy great gift, upon misprision growing,
 Comes home again, on better judgment making.
 Thus have I had thee, as a dream doth flatter,
 In sleep a king, but waking no such matter.

42. Arnold: CPW 3:268.

43. William James, *A Pluralistic Universe; Hibbert Lectures at Manchester College on the Present Situation in Philosophy* (1908-1909), from *William James: Writings 1902-1910*, edited by Bruce Kuklick, (New York : The Library of America, 1987).

44. Stone (1997), pg. 173.

45. Dewey: Page ew.1.240.

CHRONOLOGY

Matthew Arnold, and John Dewey

Year	Event	Year	Event
1822	Matthew Arnold born	1882	Arnold delivers Rede Lecture: <i>Literature and Science</i> , a response to Huxley
1849	Arnold: <i>Strayed Reveller and Other Poems</i>	1883	Arnold tours America; <i>Literature and Science</i> (1882), <i>Numbers</i> (1884), <i>Emerson</i> (1884)
1851	Arnold marries Francis Lucy Wightman and takes job as an inspector of schools	1886	Dewey marries Harriet Alice Chipman
1852	Arnold: <i>Empedocles on Etna and Other Poems</i>	1888	Mathew Arnold dies
1853	Arnold: <i>Poems</i>	1890	Dewey: <i>Poetry and Philosophy</i> (study of Arnold's poetry)
1855	Arnold: <i>Poems, Second Series</i>	1894	Dewey arrives in Chicago
1857	Arnold named to the Chair of Poetry at Oxford	1904	Dewey at Columbia
1859	John Dewey born	1909	Dewey: <i>Science as Subject Matter and as Method</i> , a response to Arnold's Rede Lecture
1861	Arthur Hugh Clough, poet and close friend of Arnold, dies; Arnold writes <i>Thyrsis</i> (elegy for Clough)	1910	Dewey: <i>How We Think</i>
1867	Arnold vacates the Chair of Poetry at Oxford	1916	Dewey: <i>Democracy and Education</i>
1869	Arnold: <i>Culture and Anarchy</i>	1934	Dewey: <i>A Common Faith</i>
1873	Arnold: <i>Literature and Dogma</i>	1938	Dewey: <i>Experience and Education</i>
1880	T. H. Huxley delivers inaugural address at Mason College: <i>Science and Culture</i>	1952	Dewey dies

GREEK PHILOSOPHICAL ORIGINS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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Introduction

A careful reader will soon discover that there is a considerable amount of tension and disagreement across the field of qualitative research. It can be accurately described as a collection of competing philosophical and methodological viewpoints that continue to emerge from ongoing scholarly debates and discussions. A more tightly bound definition is difficult to develop because qualitative research is itself loosely defined and holds different meanings for scholars across the spectrum of education, as well as the disciplines that surround us.¹

The purpose of this paper is to better help the scholar understand the philosophical origins of qualitative research. Qualitative research is more than merely a collection of strategies and methods; it is itself a collection of interrelated and competing philosophies and an approach to learning and knowledge.² Contemporary examinations of the philosophical origins of qualitative research have tended to focus on the twentieth century. Broido and Manning examined the philosophical assumptions and foundations of qualitative research; however, their examination was in the context of contemporary philosophical explanations.³ Contemporary examinations are limited in that they have not accounted for the much older philosophical origins. While informative in terms of twentieth century trends, they do not reflect the ancient Greek underpinnings of philosophical perspectives on research and knowledge. Those few examinations that go back farther have concentrated on ethnographic studies conducted during periods of European discovery of the Western hemisphere, or colonial expansion in Asia and Africa. Scholarship that examines ethnographic studies from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries is limited in its ethnographic focus. Philosophical perspectives on such studies are limited by the purpose of the original research (examination of other cultures in comparison to Western civilization), and the critical philosophical focus used by contemporary scholars to examine such studies.

This paper illustrates that the work of some of the preeminent ancient Greek philosophers were based on assumptions of knowledge and perception that underpin contemporary qualitative perspectives. The philosophers examined for this study include Parmenides,⁴ Protagoras of Abdera (c. 490 - c. 420 BCE), Plato (c. 429 – 347 BCE), and Aristotle (384 – 322 BCE). The common themes across their philosophies were the shifting nature of the world, how individuals perceive and make sense of the world around them, and how because life is social

in nature there must exist a degree of shared meaning.

Much of the work these early philosophers left behind reflected their philosophical views, and could be considered qualitative in nature. Among the characteristics of their writings was that they were based on observations of human behavior, directed toward developing assumptions about human behavior and meaning, and were highly aware of the contextual nature of meaning.

Contextual Nature of Meaning

Parmenides understood that perception was inexorably linked to the fallible nature of human perception.⁵ He argued that reason and the senses could provide contradictory answers.⁶ Parmenides supported the notion of a single objective reality; however, he was careful to qualify such an idea against the fallible limits of human perception. His epistemological philosophy was based on understanding the nature of the differences between knowledge and opinion, and between truth and perception.⁷ In Parmenides religious/philosophical framework perception consisted of a form of revealed knowledge by a monotheistic deity. Parmenides' philosophy incorporated a religious element into his understanding of perception in that the objective reality was represented in religious form, and human perception was the result of revelation on the part of the divine.⁸ In doing so, Parmenides was careful to distinguish between the surety of divine knowledge and the unstable nature of sensory-based knowledge.

Parmenides recognized that reality would appear contextual and fluid to man. Parmenides understood that . . . mind comes to men according to the mixture of their much-changing body. That is, as at any time the mixture is, so is the mind; and since the mixture of the body changes the mind of men changes too.⁹

Some of the Sophists, such as Protagoras of Abdera shared similar assumptions about the difference between truth and perception. Protagoras, along with other Sophists, shared the assumption that we understand the world through our senses, and that the mind is unable to understand an objective reality.¹⁰ Like many of the Sophists, Protagoras focused on how the world is perceived at the individual level and how individuals assessed truth and meaning based on their own experience.¹¹ The implication of Protagoras' philosophy was that truth was a measure of judgment or relativity, rather than objective fact.

Protagoras was possibly best known for his statement that man is the measure of all things. The meaning of this statement was that things appear to a

particular person only such as they appear to that person, and not to any other.¹² An example of Protagoras idea can be found in the case of wind when . . . sometimes (as) the same wind is blowing it feels cold to one person and to another not. So in these cases Protagoras would say that the wind is cold to the one who feels cold, and is not cold to the other. Now it is clear that this theory involves the rejection of the everyday view that the wind is either cold or not cold, and one of the percipients is mistaken in supposing that the wind is as it seems to him and the other percipient is right.¹³

Three possible philosophical scenarios emerge from this example. The first is that there is no single wind, and that each of the two individuals senses a separate wind independent of the other. The second is that there is a single wind common to both persons. The wind is neither cold nor warm, but is sensed separately and independently by each of the two persons. The determining factor in whether they interpret it as warm or cold is their individual body temperature. The third possibility is that the wind is both cold and warm, and that both these characteristics coexist at the same time in a single entity.¹⁴ Protagoras subscribed to the second explanation. The first was rejected because it took the subjectivist argument to an extreme that could not be reconciled with reason and observation. The third was rejected because of the difficulty of a single entity to embody contradictory characteristics at the same time.

As a Sophist, Protagoras rejected the idea that a single objective reality existed behind the world of individual perception. His philosophy was based on understanding the world entirely through an external examination of it, rather than through probing introspection. Such an externally directed emphasis encouraged the individual to explore and continually take in new experience. The result was a continual interplay between the individual and the world in which the results of sensation (perception) mattered as much as the sensation itself.

The subjective nature of Protagoras' philosophy should not be taken to a relativistic extreme.¹⁵ Such an extreme interpretation would undermine a sense of social cohesion were individual interpretation to be the sole measure of understanding the world. He was careful to explain that while each person made sense of their world based on their own experiences, each society or group also collectively played a role in determining meaning, values, and institutions that could supercede the individual, and that were essential for the continued existence of society. This point continues to be misunderstood by many critics of the philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research. Such criticism is based on a fundamental misunderstanding that while

qualitative research seeks to understand meaning through individual experiences, it does not ignore the collaborative role that groups or society play in determining and shaping meaning as well.

Plato also took the position that the world was in a state of constant change but that it was possible for an objective reality to exist, and in his critique of Protagoras showed that a general relativism was self-contradictory.¹⁶ He advanced Protagoras' ideas by making a distinction between belief and knowledge. Belief was defined as information collected from the more fallible perception, and knowledge that were based on the unchanging universal definitions, with perception considered inferior to knowledge.¹⁷ The difference between belief and knowledge becomes increasingly complex as we examine this issue in terms of understanding increasingly abstract concepts. This difference is paralleled in qualitative research with respect to how we develop conclusions about meaning in a given context. The more assumptions we as researchers have to make, the more likely we are to develop inaccurate conclusions. Plato addressed exactly this philosophical and methodological problem. He concluded that it was not possible to grasp abstracts purely through the senses. For example how can one see or hear justice or bravery?¹⁸

Aristotle also believed in the existence of a universal reality and that it could be known.¹⁹ Unlike Plato, Aristotle assumed a concrete relationship between the universal and particular. The implication of his philosophy was that ideas or forms of things could not be understood independently from their actuality.²⁰ Plato also supported the contextual nature of meaning but was careful to argue this point in a way that was not inconsistent with his support of universals. Because of the contextual nature of how we perceive the world and make meaning, it was possible that ideas or beliefs could be true in some circumstances and false in others.²¹

Methods

An important characteristic shared across many of the ancient Greeks was how they revealed the findings of their work. Parmenides, for example, used poetry as the format by which he presented his philosophical views on knowledge and perception. Plato was even more creative an author. His works have taken the form of dialogues, myth and the more traditional essay. In our present time, some qualitative scholars have suggested using such formats for expressing their ideas. Such formats are often referred to as non-traditional or alternative; however, such terms do not reflect that the poem or dialogue is one of the oldest forms of expressing philosophical thought or observations of the world.

The philosophers examined in this essay also shared an emphasis on seeking knowledge through an external examination of the world. In particular, such examination relied on an inductive analytical process.²² Protagoras based his philosophy of understanding and interpretation entirely on inductive analysis. Socrates sought to expand his understanding through observations of the world as well as discussions with others. Plato advanced this idea even further. While the Sophists, like Protagoras, sought an understanding of the world through sensory input, Plato sought to fuse sensory input with rational reflection. Plato's contribution advanced Greek epistemological thought to a level that closely approximates contemporary understanding of the cognitive processes involved in understanding the world and the roles that sense and reason play together. In Plato's philosophy reason could be relied on to correct deceptive sensory experiences, such as a stick appearing to bend as it enters a body of water.²³

If we look at the whole of Aristotle's writings we find characteristics of both deductive and inductive thinking in his philosophy.²⁴ With respect only to inductive analysis, Plato and Aristotle regarded the two differently. Plato sought to use induction as a pathway to help him achieve a better understanding of universals. Aristotle, however, used induction in terms of searching for evidential support for his conclusions.²⁵

The reliance on inductive analysis is also evident in Aristotle's epistemological writings. He used inductive analysis in order to better understand the universal by first understanding the particular. The relation of the universal and the particular formed a central part of his philosophy and form the foundation of how we move from an understanding of one to the other. The distinction between the universal and particular paralleled the distinction between thinking and sensation. Previous philosophers had often made no distinction between the two, and considered thought nothing more than another form of sensation. Aristotle considered thinking to be limited primarily to humans, and without both sensation and thinking one could not reach an understanding of higher universals.

Conclusions

The notion of perceived meaning need not be exclusive or oppositional to the idea of a single objective reality. If we are to accept the notion of Parmenides that human perception is fallible then we leave open the possibility that an objective reality exists but that we are ill equipped to understand it due to limitation in human thought and communication. Other contemporaneous philosophers such as Plato advanced

the idea of an unchanging, objective reality. Aristotle also subscribed to this idea and his philosophy possibly best embodies the coexistence of a qualitative philosophical perspective on knowledge and sense, as well as the idea of clear universal definitions. His ideas are also those that most closely resemble many of our contemporary philosophies about the nature of knowledge in the social sciences.²⁶

Judging something more or less accurate, or more or less beautiful implies the existence of a basic standard of accuracy or beauty.²⁷ The question for us then becomes, is the standard one that was developed by a group or society as a means of holding that society together and promoting a common standard to promote stability, or does there exist a higher unchanging standard? If we as scholars reject one part or the other of this question we inevitably predetermine the outcome of sociological inquiry. How we relate ourselves to this question also determines how we view our roles as scholars. If we presume that knowledge is constantly shifting and in a non-ending process of change then we must accept that our role as scholars is to create knowledge through the research process. However, if we accept that an objective, non-changing reality may (but not necessarily does) exist then we assume that our role as scholar is to discover rather than create knowledge.

No single philosopher examined in this essay embodies the core philosophical principles of qualitative research. However, taken together, these individuals developed a set of principles that began a trend in philosophical thought for the Western world. For example, rather than completely reject the ideas of Protagoras, one could interpret Plato's thoughts on truth versus interpretation as trying to discover a coherent unity through examining and understanding a diversity of individual experience. While Protagoras stopped with an emphasis on the individual nature of meaning, Plato sought to move it forward to a more orderly state of understanding the world.

Qualitative research has largely rejected the notion of there being any universal standards for meaning or behavior. When considered against the Greek philosophical origins of much of our understanding of perception and knowledge it becomes difficult to understand such rejection. This is particularly the case when examined in terms of the difficulty in proving a negative. How does one prove something does not exist? In most cases it is impossible to do so, therefore to take the position that universals cannot or do not exist becomes philosophically and epistemologically a very unstable position for one to take.

ENDNOTES

1. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, "Entering the Field of Qualitative Research," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1994): 1-17). A concise description of contemporary qualitative philosophy can be found in *Qualitative Interviewing* (1995) by Rubin and Rubin:

Qualitative research is not looking for principles that are true all the time and in all conditions, like the laws of physics; rather, the goal is understanding of specific circumstances, how and why things actually happen in a complex world. Knowledge in qualitative interviewing is situational and conditional (38-39).

2. Herbert Rubin and Irene Rubin. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1995), 2.

3. Ellen Brodio and Kathleen Manning, "Philosophical Foundations and Current Theoretical Perspectives in Qualitative Research," *Journal of College Student Development* 43 (2002): 434-445.

4. There is not agreement on the precise dates of Parmenides' birth and death. His associations with contemporaneous philosophers help only to a degree. He was thought to be the student of Xenophanes, and the teacher of Zeno of Elea. He is reported to have met Socrates at a time when Socrates was young. These points of comparison combined with various sources estimate his birth between 515 and 510 BCE. Less agreement exists regarding his death, most concluding that it occurred after 450 BCE.

5. Richard Muller, "Parmenides," in *Great Thinkers of the Western World*, ed. I. McGreal (New York: Harper Collins, 1992): 3-6.

6. W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy; Volume I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 4-5.

7. *Ibid.*, 399.

8. Muller, "Parmenides."

9. Leonardo Taran. *Parmenides: A Text with Translation, Commentary, and Critical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 253.

10. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy: Volume I*, 401. Lawrence Hundersmarck, "Protagoras of Abdera" in *Great Thinkers of the Western World*, ed. I. McGreal (New York: Harper Collins, 1992): 12-15.

11. Hundersmarck, "Protagoras of Abdera."

12. G.B. Kerferd, *The Sophistic Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 86.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. Hundersmarck, "Protagoras of Abdera."

16. Miles Burnyeat, "Knowledge is Perception: Theaetetus," in *Plato: Metaphysics and Epistemology*, ed. G. Fine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 340.

17. Gail Fine, "Knowledge and Belief in The Republic," in *Plato: Metaphysics and Epistemology*, ed. G. Fine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 215-246. G.M.A. Grube. *Plato's Thought* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1980).

18. T.H. Irwin, "The Theory of Forms," in *Plato: Metaphysics and Epistemology*, ed. G. Fine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 151.

19. Richard Muller, "Aristotle," in *Great Thinkers of the Western World*, ed. I. McGreal (New York: Harper Collins, 1992): 30-35.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Paolo Crivelli. *Aristotle on Truth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 183-184.

22. Inductive analysis refers to a proposed conclusion that contains more information than the observations or experience on which it is based. The truth of the conclusion is verifiable only in terms of some possible future experience or discovery. Deductive analysis refers to a proposed conclusion that is drawn from a set of premises and contains no more information than the premises taken collectively. The truth of the conclusion is dependent on the method and the beginning premises.

23. Lawrence Hundersmarck, "Plato," in *Great Thinkers of the Western World*, ed. I. McGreal (New York: Harper Collins, 1992): 21-29.

24. Abraham Edel. *Aristotle and his Philosophy* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 183.

25. Edel, *Aristotle and his Philosophy*, 184.

26. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy: Volume I*, 237.

27. Hundersmarck, "Plato," 21-29.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE OF AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND THE ROLE OF TEACHERS

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Introduction

The institution of American public education presently encompasses pre-school to grade twelve. It is massive by any standard. From its embryonic beginning nearly 200 years ago, the institution presently consist of more than 14,000 locally governed school districts responsible for providing an organized schooling experience for more than 54 million students—39 million in PK-8 grades and 15 million in grades 9 through 12.¹ The cost of educating these students for the 2003-2004 school year, for example, was \$440 billion, and increases each school year.² For what purpose does this institution exist? For the Founders, the purpose was unmistakably political. However, since the Founding, public education has acquired other purposes as well. Of the several purposes, which is the most fundamental, superior to all the others?

Governmental institutions are inherently political constructions. In the United States it is the Supreme Court that is the final arbitrator of legal controversies surrounding their purposes. This paper documents the view of the Court regarding the fundamental purpose of American public education. Because the Supreme Court often anchors its views of the purpose of public education on what the Founders, in particular Thomas Jefferson, believed about the value of education to democratic ideals, the paper begins by placing these views within a historical context. The concluding section of the paper is a brief discussion of what kind of public education would best suit its fundamental purpose and the importance of teachers in achieving this purpose.

The View of the Founders

The political importance of public education was recognized long before the adoption of the Constitution in 1791. Thomas Jefferson, perhaps the most influential of the Founders in establishing the intellectual foundations for the American democratic ideal, understood the importance of education to freedom. In his well-known 1779, “Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge” for the state of Virginia, Jefferson wrote:

Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people. The people themselves are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be *essentially* necessary [emphasis added]. An amendment to our constitution must here come in aid of the public education.³

Benjamin Rush, a well-known physician and

educator in Philadelphia at the time of the Founding, began his popular 1786 essay, “Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools,” by listing six “advantages of learning upon mankind.” The first advantage, as one would expect for the times, recognizes the importance of religion and emphasizes “promoting just notions of the Deity, and in enlarging our knowledge of his words.” The next three advantages pertain more to civil government. The second begins with, “It is favorable to liberty,” the third begins with, “It promotes just ideas of laws and government,” and the fourth deals with civility and begins with, “It is friendly to manners.” In the last two advantages Rush recognizes the importance of education to the economic well being of the country by linking education to agriculture and manufacturing.⁴

James Madison, among the most significant Founders, had a long and deep regard for public education. In 1822 in a letter to William T. Barry regarding public education in Kentucky, Madison wrote:

A popular government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or Tragedy: or, perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance: And a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.⁵

In 1785, six years before the Constitution was ratified, the Continental Congress passed the *Ordinance Survey*. This Act mandated that the all funds derived from the sale of the sixteenth section of each township be reserved for public education.⁶ In 1787, the Continental Congress passed the *Northwest Ordinance* requiring all new states to have an education provision in their individual constitutions. The importance of this pre Constitution legislation was recognized in 1988 by the Eight U. S. Circuit Court in its *Murphy v. State of Arkansas* decision finding the use of state approved achievement tests to monitor home schooling was constitutional. The court said:

The government has a compelling interest in educating all of its citizens. Education of the citizenry is and always has been a preeminent goal of American society. Reaching back through the collective memory of the Republic, the fundamental importance of education in the design of our system of government rapidly becomes clear. Article III of the Northwest Ordinance states in part: “Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”⁷

That education is essential to prepare young people to assume the primary political office of *citizen* became the foundation for the common school movement of the early 1800s, the justification for educating the massive influx of immigrants around the turn of the twentieth century, and is evident in the discourse of civic education in today's schools. The United States Supreme Court has consistently supported the Founder's intentions relative to education and democracy

The Supreme Court and Public Education

Until the beginning of the Twentieth century the United States Supreme Court had little to say regarding public education. When the Court handed down decisions in several important landmark education cases, it gave only passing comments about the fundamental purpose of public education. For example, in 1923, the Court in *Meyer v. Nebraska*, invalidated the conviction of John Meyer, a teacher in a Lutheran parochial school, for "the teaching of foreign languages in the State of Nebraska." Delivering the opinion for the Court, Justice McReynolds noted that "The American people have always regarded education and the acquisition of knowledge of supreme importance which should be diligently promoted."⁸ He then went on the quote from the Ordinance of 1787.

In 1948, Justice Felix Frankfurter, writing a separate concurring opinion in *McCullum v. Board of Education of School District No. 71, Champaign County, Illinois*, which found unconstitutional a policy of "released time" for religious instruction in public schools, presented a comprehensive review of the evolution of public education from the colonial period up to 1948. In this review, Justice Frankfurter not only recognized the importance of First Amendment religious freedoms but the importance of education to democracy as well. To this end, he said:

The modern public school derived from a philosophy of freedom reflected in the First Amendment. . . . The non-sectarian or secular public school was the means of reconciling freedom in general with religious freedom. The sharp confinement of the public schools to secular education was a recognition of the need of a democratic society to educate children, insofar as the State undertook to do so, in an atmosphere free from pressures in a realm in which pressures are most resisted and where conflicts are most easily and most bitterly engendered. *Designed to serve as perhaps the most powerful agency for promoting cohesion among heterogeneous democratic people*, the public school must keep scrupulously free from entanglement of the strife of sects. . . . *The public school is at once the symbol of our democracy and the most pervasive means of promoting our common destiny* [emphases

added].⁹

The most famous and far reaching twentieth century Supreme Court decision was in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. Chief Justice Earl Warren delivering the unanimous decision of the Court noted:

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship.¹⁰

In a concurring opinion in the 1963 landmark United States Supreme court school prayer joint decision, *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp* and *Murray v. Curlette*, Justice William Brennan stated that:

Americans regard the public schools as *a most vital civic institution for the preservation of a democratic system of government* [emphasis added]. It is therefore understandable that the constitutional prohibitions encounter their severest test when they are sought to be applied in the school classroom.¹¹

Writing for the Supreme Court in the 1972 landmark *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, exempting the children of the Old Order Amish Religion from attending public schools after the age of 16, Chief Justice Warren Burger noted that,

The State advances two primary arguments in support of its system of compulsory education. It notes, as Thomas Jefferson pointed out early in our history, that some degree of education is necessary to prepare citizens to participate effectively and intelligently in our open political system if we are to preserve freedom and independence. Further, education prepares individuals to be self-reliant and self-sufficient participants in society. We accept these propositions.¹²

In many school cases that center on the importance of education for government, courts often quote from *Brown v. Board of Education*. For example, in 1982 the Supreme Court struck down a Texas law excluding the alien children from public schools.¹³ In the opinion of the Court, Justice Brennan quoted from *Brown* in stressing that education was essential to both citizenship and individual liberty, noted that ". . . [education] *is the very foundation of good citizenship* [emphasis added].¹⁴ More recently, in 2003 Justice Sandra Day O'Connor delivering the opinion for the Court in *Grutter v. Bollinger, et al.*, upholding the Law School admissions standards of the University of Michigan, quoting from *Brown* stated that, "This Court has long recognized that 'education . . . is the very foundation of good

citizenship.”¹⁵

From the Supreme Court decisions noted above, it can be concluded that public education is essentially a political enterprise. A prominent public-education legal-historian, Newton Edwards, describes public education as “... not merely a function of government; it is *of* government [emphasis added].”¹⁶ If the function of public education is to prepare children for citizenship, then at least two essential questions must be considered: What ought to constitute the structure and nature of knowledge taught?; and, Who ought to have the primary responsibility for organizing and communicating that knowledge?

The Character of Knowledge for Democratic Governance

If democracy is a mechanism that is supposed to insure an equal distribution of rights, then in order to diminish the possibility of social structures reaching a state of homeostasis relative to an unequal distribution of rights, the knowledge for citizenship ought to be “productive” not “re-productive.” That is, citizenship knowledge ought to be knowledge that enables change, not knowledge that justifies the status quo.

Over the decades, many have expressed their reasoned and informed opinions about the character of this enabling knowledge. For example, in 1916 John Dewey noted that

since democracy stands in principle for free interchange, for social continuity, it must develop a theory of knowledge which sees in knowledge the method by which experience is made available in giving direction and meaning to another.”¹⁷

Dewey believed that education must make “progress” toward a more just, democratic society. For Dewey, progress is not merely “getting nearer to ends already sought,” it is, instead,

enriching prior purposes and in informing new ones ... [and that the] projection of new possibilities leads to search for new means of execution, and progress takes place; while discovery of objects not already used leads to suggestions of new ends.”¹⁸

The educator and former President of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Robert M. Hutchins, believed that the purpose of public education was to help form and maintain a “political community,” and that “... the basic requirement for the formation of a political community is a common liberal education, an education that is appropriate for free men.”¹⁹ More recently, the conservative educator E. D. Hirsch, Jr. advocates a universal core curriculum for all American schools. Such a core of knowledge would help children in our highly mobile society to acquire the necessary “intellectual capital” to succeed both in school and as

adults.²⁰ Regardless of which creditable notion of curriculum operates within a school, how is it to be effectively carried out?

The Role of Teachers in the Education of Citizens for Democratic Societies

To understand importance of teachers to the American democracy one must again turn to the Supreme Court. For example, in 1952 the Court in *Wieman v. Updegraff* found unconstitutional a loyalty oath requirement for all state employees in Oklahoma. In a concurring opinion, Justice Felix Frankfurter, joined by Justice William O. Douglas, stressed the importance of teachers to promoting the American democratic ideals.

That our democracy ultimately rests on public opinion is a platitude of speech but not commonplace in action. Public opinion is the ultimate reliance of our society only if disciplined and responsible. It can be disciplined and responsible only if habits of *open-mindedness and of critical inquiry are acquired in the formative years of our citizens* [emphasis added]. The process of education has naturally enough been the basis of hope for the perdurance of our democracy on the part of all leaders, from Thomas Jefferson onwards. To regard teachers—in our entire educational system, from the primary grades to the university—as the priests of our democracy is therefore not to indulge in hyperbole. It is the special task of teachers to *foster those habits of open-mindedness and critical inquiry which alone make for responsible citizens, who, in turn, make possible an enlightened and effective public opinion* [emphasis added].²¹

Regarding the role of teachers and how they carry out their obligations as “priests of democracy,” the Courts have focused on the importance of academic freedom. For example, in 1960 in its decision in *Shelton v. Tucker*, the Supreme Court struck down an Arkansas law that required all teachers to file an affidavit listing all organizations to which they contributed funds and belonged during the past five years. Justice Stewart writing the opinion for the Court noted that, “The vigilant protection of constitutional freedoms is nowhere more vital than in the community of American schools.”²² Quoting from *Wieman v. Updegraff*, Justice Stewart continued:

By limiting the power of the States to interfere with freedom of speech and freedom of inquiry and freedom of association, the Fourteenth Amendment protects all persons, no matter what their calling. But, in view of the nature of the teacher’s [***237] relation to the effective exercise of the rights which are safeguarded by the Bill of Rights and by the

Fourteenth Amendment, inhibition of freedom of thought, and of action upon thought, in the case of teachers brings the safeguards of those amendments vividly into operation. Such unwarranted inhibition upon the free spirit of teachers ... has an unmistakable tendency to chill that free play of the spirit which all teachers ought especially to cultivate and practice; it makes for caution and timidity in their associations by potential teachers.²³ [Continuing, Justice Stewart quotes from *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, in which the Court in which the Court struck down New Hampshire's Subversive Activities Act], "Scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and to evaluate"²⁴

In 1967, the United States Supreme Court declared New York's teacher loyalty laws and regulations unconstitutional in its *Keyishian v. Board of Regents* decision. Justice Brennan, in delivering the opinion of the Court, said:

[Academic] freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment, which does not tolerate laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom. "The vigilant protection of constitutional freedoms is nowhere more vital than in the community of American schools." *Shelton v. Tucker, supra*, at 487. The classroom is peculiarly the "marketplace of ideas." The Nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth "out of a multitude of tongues, [rather] than through any kind of authoritative selection." *United States v. Associated Press*, 52 F.Supp. 362, 372. In *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 354 U.S. 234, 250, [**684] we said: "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. [***641] To impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our Nation. No field of education is so thoroughly comprehended by man that new discoveries cannot yet be made. Particularly is that true in the social sciences, where few, if any, principles are accepted as absolutes. 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."²⁵

Conclusions

Although relatively recent Supreme Court decisions have narrowed the role of teacher discretion regarding the content of method of teaching, it has not changed its view that the primary purpose of the public schools is to further American democratic ideals.²⁶ Also, the Federal government has considerably narrowed the role of teachers in determining what ought to count as knowledge necessary for good citizenship by requiring standardized testing to replace teacher-made tests in measuring the effectiveness of the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). Recently, there have been proposals to improve public education by modeling the medical profession, that is by separating those who practice schooling (teachers and school administrators) from those in academe who do educational research as if teaching and schooling were, in fact, a science. Analogies are the weakest tropes; therefore, they fail even the mildest criticisms. Medicine and schooling-as-education have little if anything in common. Physicians depend heavily upon recommending from the bounded domains of knowledge of the sciences of biology, chemistry, and physics. On the other hand, the most fundamental concerns of teachers are conditioned by what is to count as knowledge from the perhaps infinite domain of all knowledge, not just the sciences. The open domain, if we can even call it a domain, of all knowledge is essential if public education is to fulfill its fundamental purpose of preparing children for citizenship in a democracy. In this regard, the medical analogy fails to even remotely account for the unique fundamental aspect of public education as an essential part of government itself. One way to describe education as a unique governing institution and the importance of the study of (theorizing about) education in academe as part of the practice of education in the schools is to consider education as discourse.

If discourse is defined as *any human artifact subject to interpretation including, but not limited to, meaning expressed through acoustic, graphic, and symbolic texts and individual behaviors and group and institutional practices*, then all discourse is *action*, it expresses or *produces* meaning. This view of discourse as *production of meaning* is consistent with John Searle's widely accepted notion that all speech is *action*; therefore, one's interpretation of ("re-action to") a discourse is, like the initial speech act, a *material* act, a *practice*.²⁷ Consequently, in terms of expressing meaning in the political sense there can be no clear distinction between, for example, "theorizing" as discourse on the one hand and "practice" as discourse on the other. Michel Foucault succinctly describes the significance of education as discourse to politics.

Education may well be, as of right, the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own,

**FAZZARO: THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE
OF AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND THE ROLE OF TEACHERS**

can gain access to any kind of discourse. But we well know that in its distribution, in what it permits and in what it prevents, it follows the well-trodden battle-lines of social conflict. Every

educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it.²⁸

ENDNOTES

1. National Center for Education Statistics, accessed 30 June 2006; available from <http://nces.ed.gov>.
2. National Center for Education Statistics, accessed 30 June 2006; available from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2005/2005353.pdf>.
3. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Richmond, VA: J. W. Randolph, 1853), 157-160.
4. Benjamin Rush, "A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools," ed. Frederic Rudolph, *Essays on Education in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 3-4.
5. James Madison in a letter to William T. Barry, 4 August 1822 regarding public education in Kentucky. In, *James Madison: Writings*, ed. Jack N. Rakove (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1999), 790.
6. Each township was six miles on a side and divided into thirty-six equal sections.
7. *Murphy v. Arkansas*, No. 87-1893 United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit 852 F.2d 1039; U.S. App. LEXIS 9944 (1988).
8. *Meyer v. Nebraska*, No. 325., Supreme Court of the United States, 262 U.S. 390; 43 S. Ct. 625; 67 L. Ed. 1042; 1923 U.S. LEXIS 2655; 29 A.L.R. 1446 (1923).
9. *McCullum v. Board of Education of School District No. 71, Champaign County, Illinois, et al*, 333 U. S. 203; 68 S. Ct. 461; 92 L. Ed. 649; U.S.LEXIS 2451; 2 A.L.R. 2d 1338 (1948).
10. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1954. 347 U. S. 483, 74 S.Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873 (1954).
11. *School District of Abington Township, Pennsylvania, et al. v. Schempp et al. with Murray et al. v. Curlett et al.*, 374 U.S. 203; 83 S. Ct. 1560; 10 L. Ed. 2d 844; U.S. LEXIS 2611 (1963).
12. *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U. S. 205, 92 S.Ct. 1526, 32 L.Ed. 2d 15. (1972).
13. *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202; 102 S. Ct. 2382; 72 L. Ed. 2d 786, U.S. LEXIS 124; 50 U.S.L.W. 4650 (1982). Also see for example, *Murphy v. State of Arkansas*, Eighth Circuit, 852 F.2d. 1039 (1988).
14. *Brown v. Board of Education*.
15. *Grutter v. Bollinger, et al.* 02-241 Supreme Court of the United States 539 U.S. 306; 123 S. Ct. 2325; 156 L. Ed. 2d 304; U.S. LEXIS 4800 (2003).
16. Newton Edwards, *The Courts and the Public Schools* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), 23.
17. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), 321-322.
18. Dewey, 223-224.
19. Cited in Alvin A. Morris, *The Constitution and American Education*, 2nd edition (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1980), 74.
20. E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *The Schools We Need and Why We Don't Have Them* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).
21. *Wieman et al. v. Updegraff et al.* No. 14 Supreme Court of the United States 344 U.S. 183; 73 S. Ct. 215; 97 L. Ed. 216; U.S. LEXIS 1430 (1952).
22. *Shelton v. Tucker, Et. Al.*, No. 14 Supreme Court of the United States, 364 U.S. 479; 81 S. Ct. 247; 5 L. Ed. 2d 231; U.S. LEXIS 25 (1860).

23. *Wieman v. Updegraff*, 344 U.S. 183, 195.
24. *Sweezy v. New Hampshire, by Wyman, Attorney General*, No. 175 Supreme Court of the United States 354 U.S. 234; 77 S. Ct. 1203; 1 L. Ed. 2d 1311; U.S. LEXIS 655 (1957).
25. *Keyishian et al. v. Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York et al.* No. 105 Supreme Court of the United States 385 U.S. 589; 87 S. Ct. 675; 17 L. Ed. 2d 629; U.S. LEXIS 2454 (1967).
26. Recent court cases have limited the role of teachers in both what to teach and how to teach it. See, in particular: *Hazelwood School District et al. v. Kuhlmeier et al.*, No. 86-836 Supreme Court of the United States 484 U.S. 260; 108 S. Ct. 562; 98 L. Ed. 2d 592; U.S. LEXIS 310; 56 U.S.L.W. 4079; 14 Media L. Rep. 2081 (1988).
27. For more on these notions about speech as action see: John Searle, "Austin on Locutionary and Illocutionary Acts," in Jay Rosenberg and Charles Travis, eds., *Readings in the Philosophy of Language* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1971), 262-75.
28. Michel Foucault, trans., Rupert Swyer, "The Discourse on Language," appendix to Michel Foucault, trans., A. M. Sheridan Smith, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972): 227. First presented as a lecture at the College de France on 1 December 1970. Originally published in France in 1971 as *L'ordre du discours* by Gallimard, Paris. The English translation by Rupert Swyer was first published in *Social Science Information* (April 1971): 7-30.

WALLS, WINDOWS, BRIDGES: CHANGING IMAGES OF CHINA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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Beginnings

This paper explores ideas connected to the processes of learning about and experiencing “other” cultures in the United States and China, as these have been observed within a Chinese/American exchange project. The learning/experiencing processes that this program generates suggest, rather than phased “steps” in a process, more global thoughts toward the conditions out of which processes begin and from which they continue after any “product” has been completed. These ideas expand notions of process to include areas of wonder (or “pre-learning”) and of creativity (or “historical action”) (Nishida, in Maralda, 2005, 10). This paper, then, intends to initiate conversations specific to the ways that “experiences” are communicated to “others,” more specifically questioning, “How might ‘experiences of otherness’ be communicated?” (Issues of being other and of experience, frame this paper.) Additional to these issues are those attached to change. As one culture encounters and responds to another during periods of rapid transformation, a network of perceptions begins to form. Multiple layers of perceiving, re-perceiving and re-defining understandings of the “other” culture, as these shift and change, also contribute toward ways that each culture begins to re-examine understandings of itself (Nishida, in Maralda, 2005, 4).

Questioning and re-defining understandings of what has been called “self-seeing” (Maraldo, 2005, 4) in a cultural sense is also reflected in similar questions on an individual level. The idea of “learning/teaching about” a culture that is not my own while that culture is changing invites a backward look (to past, outmoded understandings about Chinese-American relations) forward (to ways my students’ perceptions may be different) and inward (to questions of, “What am I trying to discover about China?” “What of myself—or my culture—am I leaving behind?”) It is this thinking that grants this paper its reflective, narrative nature, as it explores the conditions out of which philosophical ideas about experience and otherness—as well as “being” and change—grow. (In this particular case “being” is wrapped in notions of perception—what it means to “be” Chinese—or American—and how these may be interpreted and communicated through an elementary music classroom.)

As the teacher of that classroom, I realize that the story I tell of studying about, journeying to, traveling through, and bringing back experiences of China to my school is conditioned by conversations and unresolved questions that have grown out of earlier understandings. My story is told in a way that mirrors the historical

development of how being and experience are often conceptualized in the West. From this perspective “being in an experience” is often considered a purely singular activity, belonging to an individual “self” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993), yet, my involvement with music as an ensemble endeavor grants me occasion to question such a limited notion. Many authors support the idea that experiences and the interpretations of them “belong” to some kind of larger culture (Feenberg, 1999; Forehand, 2005; Heidegger, 1971; Sawyer, 2005) and that they are shaped by the influences of others in much the same way a performance-arts piece is created through the workings of the ensemble process.

Notions of self (being) and experience—whether singular or collaborative—have been developed by numerous writers. These have presented self as a wall—a unifier of experiences from birth until death (Heidegger). Writers have also suggested that experiences are “bridges” and that they are of two different kinds: one, connecting levels of perceptive processes (Bateson, 1972, 470) and the reaching “between expressible commonalities and the ineffability of the individual interior” (Jay, 2005, 7). There is also literature to suggest that experience is something more than an unchanging, linear bridge—that it has the capacity to extend outward in a dynamic kind of circularity—to bring selves together into some kind of larger culture (Heidegger, 1971, 137), and beyond that, to enfold that larger culture within the “world” (Arisaka, 1999).

Walls, bridges, windows

The questions that shape this study emerged from my involvement in the Asian/American Cultural Studies program that I mentioned earlier, one that is inspired and funded by the Freeman Foundation, and carried out through the National Consortium for Teaching Asia and its various subsidiaries. (My involvement is through the University of Oklahoma Asian Studies Department, and the Oklahoma Institute for Teaching Asia, both under the direction of Dr. Jessica Stowell.) The Freeman Foundation sponsors these and other programs with the intention of building educational relationships between students and teachers in the U.S. and China. Built into this program are philosophical notions of “experience” and “being” that began my study.

The program as it invites procedural thinking toward “experiencing” another culture draws a stark contrast to other ideas about cultural experiences. Some have suggested that these last embrace an “extreme sports” concept of experience: a “commodity” whose ownership is exclusive (it cannot be shared) and whose outcome is predictable (Jay, 2005, 405). The Freeman/NCTA vision of experience, in comparison, (attached as it is to rather holistic notions of culture and experience) is less prescriptive and more expansive. It operates as a system of learning experiences, educating networks of teachers who are encouraged (actually required) to build teaching plans out of the resources and lectures that are granted to them and to share those lessons with each other through the Internet. New learning is, then, carried through these plans into the classroom with students; Asian study resources are provided not only to the teachers who participate in the project but also to the libraries of the schools where these teachers are assigned. In this way resources are made available school-wide. The study, resource building, and lessons, then, construct a new network for teachers—a “knowledge base”—which encourages additional research and lesson development. As teachers involved in the project build this knowledge base within their schools, they are encouraged to facilitate community workshop presentations as follow-up to their learning. Continually granted new awareness through these conditions and processes, teacher-students are subsequently invited to submit a rationale for inclusion in a tour of Asian countries with a research project in mind. After returning from that tour, these teachers work with their students to develop their outgrowth project. The teacher-student-classroom “learning experience”, then, embraces a sense of “being in” or participating in a system of experiencing otherness through multiple facets of what might be called a “beforing” phase, a “whiling” phase, and an “aftering” phase.

My involvement with this program has an additional “on-going” component. I teach at a school which is also involved in a Chinese/American Sister School program. As such, my colleagues and I embrace a whole-school vision of integrating Chinese culture into our classes. This program brings teachers from China to the United States to live for a year and teach Chinese language and culture to the students at our school. For the last four years, I have had the opportunity to build relationships with these teachers, one most particularly. These relationships have allowed me to observe and be involved in a certain level of recognizing how these teachers “experience” and “being” (Chinese) in and outside of an American school. Our conversations have provoked a series of questions that surround various

philosophical issues that are embedded within the processes of the program itself: issues of being (walls), perception (windows), and experience (bridges).

The Great Wall

Western philosophies hold a long tradition of considering these issues within the constraints of “self”, a concept that is often considered as, an unchanging core moving along through the stream of life. This core supposedly unifies the self’s experiences from birth to death (Heidegger, 1971, 120).

This assumption—that self is unchanging and that, therefore, being and experience are, as well—confines the self to what resides within “the limits of [one’s] skin” (Bateson, 1970, 456). It imagines self as a being that will forever “remain locked in his own ego” (Heidegger, 1971, 121), shut within “a box of fear” (Holzer, in Greene, 1988, 144). This ego-box is held separate from what is “outside” by a wall of “difference” in which “man has closed himself up, till he sees all things through narrow chinks of his cavern” (Blake, in Shlain, p. 95). This image, some believe, is part of our cultural heritage, a cavern of self that history has constructed for us as a way of conceptualizing mind, learning, and reality (Plato, ‘Allegory of the Cave’ *The Republic*, Book VII, 360 BC)

The walls of our cavern, these contend, we begin to build, “from the moment that we start to peer around for the beings named by our pronouns” (Rile, in Davies, 1983, 89).

The problem, then, emerges from this way of viewing life through narrow chinks of a cavern created from a sense of separateness, individuality, and self-sufficiency that we in the West have accepted as inescapable, established as it was by Plato, then later supported by Locke and others. It extends to the ways we think about perception as singular, separate and compartmentalized and how this notion of perception affects our thoughts about experience (as singular and unshareable), as well. Various writers consider that such assumptions marginalize experience, so that it is, “no longer accessible to us [the outcome of which is that the] incapacity to have and communicate experience is perhaps one of the few self-certainties to which [modern man] can lay claim.” (Agamben, in Jay, 2005, 2)

This incapacity to have and communicate experience many believe to be tangled within one-dimensional traditions of thinking about experience. Following the thoughts of German philosophers, this thinking grows out of images of experience as, either

erlebnis ... an immediate, pre-reflective, and personal variant of experience [or] *erfahrung* ... outer, sense impressions or cognitive judgments about them. (Jay, 2005, 11)

**FOREHAND: WALLS, WINDOWS, BRIDGES: CHANGING IMAGES
OF CHINA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

These notions of what experiences are, both wrapped as they are in “walled-off” thoughts of self, limit the possibilities that these experiences, whatever type they are, may offer. (This may actually make philosophical thoughts relating to learning and teaching culture equally appropriate to thoughts about learning and teaching in general.) Ignoring anything beyond the “thing” of the experience, the process and the system of experiencing, including the teaching and learning to derive meaning from it, are also ignored.

Many authors, recognizing the limited potential that such ill-considered notions of experience may offer, have also,

argued that the domination of a less healthy version of experience is precisely what defines the contemporary era ... What one might, in fact, say is that the very notion of experience as a commodity for sale is precisely the opposite of what many ... theorists have argued an experience should be, that is something which can never be fully possessed by its owner. Indeed, because experiences involve encounters with otherness and open into a future that is not fully contained in the past or present, they defy the very attempt to reduce them to moments of fulfilled intensity in the marketplace of sensations. In fact, one might argue that one of the distinguishing marks that separates art from mere entertainment is that the latter sells commodified experiences, whereas the former does not. (Jay, 2006, 407.

Such a “commodified” way of conceptualizing experience isolates the product-experience from the “beforing” phase that includes wondering/conditioning/educating and the “aftering” phase of reflecting/taking action/communicating/caring. It also effectually removes the multiple possibilities that may be discovered within the “whiling” of experience—the continuum of personal awarenesses and the potential that others may share—from the overall spectrum of living. Students and others viewing experience in this way, as they are offered cultural learning opportunities, may see the experiences and the cultures they represent as fragmented, disconnected, marginalized “vacation snapshots”. A more process-oriented notion of experience, on the other hand, affords an integrated flowing vision of engagement within an interconnected system of discovering, to which an intention, a purpose, and a meaning are attached. A fragmented view separates the various aspects of being into compartments. Learning is kept separated from the “normal practices of living.” (Greene, 1988) The arts are, as well, kept separate from life and confined within museums and concert halls (Dewey, 1934). Additionally,

the arts are separated from each other (Dewey, 1934), as are the sciences (Shlain, 1991). Refuting these more limiting notions of experience, several options are presented in response to questions of, “What possibilities exist to think beyond my own pronouns and to share in a culture that is not my own?”

Bridges and walls

Hidden within a recognition that “experience” is often a compartmentalized entity, and that types of experiences are also often separated from each other (religious, political, sensory, linguistic, historical/cultural, pragmatic, and/or aesthetic) (Jay, 2005), there lurks a strange irony. The separateness that is the focus of so many discussions encircling issues of experience is also central to notions of self as a unit comprised of various compartmentalizing dualisms (reason/sensation, body/mind, internal mind/external mind, conscious/unconscious). The irony rests in the reality that, while various aspects of these two “entities” are removed, separated, and compartmentalized, the two entities themselves are tightly wound together—experiences create the self, self creates experiences. For this reason, perhaps, as the literature begins to question contemporary views of experience, it also suggests changes for the ways we consider being, perception and self. It wraps changes to the one within changes of the other, to suggest the development of a “complexity of consciousness” while also developing the practice of choosing more complex and diversified experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993, 169). A more complex notion of self, coupled with a more philosophically sound view of experience, many believe, may potentially be capable of building a bridge between selves, connecting individuals to each other (Bateson, 1972), to cultures (their own and others), and to a more completely integrated way of living (Dewey, 1934).

These propose that as each—experience and self—engage in endeavors of reaching beyond the “wall” of individuality, the self has the potential to reach toward what is outside, as it acts within some kind of relationship. Such an idea suggests that self is, “... not so much a subject as it is an acting, a way of being in, at least, a cognitive relationship to other beings and things.” (Shrover, in Zimmerman, 1981, 112)

The suggestion here is that to move beyond being as subject and to act in a cognitive relationship with others is, of itself, an experience of otherness. It suggests that self (as acting entity) is a bridge between being and experience—between self and others—yet this bridge—linear, unchangeable, fixed to a specific place—is still fraught with obvious limitations. There may, however, be a kind of bridge that is capable of connecting self to others, to what is beyond itself, and

also, to various “layers of mind” (Bateson, 1972, 470). This bridge may even have the capacity to create or re-create the self, as it,

swings over the stream ‘with ease and power.’ It does not just connect banks that are already there. The banks emerge as banks only as the bridge crosses the stream. The bridge designedly causes them to lie across from each other.... It brings stream and bank and land into each other’s neighborhood.... The bridge gathers, as a passage that crosses ... [it] gathers to itself in its own way. (Heidegger, 1971, 150-151)

Seeing through the structures

This type of bridge offers a new way of conceptualizing experience, being, self and others. Yet this bridge like others (and also like walls) is a structure that is rigid, fixed, and designed for a specific purpose. After exploring walls (Western notions of being, perception, and experience, tightly wrapped in visions of contained structures) and bridges (possible ways to build experiential connections beginning with self and extending beyond) as we have, we may discover a need for other options. We may begin to consider “spaces between” cultures in other ways.

This spaces, as we consider them, are those in which we realize that our understandings of structures are largely wrapped in perspectives that are influenced by notions of self and/or culture and that these perspectives limit options for seeing beyond our own ideas of what the “purpose” of a structure is. With the building of new cultural relationships, our perceptions of ancient walls and marble bridges may change, and new ways of seeing and understanding alternative purposes for these structures may develop.¹ We may also begin to wonder what else awaits our discovery in the new opportunities for experience that our two countries are creating.

Windows into

Considered in light of more complex and diversified ways of conceptualizing self and experience, ideas of “spaces between” suggest that certain experiences are capable of “opening up” the chinks in the walls of the cavern of self that we make. It also suggests that through these openings new possibilities may continually become present, as new options of seeing, interpreting, and being are developed. Some believe that creating these openings actually brings new possibilities into presence—that they are “clearings” or,

space[s] in which things let themselves be seen ... in which phenomena are made manifest. (Heidegger, in Mitchell, 2001, 140)

These clearings then may have the potential to extend selves beyond the walls we have created and into new levels of complexity, diversification, awareness, and “a profound sense of being part of an entity greater

than ourselves” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993, 2). Such an “evolved” notion of self (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993, 2) converges with that of others, who suggest that,

[T]he subject of experience, rather than *being* a sovereign, narcissistic ego, is always dependent to a significant degree on the other—both human and natural—beyond his or her interiority. (Jay, 2005, 405)

This expanded, dependent, risky notion of self and being, like the more limited ones mentioned earlier, is closely connected to ideas of experience as something that is,

never created entirely by intentional action ... but instead involves a kind of surrender to or dependency on what it is not, a willingness to risk losing the safety of self-sufficiency and going on a perilous journey of discovery. (Jay, 2005, 405)

Experiences as windows

These notions of being and experience—both embracing a sense of surrender, dependency, and risk—accord a new kind of “opening” through which it may be possible to see more clearly. The poet Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-1892) proposes that being and experience—both moving and changing as it is the nature of both to do—co-create such an opening—a window—through which the world may be glimpsed:

Experience is an arch wherethro’
Gleams that untravell’d world,
Whose margin fades
Forever and forever where I move. (Tennyson, in Dewey, 1934/1981, 193)

Tennyson also proposes that passageway, traveler, and “untravell’d world” are all involved in the change and the changing of each other. Presenting Chinese and American teachers, students, schools and classrooms as “untravell’d worlds”, the idea that the archways—or windows—through which we perceive them are continually changing or “fad[ing] forever and forever” as we move offers new options and new hopes for transforming our perceptions of self, other, and even culture itself. To Tennyson’s poetic view, another is offered,

If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite. (Blake, in Shlain, 1991, 95)

Being, experience, learning, self, and culture, then, converge here within ideas of gaining clarity of perception on the way to envisioning what it is to be another and to share in another’s experience.

Arts as windows

I teach children music. In that capacity, I have opportunities to observe the potential that the arts hold as windows into other cultures. As my students and I encounter China, we depend upon her music, story-

FOREHAND: WALLS, WINDOWS, BRIDGES: CHANGING IMAGES
OF CHINA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

telling, dance, puppetry, and other arts for guidance. For this reason, philosophically sound notions of being and experience hold dual significance for us: to avoid any one-dimensional (us/them) concepts of culture, and to similarly avoid any one-dimensional notions of arts as endeavors which are,

... reduced to a marginal 'experience' and confined to the aesthetic realm instead of shaping the practice of life. The technological enframing which takes over the formative role does not so much create meanings as destroy them, deworlding things and reducing them to an 'objectless' heap. (Feenberg, in Forehand, 2005, 70)

Conversations concerned with experience in general, as these move toward discussions specific to arts experiences, accord a decided significance to the *processes* of experience. How an experience is initiated, engaged, and interpreted, what parts situation, uncertainty, self, and others play within those processes, all of these grant an aspect of ongoing-ness—of continual and ever-expanding involvement—to thoughts of “being in experience”. Thinking of these processes as they connect within a system of experience-ing has the potential to take both self and experience beyond a collapsed snapshot version of the “thing” of experience, and into a place where collaborative and cultural attitudes about experience, gleaned through multi-dimensional notions about perception, may be possible. As these are engaged, new openings become present and through them new types of perception become apparent. Beyond images of fixed structures (walls of self and bridges of one-dimensional experience) the arts open up a space in which new kinds of windows appear. Through them, opportunities to look, to recognize, and to “take part in [another’s] existence” (Keats, in Rollins, 1958, 168) become possible.

To take part in another’s existence—to think outside the box of self—(what Keats has called “negative capability”) (Rollins, 1958, 168)—to engage being and experience together in surrender and dependency—these are the types of experiences that are shaped and encouraged by the arts. These also have the potential to carry students beyond themselves and to bring them face to face with what they dream of becoming.

Stepping through the window, an inquiry process

The questions that guided this project were framed before I was part of the Freeman Foundation, the National Consortium for Teaching Asia, the Sister School Exchange Program, or the 2006 China Study Tour. It began as a little girl’s dream of what China might be and of what “being there” might be like. My relationships with these organizations expanded my dream to include those of others, as well.

My students are fascinated with the artifacts I brought back, intrigued with my photographs and descriptions of bell towers and drum towers—of panda bears, pedicabs, and ancient temples. But it is the stories of “other” people’s dreams—stories that Chinese people told me as they went about simply living their lives—that appeal to my students’ sensitivities—and to those of my colleagues—the most. Four of these stories I include here, each with a different theme attached to time: dreams I leave behind, dreams of the near future, dreams of the far future, dreams of changing the future.

Dreams I leave behind

Yang Xin is 85 years young, and a professor of Chinese calligraphy, brush art, and architecture at Beijing University. At the end of a lecture and demonstration on calligraphy, he sold several of his works. I chose the one he called *Dream* to bring home to my American students. (The idea of “dreams” as an over-all theme of my trip began with this scroll.) He explained the philosophy behind the choices he had made within the painting, choices of colors, diffusive techniques, and types of strokes, among others. Separately, he explained *why* he did this particular work: It was his way of grieving after the passing of his wife, whom he had nicknamed “Dream”. He told me through an interpreter, “Our dreams are the poetry we write for our lives. Dreams never die” (from conversation, 6/21/06).

Dreams of a near future

Ming is a farmer in the village of You Ko, in Lantian province. The school that sits at the edge of the village is a very big part of the dreams families have for their children. Ming and his family opened their home to several of us who visited that school. He and his wife served us tea and gifted us with unrivaled hospitality. His was a farmer’s house: one large room with two sod beds (a “warming oven” of sort is built into each of these beds), a courtyard that led to an outdoor kitchen, a chicken coop and a pig pen. In his kitchen, Ming and his wife offered me the soup that was boiling in a hot pot and, through an interpreter, Ming shared his dream with me. “All of my life,” he said, “I have wanted to live in a big house on a hill in the next village. It is my dream. It might still come true, except I am 55. My dream fades” (from conversation, 6/22/06).

Dreams of a far future

Veronica Mink (a pseudonym contrived from the English name she gave herself) is a student at Chengdu’s ShiShi High School, a school that has operated on the same site for 2,000 years. Of all the students who were invited to the principal’s meeting area and of all the teachers from America who were there to meet, Victoria and I happened to find each

other. She is an aspiring musician, who has formed her own girl band, and loves American music. I asked her about her music classes. “They aren’t real music. They are listening, knowing composers, dates, styles, historical periods. The things we learn must be things that can be tested. They [these classes] do not help me to achieve my dream” (from conversation, 6/25/06). A part of her dream is to travel to the United States, to see what it is “really like.”

Dreams of changing the future

Ying is a teacher of middle school English in Suzhou, was the exchange teacher to our school during the 2005-2006 school year, and is a contributing voice in this paper. She also has a dream. “To see my students in China learning like the ones I see here... happily. Students here [in this American school] are so much happier” (from conversation, 11/12/05). An amazing musician in her own right, she and I collaborated throughout the year she was with us. She introduced us to folk songs that had been her favorites when she was a child. She used these to teach vocabulary and grammar; I used these same pieces to teach notation and instrumentation. We had schedules that allowed us to participate in each other’s classes once or twice a week. Through our collaborative experiences, she and I—and of course our students— *shared* the experiences of learning with and through music and in the newness, purpose, and uncertainty that is an integral part of learning. Through these experiences and our reflective conversations about them, our ideas and lessons developed in relationship, as shared notions of being, friendship, teaching, and learning. That these conversations began with and were aided by music and other arts is a reality that both of us found intriguing. How our students responded to learning Chinese culture through music crafts the overall framework of this and future studies.

Preliminary discoveries

As I shared my Chinese experiences with my students, we reflected together upon the ways a culture is distinguished—how it perceives itself; what it stands for—and the ways experiences with otherness affect what a nation believes about itself. To questions of, “Why should we care about China?” “What does music have to do with it?” My students responded with their own questions. They wondered about how traditions, music, legends and other arts, shape and share what a country wants to say about itself. The ways they developed these questions suggested that their experiences of engaging the music—with a Chinese culture bearer, with authentic instruments, and with authentic resources—were spaces in which otherness could be perceived. Their questioning also suggested something else:

We read a legend from China about stuff we already knew about (he explained that this meant things that come from China—‘like jade and stuff’). We played the music and sang the songs. We did some dances with fans and ribbons. We even did a shadow puppet thing. But then there was stuff we didn’t really know about. The story was about a guy who was poor and an Emperor who was rich and he [the Emperor] just thought he was more important than everyone else. He rode around in a special chair and everybody had to kowtow to him. Kowtow means you have to put your face all the way on the floor or, if you’re outside, on the ground. That was something I didn’t really think about. I mean, old China was all about following orders. It’s different now, right? Well, we are, at least.. (Marjorie, 1/3/07)

By comparing used-to-be China with now China, we discover questions about ourselves: We wonder if we define ourselves by how we are different from someone else—by our historical values of free thinking, diversity, and democracy—or by something else.

The United States and China are proud, historically strong, and historically isolated cultures who have continually defined themselves through their own (walled) perceptions. If we propose “building bridges” between these two nations, we ignore possibilities of “opening up” the chinks in the wall; such a suggestion simply allows the walls of self (whether of individuals or of cultures) to remain intact as bridges (which are actually just other kinds of walls) are constructed. The bridges we would construct reach, yes, but they do not grant opportunities for gaining the “clarity of perception” that may be necessary for each of these countries to “see itself” and to “see into” issues of otherness.

As we in the U.S. and China wonder what place our children will have in the future they will share not just with each other but with the rest of the world, we often question how they will compete, but it might behoove us to wonder how they will cooperate. Ideas of being, i.e., self-seeing and experience, i.e., perceptions of otherness as these are conjoined, afford possibilities for our students to imagine “otherness” and to also imagine who and what they would truly dream of becoming. Experiences with the arts lead students into a space where conditions for imagining are present; sharing in the dreams of others, imagining what they hope to become, a new kind of reality becomes possible.

Preliminary conclusions

Our understandings of Chinese culture (those belonging to my students and me) began as we participated with the music; our acceptance of Chinese music began through our relationship with a person. Ying shared her music with us and, in so doing,

FOREHAND: WALLS, WINDOWS, BRIDGES: CHANGING IMAGES
OF CHINA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

extended a personal invitation—into her country’s history and into her life: “This song celebrates *Our Lovely Fields*.¹ Chinese people are always in love with the land.” (9/10/05). Another time, she told us, “This song is very popular among Chinese people. We love the *Jasmine Flower*.”³ (11/1/05)

The songs she shared with us “opened up” new ways for us to relate to each other, for us to relate several disciplines together, and for us to relate to people we had not yet met.⁴

The notion that the arts merge being and experience within a system of becoming and sharing is strongly supported throughout the literature. The processes that my students and I engage (through the opportunities and resources we have been granted) also support the arts as openings into a space of wondering and questioning. This “beforing” space conditions us for and invites us to become familiar with Chinese language; it also affords us an understanding that language is a way to communicate and share not only thoughts, words, and ideas, but also emotional insights and interests (caring) in the lives of others. Music, in this way calls us out of ourselves and into a “whiling” phase of shared learning with an ensemble of others. It shapes an “aftering” phase in which our learning of and participating with the music and each other continually invites us to expand and build upon our learning and the experience of it, joining us together through what some have called the gathering, drawing or “ringing” of people into a meaning or purpose (Heidegger, in Forehand, 2005, 140). These processes are those that flow through what musicians call a “resonating space” an open space without which a sound cannot “ring” (Heidegger indulged in what he called “mirror-play” with this word) (Heidegger, in Forehand, 2005, 140). This “ringing” or resonance offers an analogy to the ways the Freemans approach the study of other cultures. It affords a space in which the various facets of the system of experiencing Asia (being, experience, learning) may be

echoed—each in the other—similar to the “resonating” aspects of music that exist before a song begins and linger after the last note is played.

Resonance, then, as the auditory equivalent of reflection, brings being and experience into harmony with each other as co-creators of a future that we recognize our students will share:

[T]he world is a place of mediation between acting individuals. It is a space that does not design individuals but arises with them through their creative interaction. (Nishida, in Maraldo, 2005, 10)

In this way being and experience—imagination and arts—echo and create new possibilities within the resonating space where they co-exist. Imagination and the arts invite us into that space. Our cultures may direct us to build rigid structures across, yet it is in looking through and entering into the space—with a renewed awareness of our responsibilities to being (self and culture) and experience—that the potential exists for us to truly “ring” outward to include and to care about what is before (historical aspects), what is after (future possibilities) and what is beyond (the self and the culture that is “mine”). When the factors for resonance are in alignment, the sound is almost magical. In it,

[T]hose [doctors] who have no pain can imagine those who suffer. Those at the center can imagine what it is to be outside. The strong can imagine the weak.... Is it not imagination that allows us to encounter the other as disclosed through the image of that other’s face? And is this face not only that of the hurricane survivor or the Somalian child or the homeless woman sitting on the corner but also of the silent or the fidgety or the hopeless child in the classroom, be that child girl or boy? (Greene, 1995, 37)

As such, the potential that exists for arts, imagination, being, experience, and cultural learning, “echoes” the possibilities that are present for all of us to enter into the life of another and find resonance there.

ENDNOTES

1. The city walls that remain from China's past influenced the building of a regional type of culture that was ; additionally, bridges in China are built in systems, as psychologically necessary to the "leaving behind" of burdens of sin as they are to crossing spaces.
2. The song title is *Wo Men de Tien Ye*.
3. This song is *Mo Li Hua*.
4. My students felt a direct connection with two experiences I had and recorded in China—one with a flautist on the Great Wall another in a market with a man selling Chinese instruments—where I had the opportunity to sing these songs that Ying taught us—our songs—with Chinese people.

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A BEHAVIOR INTERVENTION PLAN THROUGH FOUCAULT'S LENS

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Abstract

U.S. public schools are required to make mainstream public education available to all children regardless of their abilities or disabilities. Parents whose children have been medically diagnosed as having a disability may request an Individual Education Plan for their child, a plan designed to provide accommodations that will help the minimize the disability's negative effects on the child's learning and support the child in his or her efforts to learn and succeed. But a parent requesting an IEP for their child also opens the door for the school to take additional actions including a Behavior Intervention Plan that apparently sanctions punishing the child for undesirable behaviors regardless of his/her ability to control those behaviors.

I will begin by discussing Foucault's theories of power, discipline, and punishment of souls and position them within his broader theory of discipline and punishment. I then read Union Public Schools' Behavior Intervention Plan through Foucault's lens, revealing a parallel of empowerment, discipline, and punishment of the soul of the child. I reveal how this school system—and, by extension, other school systems using similar plans—uses a document coded as “intervention” to normalize children into pathology, isolation, and delinquency, punishing a child already imprisoned by his or her disability.

Background

Public schools today are required by law to make mainstream public education available to all children regardless of their abilities or disabilities. Parents of children diagnosed by medical doctors as having a disability may request that their child have a formal plan prepared for them; the plans are intended to minimize the disabilities' effect on the child's learning. To qualify for a plan, the student must meet certain requirements including having a medical doctor diagnose the condition.

Children whose disabilities influence their behavior in the classroom, also receive a Behavior Intervention Plan. Like the formal plans of accommodation (such as the Individual Education Plan, Other Health Impaired Plan, and a 504 Plan), the Behavior Intervention Plan is written by the school representatives with input from the parent and student, who are less knowledgeable about the school system than are school administrators (a fact that Foucault would say gives knowledge to administrators, thereby empowering them). The Behavior Intervention Plan does not serve to identify and document accommodations that will minimize

the disability's impact on the student's behavior and learning; rather it empowers school administrators to reward desired classroom behavior and punish undesired ones regardless of the child's ability to control undesired behaviors.

Objectives or Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine through Foucauldian lens the use of the Behavior Intervention Plan to discipline students whose disabilities influence or control their behavior, to explain the benefactors of such a system, and to consider the impact of such a system on children with disabilities, children it labels as deviant or pathological then punishes for the deviancy or pathology that the label has helped to create.

Theoretical Framework

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Michel Foucault theorizes about the relations among power, knowledge, discipline and punishment. Using Foucault's concepts of power, discipline, and punishment as a lens for reading the Behavior Intervention Plan illuminates the Plan inside the larger prison of disability, a sort of punishing room for their souls.

Methodology

I begin by defining Foucault's concepts of power, discipline, and punishment of souls, and position these concepts within his broader theory of discipline and punishment. I will then read Union Public Schools' Behavior Intervention Plan through this Foucauldean lens, focusing on the document concept of power, the document's language as a mechanism of power to normalize the child through discipline and surveillance working to normalize the child into delinquency and pathology. I will also discuss Foucault's concepts of punishment and discipline of a child who is imprisoned by his or her disability. Finally, I will position the Plan as a prison or punishing room within the child's larger prison of his or her own disability.

Context

Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is a medical condition that is legally defined in the United States as a disability. Students with a disability can provide medical documentation and meet specified requirements to receive individual accommodations from the public school they attend. The accommodations are defined and are itemized in a formal written plan prepared by school administrators with input from the parents and student. The purpose of the plan is to document and outline techniques that will minimize the impact of

the disability on the child's learning. The formal written plan can be classified as a 504, and OHI (Other Health Impaired), or an Individual Education Plan (IEP).

A child who has an IEP is labeled as such and is watched by teachers and administrators who may also write a Behavior Intervention Plan for the child. At Union Public Schools in Tulsa, Oklahoma, all students with IEPs receive Behavior Intervention Plans. The Behavior Intervention Plan formally documents the power of school administrators to judge the student's behavior as acceptable or unacceptable. The plan outlines forms of punishment, enforcers and consequences intended to correct or control the child's behavior.

My son has ADHD and has had an IEP and BIP from Union Public Schools for a number of years. I provided the medical documentation necessary to request an IEP to provide accommodations that would minimize my son's disability and improve his success in school. School administrators decided independently to also write a BIP for my son. The BIP was not optional nor did school administrators explain to me, the parent, the relationship between the BIP and the IEP.

Results

My theoretical lens is molded from three key concepts in Foucault's (1977) book, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*: power, discipline, and punishment of souls. Foucault defines power as having the ability to punish (p. 13).

Power

Power in any context (prisons, hospitals, schools, or corporations) belongs to those who have knowledge of that context or system. They have power because they understand the system's structure and hierarchy, and have secured the power to judge. As one executive once told his staff of market intelligence researchers, "information is knowledge, knowledge is power, and power is control." Foucault would agree that the more information one has about a system, the more powerful that person becomes. Foucault (1975) so closely relates power and knowledge that he hyphenates the term.

The Behavior Intervention Plan specifically outlines expected behaviors from the child and sanctions rewards or punishment for behaviors listed in the Plan. The behaviors may be very broad, (such as "follow school rules"), leaving the behaviors and violations to be interpreted by school administrators, further empowering them to judge the child and determine punishment.

As mentioned earlier, school administrators write the Behavior Intervention Plan with input from

parents and the student but school administrators have greater knowledge of the plan document and its power within the school system. This leaves parents at a disadvantage in the process because they lack comparable knowledge and power. Parents may believe they are helping their child to receive accommodations to support the child's learning when, in reality, they are relinquishing power to medical doctors, school administrators and the system in general, now specifically empowering school administrators to discipline the child according to the BIP.

Foucault might say that knowledge empowers administrators who then use the Plan to discipline the deviant child.

The child is now diagnosed, labeled, and monitored through the IEP. Simply because their disability and the IEP, these children are also now subject to punishment whenever their behavior deviates from standards expected by school administrators. This punishment is enforced through the BIP regardless of the disabled child's ability to control his or her behavior. The child is at the mercy of those powers and whatever they judge to be inappropriate behavior.

Punitive Language

The concepts of Foucault are immediately evident by the language used in the Behavior Intervention Plan. The IEP implies that the child is pathological; the Behavior Intervention Plan suggests the child's behavior is deviant, implying that the child is a deviant, abnormal, and in need of surveillance. The language of the document is punitive, using terms such as intervention, enforcers, and consequences. While empowering school administrators, the mere existence of the Plan affects the child through its punitive language and negative labeling, distinguishing the abnormal child as someone who teachers must discipline, monitor, and punish.

This scenario implies that the child is ill and needs to be treated and cured. Such a diagnosis is deeply problematic because research says children self-identify with the socially constructed labels given by those in power. Those labels can affect self-perceptions and are related to stigmas (Kelly & Norwich, 2004). Children then bring those labels and associated expectations with them into adulthood.

Normalizing the child through surveillance and discipline

One of the methods of power and control used by modern authorities is the panopticon, a term coined by Jeremy Bentham and used by Foucault (1975). The authority uses the structure and design of the panopticon to segment, monitor, and control souls

GRAY: A BEHAVIOR INTERVENTION PLAN THROUGH FOUCAULT'S LENS

that are under their control. The authority has continuous surveillance of all subjects but is protected by a cloak of invisibility. This concept appears in modern society in a number of contexts including modern prisons, medical centers, corporations, and schools – all contexts wherein there is an authority that monitors those within its control including prisoners, patients, employees, and students. The authority uses disciplinary mechanisms of space, time, and movement to normalize and control.

Foucault's (1975) model of the carceral system is reflected in language and concepts of the Behavior Intervention Plan. As prisons exercise power by using space, time, and movement as disciplinary mechanisms to normalize and ultimately thereby control inmates, schools use disciplinary space, time, and movement to normalize and thereby control the child. Those in power in prisons and in schools use time, space, and movement to separate and discipline the souls of those labeled as being deviant or noncompliant.

Canto explains that those in power use methods (such as the BIP) to normalize the deviant individual. "They look at the individual's biography, compile thick file folders in order to produce a body of knowledge to determine what about the individual leads them to be where/who/what they are. Where to intervene with punishment, reward – inclusion or exclusion, in order to position the particular body in a desired location" (Canto, 2004).

Discipline goes beyond prohibition and punishment to encourage docile bodies to maintain their appropriate behaviors in order to receive rewards and reinforcement, punishing those with inappropriate behaviors in an attempt to normalize them into docile bodies. "[Discipline] ends up differentiating not just acts by individuals themselves but their nature, their potentialities, their value." (Canto, 2004).

The BIP is embedded with punitive language and mechanisms that sanction school administrators to discipline and punish the child, normalizing the child into delinquency or pathology. The punitive language begins with the name of the document which labels the child as being deviant or pathological, in need of monitoring and discipline to normalize the child.

The first section of the BIP form instructs school administrators to "state the student's behavior to be encouraged." In my son's plan, school administrators wrote in "appropriate school and classroom behavior/self control." The next section states "describe three actions the student will demonstrate to illustrate this behavior." In my son's plan, school

administrators wrote "follow classroom and school rules, be respectful to teachers and students," and "follow teacher directive without protest." All of these are extremely vague and subjective, to be interpreted by school administrators.

One of the monitoring methods defined in the Behavior Intervention Plan by school administrators is In-School Detention (ISD). According to the Plan, this consequence (which administrators have labeled on this form as a monitoring method) happens when the child displays inappropriate behavior, a broad term which is not further defined on the Plan. A child sent to ISD is removed from the classroom, separated by being placed in a room with a staff member (representing the power), and told to exhibit appropriate behavior while working quietly on assignments. A child who fails to comply with stricter requirements for silence and stillness – regardless of whether the behavior is related to their disability – then receives more severe punishment such as being temporarily or permanently removed from the school building, losing access to learning opportunities. The concept of In-School Detention directly demonstrates Foucault's concept of those in power using space and time to exert control over others and punish them for unacceptable behaviors.

The next two sections of the form provide space for school administrators to list classroom and school reinforcers and consequences. The form then provides space for parents to itemize home reinforcers and consequences. These sections specifically sanction the school and encourage parents to punish the child for inappropriate behaviors subjectively defined by school administrators. The words "reinforcers" and "consequences" point to Foucault's definition and description of discipline where all behavior of the deviant child is monitored so those in power can simultaneously discourage and punish misconduct.

Is the intent of school administrators and the BIP to accommodate the child with disabilities, as initially outlined by the Individual Education Plan? Or might the child better and more readily learn as initially outlined by the IEP? Or is the intent of the BIP to discipline students with disabilities, separate and isolate them from others?

Discipline of the soul

In applying his concepts of power, knowledge, and discipline to contexts in which a powerful few control and discipline the behaviors of numerous souls, Foucault (1975) discusses the modern soul and the new power to judge. Modern society has moved from punishing the physical body of the deviant to punishing his or her soul, which he defines to be their

essence of being. Modern schools, like the modern prison system that Foucault describes, no longer punish the physical body of the student but the student's soul by identifying deviants, labeling them for the purposes of surveillance, and separating them from classrooms of students who exhibit behavior that those in power consider to be appropriate. Schools use technology - which Foucault says are tools of power (1975) - to pass judgment on the student displaying the inappropriate behavior. In doing so, they shift from punishing the body of the deviant student to punishing the soul of the deviant student. Knowing that one is watched continuously not only affects a person's behavior, it also affects one's self-image and self-esteem. (Shawver, 1999).

Disciplining a child imprisoned by a disability

The design and content of the Behavior Intervention Plan reveals a deeply troubling notion: the Plan (or those in power) assumes that the student has the ability (regardless of their disability) to comply with prescribed normalcy that school administrators determine. The contradiction is both obvious and haunting: the fact that the child has a disability already implies that the child may have difficulty fitting into or functioning as the "normal" students. Students with disabilities may learn better using a different definition of normalcy.

Foucault might say this is irrelevant because those in power (school authorities and medical doctors) decide whether a child can control behavioral symptoms resulting from his or her disability. The same powerful define and demand compliance and normalcy, and have the power to discipline and punish those who do not comply. Foucault's concepts of punishment and discipline of a child are found within the child who is imprisoned by his or her disability. The child is imprisoned by a disability and is suffering all of the consequences of that as a prisoner rather than those of a child to be educated in a classroom.

Conclusions

The Behavior Intervention Plan specifies rewards and punishments for children who succeed or fail to discipline their bodies to comply with approved behavior in the classroom as defined by school administrators who are in power. The focus of the discipline and punishment moves from the behavioral symptoms of the disability on the child to the behavioral consequences of the disability on others in the classroom, including the teacher and school administrators who define normalcy and label the behavioral symptoms of the disability to be inappropriate behavior in the classroom. The Plan requires children to become responsible for behaviors

that result from their disabilities regardless of their ability to control their disabilities or its symptoms, and their ability to be responsible for that control. It gives school administrators the authority to control children who cannot or will not control themselves and their behaviors to meet prescribed acceptable behavior, even if their misbehavior is due to a medically diagnosed and acknowledged disability.

The faulty logic is obvious: can a child be held responsible for behaviors over which they have no control? Disciplining and punishing a child because of behaviors associated with their disabilities does not solve the problem, support learning, or improve the situation. It simply allows authorities to exert their power and perpetuate the imprisonment of the child with a disability.

Ironically, in my son's case, prescription medication has proven to be effective in helping my son control his behavior in the classroom, increase his ability to focus on learning, and reduce the negative influences of his disability on his behavior and attention. School administrators, however, have repeatedly and adamantly refused to remind the child to take his medication at lunch. Their reason is that the child needs to learn to be responsible for remembering to take the medication even if part of the disability involves being unable to regularly remember to take medication for the disability. (Fortunately, this was resolved last winter when the State of Oklahoma "strongly encouraged" Union Public Schools to comply with the law.)

Is the purpose of the BIP to accommodate the child, as initially outlined by the Individual Education Plan? Or is the purpose to empower school administrators to discipline and punish students who exhibit inappropriate behaviors as defined by those in power? Does the Behavior Intervention Plan benefit the child who is labeled and continuously watched, or does it benefit school administrators who serve as judge, jury, and punisher?

The child is locked in a prison of disability. Educators should use the IEP within the school environment to free the child to learn, neutralizing the effects of the disability on learning. Instead, the BIP puts another lock on the child's disability prison, effectively placing the child imprisoned by his or her disability within a larger prison of the BIP. The BIP authorizes school authorities to punish deviant children (including whose "deviancy" is influenced by their disabilities), locking the child in a third prison such as in-school suspension. Under the guise of BIPs, IEPs hide, isolate, imprison, punish, and normalize these children now labeled as having a delinquency or pathology. The result is the child

GRAY: A BEHAVIOR INTERVENTION PLAN THROUGH FOUCAULT'S LENS

imprisoned by his or her disability is further imprisoned by the BIP which can further imprison the child in disciplinary methods such as in-school suspension which punish the child and his or her soul through the use of labels as well as time, space, and movement.

What began as a proposed positive – an Individual Education Plan to provide accommodations to help a child with a disability succeed in school – can result in the child with the disability also being labeled for individual monitoring, surveillance, and discipline through a Behavior Intervention Plan that authorizes school administrators to use their power to punish the child. What began as accommodations to help a child succeed can result in an instrument to label, discipline, and punish the child who fails to control his disability or whose body is controlled by a disability beyond his control. The Behavior Intervention Plan then, in itself, becomes a method for “producing the delinquent as a pathologized subject” (Foucault, 1975, p. 277). Through these formal plans and their process, school administrators punish both the body and the soul of the child with a

disability.

The cyclical irony of this dilemma is not lost. Westlund used Foucault's concepts to analyze the issue of domestic abuse and found that the institutions that are supposed to help victims do, instead, “revictimize battered women by pathologizing their condition and treating them as mentally unhealthy individuals who are incapable of forming legitimate appraisals of their situations and exercising rational agency over their lives.” (Westlund, 1999, p. 1045). Similarly, the educational and medical institutions responsible for assisting a child with a disability ultimately revictimize them by “pathologizing their condition” with labels, identifiers, and documents that sanction their disciplining of the child who exhibits negative symptoms of their disability.

Is the IEP the first step in a downward spiral of imprisonment for a child with a disability? Does the label attract closer labeling, monitoring, and discipline? Is a child with a disability better off hiding the disability, disqualifying for any learning accommodations but avoiding a label of deviancy that attracts and justifies monitoring and discipline?

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TEACHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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When progressive educators today think about teacher education, they often focus on the discrepancy between the ideals of effective teaching and the realities of contemporary public schools. As many educational researchers have indicated, schools and their performances are profoundly unequal, and in trouble.

For many decades disparities among racial, cultural, and linguistic groups in school achievement, have been identified as a national urgency. Teacher educators are in direct contact for this campaign by the state and corporations to control the content of knowledge and the process of teaching. As teacher testing and the standards movement aim to control the content of teacher education courses and programs, we hear about the shocking statistics and the efforts on how to assimilate all schoolchildren into mainstream values and language efficiently so they could enter the workforce, contribute to the economy and maintain our dominant power in a global society. Political decisions are implemented sometimes without consideration of the demographic facts. Banks (1995) calls these considerations “demographic imperatives” which are used to draw the attention to the inescapable truth that the educational community will have to take action in order to alter the deeply imbedded disparities in the American educational system. Statistical data show disparities in the areas of diverse student population, homogeneous teaching force, and “the demographic divide” (Gay, 2000; Hodgkinson, 2001, 2002).

Based on the information collected for Census 2000, Hodgkinson (2001) points out that in year 2000 about 40% of the school population was from racially and culturally diverse groups (varied from state to state, from 7% to 68%). Then Hodgkinson addressed these anticipated changes.

Future population growth in the United States continues to be uneven—61% of the population increase in the next twenty years will be Hispanic and Asian, about 40% Hispanic and 20% Asian; but then as now ten states will contain 90% of the Hispanic population, ten will contain 90% of the Asian population, and seven will do both. Half of all Mexican Americans live in California! In fact most of this increased diversity will be absorbed by only about 300 of our 3,000 U.S. counties (2002).

According to the 1996 report from the U.S. Department of Education, children of color will have the statistical majority of the student population by the year 2035 and will account for 57% by the year 2050. Meanwhile the teaching force is becoming increasingly

White European American due in part to declining enrollments of Asian, Black, and Hispanic students in teacher education programs (Hodgkinson, 2002). Based on the recent information on the United States’ teaching force, White teachers account for about 86% and teachers of color collectively account for only 14%, significantly different from the students’ profile. Statistics about who is currently preparing to teach indicate a pattern similar to that of the current teaching force (American Association of colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), 1997, 1999). Aside from the statistical differences, are the differences in experiences and background of the white European Americans, who are largely from the middle-class and only speak English compared with the many students who are people of color and/or live in poverty, and/or speak a language other than English (Irvine 1997). Some of my students have expressed concerns about the inequities they observe and some try to offer solution (David)

Since many of teachers have different cultural frames of reference, and live in different “existential worlds,” they often have difficulties functioning as role models for their students (Gay 1993). They also have difficulty constructing curriculum, instruction, and activities that are culturally responsive (Irvine, 2001). Some students associate learning problems with the color of their skin or the way they use language. So to overcome their problem, they act differently to connect to their teacher.

This could only mean that the students with the greatest academic needs are less likely to receive instructions relevant to their life experiences. Sadly, according to Valenzuela, Gay, Weiner, and Yeo, many White middle class teachers see diversity as a deficit to be overcome and have low expectations from students who are different from themselves (Valenzuela, 2002; Gay, 2000; Weiner, 1993; and Yeo, 1997).

The other part of the disparities has to do with the shocking educational outcomes of the students with and without the advantages of race, culture, language, and socioeconomic status. The United States has the highest rate of children living in poverty among advanced nations worldwide (Children’s Defense Fund, 2000). Kilborn (1996) also reports that the percentage of Black and Hispanic children living in poverty (42% and 40%, respectively) exceeds the percentage of White children in poverty (16%). There are also stunning documented reports that there are major discrepancies in allocation of resources like equipment, supplies, physical facilities, books, technology, and class size in

urban, suburban, and rural schools (Kozol, 1991; Darling-Hammond, 1995).

What does all this add up to? In short it means that bridging the gap between the school and life experiences of those with or without social, cultural, racial, and economic advantages requires fundamental changes in the way teachers are educated, and resources are distributed. But is that enough to overcome this chasm and fix the American education system? Weiner (1993) has stated strongly that teacher preparation cannot change schools, despite some expectations to the contrary. Teachers could, however, join others and work for change. This change should not be called for or guided by the business sectors of the society. In "Educating Teachers in California," Ann Berlak (2002) provides an account of what school reform means to teachers and teacher educators. She analyzes the statewide obsession with standardized testing, which is used to determine curriculum content and to judge classroom teachers and individual schools. These high-stakes test results are widely publicized and are used, among other things, to raise or lower real estate values (Lane).

Colleges of education all across the country readily jump through hoops to receive the approved mark of accreditation on their programs, while trying to remain true to their own commitment to teaching for equity and excellence. The question, "How far is too far?" comes to mind. As Berlak points out, the extraordinary level of state control of knowledge and the punitive vision of teaching and learning in California mirror the not-so-new federal requirement for annual testing of all children in grades three through eight in the 2002 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. At both state and national levels, the extent of state scrutiny and control of public schools continues to expand.

The preceding paragraphs are intended to highlight the point that teacher education needs to be understood as a political problem rather than just a simple problem of determining policies and then implementing those policies across contexts and setting. Political aspects of teacher education echo a long history of struggles about the purpose of schooling and the role of education in a democratic society. As Glazer (1997) indicated, the 20th century issues related to equalized education date back to the 1800s and underscore the ongoing disagreement between those who are for or against the full inclusiveness of deprived groups in American Education.

The changes taking place at both the state and national level reflect the interests of groups like the Business Roundtable, who see public education as both the source of "trained" (as opposed to educated) workers

and a potential opportunity for private entrepreneurs. In one version of the free market vision, education would be restructured along the lines of national defense, with private business gaining access to public funds through a system of government contracts. Despite how it usually seems to public school teachers, a great deal of money is appropriated to public education, in the form of funds currently controlled by local communities and public officials. If education is restructured along the lines of the defense industry, private companies could make enormous profits from these public funds.

Needless to say, the lives of children are of very little interest in this scheme. Knowledge, however, may be even more of an issue than one might think. Current political interest is not only in the possibilities of profit in restructuring schools; it is also concerned with control over what is learned in the schools. Thus, controlling knowledge through standardized tests is yet one more way of making certain that public education turns into the mirror image of the status quo.

I am not suggesting that teachers alone have the power or the responsibility to reform, and bring change to education. In fact I am in favor of inquiry communities where novice and seasoned teachers learn together. However, teaching is fundamentally a political activity in which every teacher plays a part by design or by default (Ginsburg, 1988; Willis, 1978). Teachers need to recognize that they are part of a larger effort and that they have a responsibility to reform, not just replicate, standard school practices.

Antonio Gramsci (1977), in an essay condemning political and social indifference in prewar Italy, strongly discussed that action was everyone's responsibility; that each individual, no matter how apparently powerless, was accountable for the role he played or failed to play in the larger struggle of the society. If we accept Gramsci's idea that indifference is often the chief motivating force of history, and if we substitute the word "teacher" for Gramsci's "man," we have a powerful statement about the accountability of individual educators for their efforts to reform U.S. schools:

Every [teacher] must be asked to account for the manner in which he [sic] has fulfilled the task that life has set him and continues to set him day by day; he must be asked to account for what he has done, but especially for what he has not done.... It is time that events should be seen to be the intelligent work of [teachers] and not the products of chance or fatality. (p. 18)

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CONFRONTING MODERNIST MISEDUCATION: A PROBLEM-POSING FRAMEWORK FOR HIGHER LEARNING

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Abstract

What kinds of ideas and issues do teachers, students, and citizens in general need to think about at this particular time in the history of society? This paper offers one means by which such questions might be raised in and through teacher education. Drawing on the work of Paulo Freire, John Dewey, and others, I outline a problem-posing framework for teaching education. While discussing the framework, I comment on its philosophical underpinnings. Among other things, I suggest that problem-posing education is grounded in ancient philosophical notions of quality and trust in the pursuit of *paideia*, a profound pedagogical quest involving education for excellence in the largest sense of the term.

Introduction

Educators from a variety of disciplines continue to search for effective ways to help their students address critical issues that currently confront schools and society. While pressing concerns include issues related to educational opportunity, social justice, and ecological sustainability, specific aims range from the development of social, cultural and historical understanding to the critical analysis of self and society. In the area of multicultural education, for example, James Banks has argued that a multifaceted curriculum is essential not only for members of social and cultural minority groups (in order to recognize their own experiences and perspectives represented in the curriculum and history of our society), but also for members of the dominant culture (in order to counteract the detrimental effects of a “false sense of superiority”) (1989, p. 189). Paulo Freire (1970) has gone even further, insisting that our very humanity requires the development and exercise of “critical consciousness.”

As a teacher educator working in the arts and the social studies, I have spent many hours pondering how we, in higher education, might address matters of importance to society at large. What kinds of ideas and issues do teachers, students, and citizens¹ in general need to think about at this particular time in the history of society, and how can these issues and ideas be incorporated in our curriculum and instruction? It is possible, of course, to identify many problems of importance in society today (e.g., social and cultural oppression, gender inequity, ecological degradation). However, rather than further enumerating specific issues I believe need to be addressed, the purpose of this paper is to outline a problem-posing framework for teaching in general. Personal views will be acknowledged and elaborated within the context of the

paper. Here I will simply acknowledge that my own efforts include a serious critique of modernity and an ongoing search for effective social, cultural, and intellectual alternatives.

This paper draws on the work of Freire and others to suggest one means of implementing a curriculum consisting of abstract ideas, social criticism, critical reflection, and other vital intellectual activities that might otherwise be avoided. The approach I will advocate is a problem-posing framework for higher education. This approach should be viewed as a supplement rather than a replacement. It is intended as a means of enacting rather than replacing the regular curriculum.

The structure of the paper is straightforward. First I will outline the problem-posing framework, commenting as needed on its philosophical underpinnings. Then I will suggest that the problem-posing process is grounded in ancient philosophical notions of quality and trust—ideas that transcend mere methodology. Rather than the teaching of isolated skills or even a trade, *paideia* (pa?de?a), as envisioned by the ancients, was a loftier pursuit involving the development of humans into their ideal forms—into their true human nature. This entailed training for liberty and quality. It involved education for excellence in the largest sense of the term. I will conclude the paper with a call for others to consider adapting problem-posing education as a means of helping their own students address ideas and issues of critical importance at this particular time in the history of society.

A PROBLEM-POSING FRAMEWORK FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

For nearly half a century, Paulo Freire advocated a “problem-posing” approach in education. Contrasting this approach to what he called “banking education,” in which isolated bits of information are deposited in the minds of students, Freire advanced a more critical and egalitarian means of helping others learn and develop. Essentially, Freire (1970/1990) supported critical consciousness among the oppressed in an effort to achieve social justice through subjective equality. In so doing, he offered a powerful examination of the consciousness of oppression and a more just and caring vision of education.² However, Freire’s actual problem-posing method, involving the examination of structural factors underlying local concerns, was among the least developed aspects of his work.

This paper offers a modest framework for addressing some of Freire’s aims. The framework I

propose consists of three basic components, including: (1) Articulation of concerns, (2) Examination of connections, and (3) Consideration of alternative possibilities.³ Each will be discussed in turn.

Articulating Concerns

Consistent with John Dewey's views on progressive education (e.g., 1902/1963), a good place to begin is by helping students identify personal interests and social concerns. Formal education often proceeds deductively, working from general principles and premises to specific examples. However, Dewey argued that it is important to ensure authentic student interest in the subject at hand. Without student investment, insisted Dewey, our efforts, no matter how valid, may ultimately be futile. One way to encourage such investment is to reverse the direction of instruction, proceeding inductively from illustrative examples to general principles. A more sophisticated approach would be to utilize local (e.g., student) interests and concerns (in classic Socratic style) as a catalyst for examining broader societal issues and ideas.

While it might be argued that individual student concerns are irrelevant to the larger issues at hand, this position does not withstand scrutiny. Dewey (1902/1963) demonstrated that basic human curiosity underlying the development of local ideas and experiences is reflected in what he called the educational "studies." Indeed, he insisted, the child and the curriculum are actually two sides of the same coin. Dewey suggested that the spirit of inquiry and evolution of knowledge in humanity as a whole can be seen, in microcosm, in the curiosity and development of every child that has ever grown to maturity. The "studies," or curriculum, is the formalized and abstracted expression of these curiosities accumulated throughout history. The educator's task is to help students recognize the relationships between their personal lives and the studies at large.⁴

Dewey's later views on continuity and miseducation are also important. According to Dewey (1938), a primary responsibility is to ensure continuity of intellectual development. Experiences and relationships that promote continued development are "educative," while those that disrupt continuity are "miseducative." Educative experiences are often inherently interesting because they honor natural connections between the student and the curriculum. Experiences that disregard these connections can be confusing or uninteresting, and are hence miseducative. Teachers can help ensure continuity by maximizing educative experiences and minimizing miseducative experiences. A prevalent criticism of modernity is that it leads to rigid compartmentalization, which can ultimately be miseducative.

Finally, the literature in cognitive psychology is also instructive. This literature suggests that humans have memory for that which is personally meaningful (e.g., Piaget, 1972; Smith, 1998). Since teachers seldom control the entire curriculum, it is often necessary to generate interest in existing materials. This can be done either by varying instruction or by revealing natural connections between student experiences and the official curriculum (e.g., Dewey, 1902/1963; Roland Martin, 1995). One way to illuminate these connections is to encourage students to articulate personal interests and concerns with the intent of inductively linking these ideas to the course curriculum.

In recent years, a growing concern among my own students has been the negative view of others toward the United States in light of our ongoing involvement in countries like Afghanistan and Iraq. Other persistent apprehensions involve matters of autonomy and respect with regard to their chosen profession. Increasingly, I have sought to acknowledge and address these concerns within the scope of my curriculum, both as a means of honoring their significance and as a way of generating interest in the ideas I am expected to teach.

Examining Connections

After identifying personally relevant interests and concerns, students can begin to examine critical connections. It is valuable to explore historical antecedents as well as future possibilities and to contemplate ideal factors as well as material conditions. Such an examination can help students see that personal circumstances are often linked to social, political, and philosophical contexts that transcend their immediate lives and experiences. Recognition of the transcendence of personal thought and activity is central to the idea of praxis, the ancient Greek (e.g., Aristotelian) notion concerning the dynamic relationship between thought and action in person-community affairs. This idea was central to Freire's work in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

the praxis is the new *raison d'être* of the oppressed; and the revolution, which inaugurates the historical moment of this *raison d'être*, is not viable apart from their concomitant conscious involvement. (1970/1990, p. 53)

In addition to helping students recognize the broader social and historical dimensions of their local concerns, the search for connections also provides a means of deconstructing dominant modernist ontological assumptions. While modern analytical thought tends to fragment and isolate conceptual information, other more integrated traditions (e.g., ancient and medieval cosmological worldviews, the intellectual work of the Romantics, contemporary ecological and systems theories) shift the emphasis to connection and relationship (e.g., Altman & Rogoff,

1987; Capra, 1996; Dewey & Bentley, 1949; Lewis, 1954; Merchant, 1994; Spretnak, 1997; Whitehead, 1929). Although analytical thought is certainly important, many believe it is disproportionately privileged as a way of knowing.⁵

As students examine various connections, they can begin to assess relationships between their own immediate concerns and broader issues reflected in the curriculum. In this way, it is possible to foster greater appreciation of the seemingly abstract ideas presented in many college classes. As students begin to recognize connections between their personal concerns and the official curriculum, the words and actions of their instructors can be gradually demystified. While this may not be the primary aim of problem-posing education, it would certainly seem a welcome benefit.

Considering Alternative Possibilities

Having identified personal concerns and historical connections, it is feasible to explore and enact alternative possibilities. At this point, students can begin to examine potential solutions both to the larger issues confronting society and specific challenges in their everyday lives. The benefit of having first considered historical connections is that the contemplation of alternatives is less likely to occur in a sociocultural or philosophical vacuum. Searching for connections in problem-posing education provides crucial opportunities for students to join the larger conversation. This is essential in a strong democracy, where civic participation requires more than merely the casting of a ballot every few years (e.g., Barber, 1984; Houser, 2005).

QUALITY AND TRUST IN PURSUIT OF PAIDEIA

Having outlined a problem-posing framework for higher education, I would like to suggest that the entire process—the problem-posing praxis—is substantially more than mere methodology. Rather, this endeavor involves a fundamental relationship between quality and trust in pursuit of paideia (παιδεία), a lofty goal involving the development of humans into their ideal forms, into their true human nature. As envisioned by the ancients, paideia entailed training for liberty and quality. It involved training for excellence in the largest sense of the term.

On the one hand, problem-posing education involves an ongoing search for what the ancient Greeks called *arête* (ἀρετή). *Arête*, as I understand it, is personal virtue, or excellence, located within a larger context of social relationship and community responsibility. The interesting thing about *arête*—or quality, as Robert Persig called it—is that it is recognizable but not reducible (Persig, 1984). While

excellence, or quality, is widely recognizable, it is simply not reducible to mechanistic forms of test and measurement. This is because the very essence of quality is relationship, which is the one thing that cannot, by definition, be preserved in the analytic process. This is why reductionistic efforts to “measure” learning, especially high stakes approaches like “No Child Left Behind” (2001), inevitably suppress the excellence they purport to advance (McNeil, 2000).

On the other hand, problem-posing praxis also requires fundamental trust in the capacity of people, given ample opportunity, to exercise *arête*. As Paulo Freire (1970/1990) insisted:

Trusting the people is the indispensable precondition for revolutionary change. A real humanist can be identified more by his trust in the people, which engages him in their struggle, than by a thousand actions in their favor without that trust. (pp. 46-7)

I do not believe Freire meant to suggest that people will necessarily exercise virtue in every situation. Indeed, he repeatedly warned of the need to remain vigilant regarding the “oppressor housed within.” He acknowledged that all people are susceptible to the internalization of oppressive views and attitudes. Rather, what I think Freire meant was that we must trust in the human capacity to surmount the forces of oppression, given the opportunity to participate fully in our own humanization. Freire saw authentic problem-posing education as a means of enacting the humanizing process. It is in this sense that problem-posing education supports the aims of paideia, the development of humans into their ideal forms in the service of liberty and the pursuit of excellence.

In light of pressing concerns related to a variety of issues (e.g., ranging from the quest for educational opportunity to the fight for social justice to the struggle to achieve ecological sustainability), educators continue to search for effective ways to help their students address the critical issues that currently confront schools and society. Specific aims range from the development of social, cultural and historical understanding to raising of critical consciousness regarding self and society. While there can be no ready-made formulas for the achievement of goals like these, valuable insight has been provided by educators like Freire, Dewey, and numerous others. Problem-posing education offers one viable possibility as a means of helping our students identify and address ideas and issues of critical importance at this particular time in the history of society.

ENDNOTES

1. I use the term “citizen” advisedly. The concept is actually quite problematic. Both historically and presently, it has implied official membership and, by extension, the exclusion of nonmembers. A common construct within the social studies, I intend the term in the most inclusive sense as a reference to all community participants, whatever their official status may be.
2. There is also a substantial problem-based tradition within the social studies (e.g., Engle, 1960; Evans, 2004; Oliver, 1957). A major difference is that Freire focuses explicitly on freedom and oppression, utilizing the educational mode as a means of subjective empowerment for revolutionary change.
3. See also Wink (2004) for a useful articulation of phases or structural approaches related to the exercise of praxis and problem-posing education. Here it should also be acknowledged that structure itself can be reductive, which may help explain Freire’s resistance to excessive simplification or codification of his methods, particularly in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.
4. Again, I wish to emphasize that this framework is offered as a supplement or complement rather than replacement for deductive instruction. As Dewey later observed, it may be appropriate to work in both directions, from the child to the curriculum as well as the curriculum to the child (Dewey, 1938).
5. Another problem, inherent in the attitude of modernity, is the unquestioning assumption that more must necessarily be better. Since inductive and personalized approaches require additional time and expertise to implement, they can minimize the sheer volume of information or data that can be learned, thus jeopardizing the coverage of large quantities of educational material. The problem is that an increase in quantity is not necessarily synonymous with an increase in quality (e.g., Palmer, 1998; Whitehead, 1929).

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HOUSER: CONFRONTING MODERNIST MISEDUCATION: A PROBLEM-POSING FRAMEWORK FOR HIGHER LEARNING

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CONFUCIAN THOUGHT: A HUMANIST PHILOSOPHY FOR THE TEACHER AS CONTINUING LEARNER

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A Rationale

We who teach those who will be teachers, must also be “the taught.” We have a responsibility to be in a continuous state of passionate readiness “to learn” – even to be “reborn in each moment of (our) practice so that the content (we) teach is alive and not stale notions of what Whitehead calls inert ideas” (Freire, p. 98-99).” At some point in the curriculum, every school of education teaches, may even ardently preach, the concept of the teacher as a continuing learner. The *real* teacher is, in the words of Jean Piaget, a perpetual “intellectual explorer;” always seeking, always questioning, always wondering. As one poet has reminded us: “For teachers and writers, ideas are in process. We don’t walk around with a Decalogue written stone; we are testing our ideas all of the time” (Lockin, 10). We test our ideas in the laboratory of life, which includes theoretical and practical experimentation with the ideas of others. We read, we converse, we listen, we argue, we question ... we learn. We explore new opportunities for growth of the self; even as we encourage and enable others in their own intellectual and emotional - and, yes, spiritual - explorations.

The concept, exploration, brings to mind the reality of a learning adventure; something more personally meaningful than a perfunctory, scripted, institutionally required, formal educational plan. In thinking about a personal intellectual adventure we raise questions that are philosophically existential in nature. We are given cause to wonder about the meaning and purpose of that elusive concept, self-fulfillment. We think metaphorically of self-fulfillment as a journey. It is an intellectual pilgrimage, along a bumpy, curving road that has no end. There is no final destination; not at the point of an advanced academic degree, or a professional license, or a tenured position, or even a retirement party. It is a continuing journey, one without completion (except for that final finality).

A journey is a quest, the root word of “question,” which in Latin means “to seek.” If all of our questions had answers, the quest would end, the journey would be complete ... The wisdom of the *Tao* suggests that our destiny is found in the journey and not in the destination. The questions we encounter along the way remind us that we are seekers, not settlers. With this truth tucked safely into our knapsacks, the journey continues, the quest commences again (Nassal, 75).

The quest, and the metaphysical and metaphorical questions about self-fulfillment as a never-ending adventure, has led this writer to consider the stimulating thought of a man who was a wandering teacher, contemplative scholar, activist philosopher, and convincing proponent of continuing “self-cultivation.” Here one may find an educational philosophy that defines the intellectual explorer as one who “seeks the way, and not a mere living (Confucius, *Analects*, 15:31).” The humanist philosophy of the Chinese sage, Confucius, and the writings of those who have interpreted his words, may be used as a source of inspiration, motivation, and direction for a person seeking to develop a philosophical baseline for continuing “self-cultivation.” In the search - the journey, the quest - one may find an antidote to the psychological dangers inherent in “mere living,” One may ask probing questions about Life (capital L), and the many possible contours of living; and may even come to an understanding that “the humane man spends his money to add to himself. The inhumane man spends himself to add to his money (Confucius, *The Great Wisdom*, LX: 20).” The moral implications of this bit of Confucian wisdom are worthy of serious hermeneutical consideration in a society impregnated by the almost religious fervor applied to a competitive, free market economy. Even our schools are not immune from the expectations embodied in this economic/political/social ideology, where students are often defined as products and consumers.

Background Thoughts

The historical - and the mythological - Confucius has been many things to many people. He has been interpreted as scholar, teacher, philosopher, humanist reformer, religious prophet, political theorist, feudalism, ritualist, bureaucrat, totalitarian, democrat, autocrat, statesman, Taoist, sage, atheist ... even Deity. His words, his theories, and the life he lived have been interpreted - and misinterpreted - to justify various - often contradictory - philosophical, religious, social, political, and educational positions.

Confucian thought has been used as a compass to point toward philosophical Idealism, as well as to a form of religiously-tinged philosophical Realism. Confucius has been defined as a proponent of a narrow, exclusive nationalism, and as the prophet of an inclusive world brotherhood of mankind. His followers have created a type of religious sectarianism, as well as a tolerant, secular broadmindedness. Paradoxes abound.

Generations of truth-seeking scholars, as well as those with personal religious and political agendas, have attempted to fit Confucian thought into personal perceptual pigeonholes. The name of Confucius has been conjured-up in an attempt to justify and rationalize myriad causes. His name has been invoked by the powerful and the powerless, the social liberal and the social conservative, the political and the apolitical, to give sanction to schemes and dreams.

Some of these efforts have been intellectually legitimate attempts to harness the power of ideas to noble causes. Others have been bogus intellectual frauds perpetrated for self-seeking purposes. It is also important to note that historic Confucianism has related in certain contexts to an elitist perspective, and to a static cultural system. Confucian tenets have been called upon to teach obedience to authority, to look primarily to the past as a way to strengthen conservative tradition, to promote a patriarchal society, and to stress pragmatic/utilitarian values. As China reached out in the early twentieth century to try to connect to the modern world,

Confucius came to stand for an anachronistic system of values ... With the victory of modern education ... study of the Confucian canon became not only irrelevant to the attainment of status, but an antiquarian pursuit of interest only to the limited number willing to spend the considerable effort required to comprehend the ancient texts (Thompson, 134).

The above thinking has historical validity. It is also a valid to assume that there is also within Confucian thought ideas that can speak to the modern mind, to the modern “intellectual explorer.” There is much “food for thought” in the words of the ancient sage.¹ This nutrient for the mind may be ingested, metabolized, and utilized by a person who seeks continual learning and a continual refreshing of a personal philosophy of life.

Once a man recognizes the urgency of establishing in his own life a guiding philosophy, he recognizes he is engaged in a life long process ... Life is a succession of challenges to one’s scale of values, and we grow by test and adjustment (Randall, 119).

The effort to interpret the nuances - even paradoxes - of Confucian thought may help a teacher redefine a scale of intellectual values, and this may help in the reordering of—or recommitment to—a life philosophy. It may help adjust personal priorities in one’s plan of action for meeting the ever-changing challenges of the intellectual life.

To know what is best is to determine one’s goal. To determine one’s goal is to steady one’s aim. To steady one’s aim is to proceed with assurance. To proceed with assurance enables one to conduct his

life with insight. By conducting his life with insight, one reaches his goal (Confucius, *The Great Learning*, 1:2).

An investigation of Confucian thought may help map a “way” to intensify the process of personal growth. It may provide words, concepts, and thoughts, which inspire, motivate, and encourage the continuing learner who finds intellectual adventure in the process of “becoming.”

Since the process of maturation is conceived as a continuous effort toward self-realization, the creative development of a person depends ... upon a sense of inner direction ... He must learn to control his course of experience and furnish it with content shaped by his own action. And as the *Way* cannot be mapped-out in advance, he must, with a sense of discovery, undergo a dynamic process of self-transformation in order to comport with it. The *Way*, then, is always a way of “becoming” (Tu Wei-ming, 116).

A study of Confucian thought will be meaningful to an individual interested in charting a personal *Way*—a continuing process of “becoming.” Exposing oneself to the thought of Confucius opens up intellectual horizons. Seeking to understand Confucian principles makes possible an expanded worldview.

Those of us who are concerned about the shape of the future owe it to ourselves to understand those great ideas which promise to become ingredients in the mentality of mankind. To fail to understand the ideas attributed to Confucius is to remain deficient regarding something fundamental in human culture (Bahm, 14).

This may, of course, be an overstatement. There are various paths to fundamental understandings. It is, however, a reminder that self-fulfillment involves a search for truth, and “the sphere of truth is transcultural ... the sphere of truth is global (Adler, 61).” Western truth and Eastern truth may meet in a dialectic of possibility. Intellectual potential can be strengthened by holding divergent ideas in a creative, thought-producing tension (see Harris, 43).

The thought of Greta Nagel is worth pondering. Balancing the elements of various philosophies or lifestyles can be part of the way for wise teachers ... Look for ways in which you can center yourself upon common features of diverse philosophies. Your own philosophy will not be eclectic: it will be pivotal, flexible (p. 91).

Caveats

There are, of course, intellectual risks in any hermeneutical process. There is always the possibility of misinterpretation when analyzing the meaning and intent of another person's words. The purpose of this writing, however, is not to find the truth; not even a truth in a philosophically absolutist sense. The writer has a very different purpose in mind, and the focus of the paper is circumscribed accordingly. The intent is to allow ideas inherent in Confucian thought to point an intellectual direction, and to emotionally motivate and inspire. It is to allow ideas that have spanned the ages to help map an individually chosen *Way*. It is a personal quest. And, as Myles Horton has written, "we make the way by walking. (Horton)." If we are open-minded and thoughtful, we walk a personally chosen path, not one defined and mapped by someone else.

It is conceivable that people under (different) circumstances may choose to pursue the Way in a mode which differs significantly from what has been sanctioned as authentically Confucian. After all, from a Confucian perspective, the approaches to sagehood are as many as there are sages (Tu Weiming, 126).

Each of us may walk a different path as we find inspiration in the writings of a sage, or "wise man," or philosopher, or prophet. As we "make the way by walking" we must be aware of historical realities. The historical Confucius remains clouded by mists of diverse interpretations, reinterpretations, misinterpretations, and doctrinal manipulation; engaged in by both his friends and his enemies. Confucianism may be interpreted as a moral message, a philosophy, an ethical imperative, a religion, a life style, a set of traditional principles, a political doctrine; or an eclectic combination of these and other guidelines for *doing and being*. Whatever the process of our hermeneutical awareness, we must deal with ideas passed down and embellished over hundreds of years, rather than with the unabridged words of an individual entangled in an historical era.

Confucius was an historical figure. He was the product of a time, a place, and a culture. The Confucian Way (or Confucian Thought) is the lived reality of this individual **plus** his ideas stretched and compressed, real and imagined. Confucianism is the product of fact and legend, history and fiction. It is a teacher and his thought – magnified, amplified, and restated. We must deal not only with traditions of questionable reliability, but with questions of the accuracy of the transmission of the tradition. Confucius, as a private teacher, did not "publish." That his ideas did not "perish" is a tribute to the power of his thought, and to the dedication of his followers.

Confucius was neither the author, commentator, nor even editor of any of the Classics ... Judging from what is said of him in the *Analects* ... Confucius never had any intention of writing anything himself for future generations. The writing of books in a private rather than public capacity was an yet unheard of practice which developed after the time of Confucius (Fung Yu-lan, 39-40).

We must refer to the *Analects*, compiled two generations after Confucius' death, for a basic understanding of his life and thought. Or, we may look to *Mencius*, written by the Confucian scholar, Mencius, who was born about a century after the death of Confucius. In addition, the *Mo Tzu* provides some generally unreliable historical inferences. We also have diverse interpretations in the synthesis of Chu Hsi, the dynamic Idealism of Wang Yang-Ming, the social activism of K'uang Yu-Wei, the religious syncretism of T'an ssu-t'ung, the continuing flowering today of Neo-Confucianism, and the Marxist tinged Confucianism of the later Fung Yu-Lan. The list goes on. So many have interpreted so much. There is also the problem of accurate translation from Chinese to English.

A translation, after all, is only an interpretation.

When one translates a sentence ... one gives one's own interpretation of its meaning. But the translation may convey only one idea, while as a matter of fact, the original may contain many other ideas.... The original is suggestive, but the translation is not, and cannot be. So it loses much of he richness inherent in the original (Fung Yu-lan, 14).

Scholars acknowledge the reality of historical distortion, translation ambiguity, and paradoxically inconsistent interpretations. This does not, however, deny the existential truth of a man who left an intellectual inheritance to the world of ideas; an inheritance that still challenges, motivates, and stimulates the creative thinker and the active doer. It is not a distortion of reality to recognize that Confucius "left behind him an influence that continues to affect men's thoughts and actions even in our own day (Creel, 6)."

Self-Cultivation: A Confucian Model

Confucian Thought provides foundational underpinning for the development of a model for the teacher who continues to seek intellectual and moral growth. It suggests a motivational impetus for both the person of ideas and the person of action. It encourages—even demands—the wedding of individual attainment with social responsibility; of thinking with doing. "The superior man is ashamed that his words exceed his deeds (Confucius, *Analects*, 14:19)." To be true to Confucian precepts is to

understand that

knowledge and action always require each other ... as one knows more clearly, he acts more earnestly, and as he acts more earnestly, he knows more clearly. Neither of the two should be unbalanced or discarded (Chu Hsi, 20).

For a teacher, Confucian oriented goals involve actively translating the search for new knowledge into a life-style, and a teaching style. Action is predicated on reflective self-examination. This relates to the oft-used phrase in teacher education programs, “the reflective practitioner.” The “doing,” achieving person is an extension of the “thinking, knowing” person. The goal of thoughtful, perceptive, self-transforming action is a life-affirming value that should speak to those who have been “called” to teach. It is a goal that motivates a personal quest, a “becoming.”

Self-cultivation from a Confucian perspective involves broadening the horizons of knowledge. Here, however, one must understand the paradoxical in the Confucian “Way.” Confucius was responsible for a testing procedure for “credentialing” civil servants. Confucian thought, however, cannot be confined to such a standardized perspective. The “way” toward self-growth is not circumscribed by the narrow confines of an accredited, certified body of knowledge or the standards of a professional organization. It is an inclusive and an “open” system. It builds on the old, but welcomes and embraces the new. It honors the past, but accepts and learns from the possibilities and challenges of the present. It recognizes that the future is built on the foundation of the past.²

In this interpretation of the Confucian model, self-cultivation involves an open-minded exposure to ideas, opportunities, activities, and experiences that widen the circumference of general knowledge. The teacher cannot be content with “professional” knowledge and skills. If inspired by the Confucian ideal, the teacher is not just a knowledgeable practitioner; he/she is also a model of moral integrity and social responsibility. Learning becomes a more meaningful goal than that which produces a skilled pedagogical technician, or that leads to professional advancement. There must be allegiance to principle, not to position; to virtue, not to power, to character, not to prestige. Confucius reminds us: “Do not be concerned that you win no recognition, only make yourself worthy of it (Creel, 130).”

There is more to self-cultivation than the expectation of achievement and personal gain. The process of personal growth relates to the etymology of the word, “philosophy” - the love of wisdom and the search for truth. The problem is, however, that too many Teacher Education Programs find little time for the risks of philosophical inquiry. This holds true also

for the accrediting organizations that determine “what knowledge is of most worth.” Instrumental efficiency, techniques, and test-taking skills loom large in this era of No Child Left Behind accountability.³

In Confucian terms, however, there are BIG questions that need to be asked; questions that are not answerable in a standardized, pre-determined format. The continuing intellectual growth of a teacher should involve moments of reflection upon these significant headache-producing questions.

Confucius is often viewed as an ethical and moral absolutist. It may be interpreted, however, that he did not totally discard the Taoist advice: “There are no answers; search for them lovingly.” It is this loving search - as frustrating as it may be - that opens up new possibilities for learning from the unexpected.

Confucianism develops certain ideas that may be stressed as basic wisdom. They relate to the nature of man, to the necessity of a social order, to the question of truth ... to the nature of our thinking (Jaspers, 49).

Reflecting upon Confucius’ answers to these, and other, philosophical questions can help us chart the direction of our personal intellectual search. His answers do not need to be our answers, but they can help us clarify our own thinking. Confucius conceived education to be that process which contributes to character development; which leads to the practice of sincerity, justice, kindness, and compassion. In *The Great Learning* he noted that “the way of learning, to be great, consists in manifesting clear character, loving the people, and biding in the highest good (Wing-tsit Chan, 86).”

To develop a personal plan of continuing-learning based on such principles is, in Confucian terms, “to be on the way.” Being “on the way” indicates moving toward a destination, not arriving. Achieving “completeness” is less important than the quest. The *Analects* refers to the difficulty in completing an intellectual journey.

If everyone had the wisdom of Tsang Wu-Ching, the uncovetousness of Meng Kung-Ch’O, the valor of P’ien Chang-tzu, and the artistic talents of Jan Chi’iu, and graced these virtues by cultivation of ritual and music, then indeed I think we might call him a “complete man” (14:13).

No one can *know*, or do—certainly not *be*—in a finalized, complete sense. But, it is important for the educator to continue to be *in process* as teacher and as person.

The Master said: Yu, shall I teach you what it means “to know ?” If you know it, know you know it; if you don’t know it, know you don’t know it – that is “to know” (*Analects*, 2:17).

A person who might look to Confucian thought for motivational and inspirational cues will recognize:

Confucius had a passion for knowledge; he was intellectually honest, admitting what he knew and what he did not know ... Confucius believed in two sources of knowledge; one, *studying*, the other ... one's power to *think*. Both are equally important sources of knowledge (Chang, 443).

Perhaps preceding studying - even sincere thinking - is "desire." Confucian thought may be juxtaposed with Aristotle's concept of human nature: "Man wants to know." This relates to the insistence of educational psychologists that motivation precedes learning. "Want to know" is often actually the "need to know." This is expressed in the currently staged musical, *Children of Eden*. Eve, in wondering what is beyond Eden, says, "I want to know, I *must* know." The desire to know leads one to the adventure, and the risks, of learning. Confucius said, "I have never grown tired of learning."

In the *Doctrine of the Mean* Confucius is reported to have equated the love of learning with wisdom. He also equated continued learning with pleasure and satisfaction. "To study, and when the occasion arises, to put what one has learned into practice - is this not deeply satisfying (*Analects*, 1:1)." Confucius interpreted study and continuing self-development as a moral imperative, consistent with character formation. "Look closely into a man's aims, observe the means by which he pursues them, and discover what brings him contentment. How can a man hide his character (in Creel, 135)?"

Confucian thought also finds resonance with the Socratic premise that "the unexamined life is not worth living." This has a relationship to the emphasis which, in teacher education programs, is placed upon encouraging the teacher-to-be become a *reflective* practitioner. Teachers must learn not only to reflect upon the "what and how" of teaching, but also upon the "why." The unreflective teacher is the one who acts "without understanding ... following certain courses without knowing the principles behind them (*Book of Mencius*, 7A:5)."

Life is a journey, a movement toward an often uncertain future. The teacher who understands this reality is one who uses her talents, resources, and ambitions to expand horizons and the self; to be more tomorrow than she is today. This continuous, self-directed movement is analogous to the Confucian symbol of a ceaseless flow of water. The flow - symbolic of a teacher's progress as educational professional - may be diverted by misdirected goals. It may be dammed-up by daily classroom frustrations. It may slow to a trickle because of the bureaucratic implementation of accountability standards that stifle

creativity and innovation.

The true knight of the way (shih) must perform both broad shouldered and stout of heart. The burden is heavy and he has far to go. For humanity (jen) is the burden one has taken upon himself ... Only with death does the journey end ... try at all times to do the utmost one can (*Analects*, 8:7).

The teacher, seeking to be a "true knight of the way," recognizes that there is no end to the journey of intellectual preparation. There is no state of final achievement. There is only continual becoming. The educational journey is one day at a time. One cannot be a teacher without also being a learner. And ... it is a continual process of self-growth that involves personal transformation.

If you can renovate yourself one day at a time, then you can do so every day, and keep doing so day after day ... The superior man tries at all times to do his utmost. (*The Great Learning*, 3).

Confucius is quoted as saying, "Why don't you say that I am a person who forgets his food when engaged in the vigorous pursuit of learning (*Analects*, 7:18)?" The contemporary Confucian scholar, Tu Wei-ming, identifies this kind of dedicated commitment in Confucian thought as *li-chih*,

which literally means to "establish one's will." The absolute necessity of an existential decision, not only as a commitment but also as an affirmation to be continuously reenacted, is taken for granted in Confucian literature (Tu Wei-ming, 119).

For the teacher, to "establish one's will" in a Confucian sense, is to struggle relentlessly to fan the flames of the passion to teach. It is to dig deeply within the self to rekindle the motivation that overcomes frustration, inertia, and loss of faith in the educational system. It is to continually reinvigorate the desire for intellectual exploration. Confucian thought provides us with a motivating force - a *why* to continue the learning process. The process - continual and relentless - of personal growth and transformation is stimulated and facilitated by the challenge of learning. Confucius set such an inspirational standard.

Confucius spoke of "self-cultivation" as the broadening of knowledge. He defined *The Way* as a broad path not circumscribed by the confines of narrow specialization, and understood that

the Confucian gentleman was not a specialist; he was fully equipped, like a seed, to take root in any soil and propagate the movement by whatever means were available (Creel, 161).

For the teacher, reflection upon this thought should help define teaching as an organic, not a mechanistic, process. It should help us understand that a broadening of vision and purpose is required to counteract a "teach

to the test” mentality. Wing-tsit Chan, reflecting upon the Confucian thought, “man is not an implement (*Analects* 2:12),” has written:

A good and educated man would not be like an implement which is intended only for a narrow and specific purpose. Instead he should have broad vision, wide interest, and sufficient ability to do many things (24).

Too often teachers confine themselves to a narrow methodological path. They are more concerned about the “what” and “how” of teaching than about the “why.” They may not be encouraged to ask those larger philosophical questions that expand the intellectual horizon and add depth to the pedagogical process. To be content with the “professional” knowledge required by accrediting systems is to miss the excitement and adventure - even the wisdom - which flows from a continual broadening of the total self. There is much “learning” to be found outside of the “box.” of professional credentialing and accountability. The teacher who is a continuing learner - not the one satisfied with possession of empowering credentials - is an intellectual explorer, open to diverse possibilities “to know.” Expertise, whether in content or method, or both, does not negate the teacher’s responsibility to continue exploring new terrain. To explore what is new, unusual, and challenging to one’s worldview, requires an open mind.

There were four qualities from which Confucius was entirely free; he had no forgone conclusions, he was not over positive, not obstinate, and never saw things from his own point of view alone (Creel, 134).

The Confucian ‘Way’ can only be traversed by the one who interprets the past, explores the present, and envisions the future with an open mind. “To hear much, select what is good, and follow it; to see much and remember it – these are the steps by which knowledge is obtained (*Analects* 7:27).

Confucian thought encourages respect for the “classics.” It directs the continuing learner toward those literary works which have stood the test of time; which offer insight into how to cultivate the art of living, the development of character, and a practical expression of social responsibility. But there is a dialectical movement to Confucian thought. Along with respect for that which represents classical knowledge, virtues, and understanding, there is also an appreciation of the beauty and power of newness and the reality of change.

In the Confucian canon there is stress on the necessity for continual renewal; renewal of knowledge and of the human spirit. We learn from those sages whose expressions of wisdom have lighted the past, but the journey is ever before us. As we select a personal

path we are reminded that our journey is defined by seeking guideposts to light the way. “Confucius outlined five primary virtues – love, justice, reverence, wisdom, and sincerity. These are the guideposts for man’s actions (Wilson, xii).” There is reflected light to be found in each of these guideposts (virtues). It may be that a reflection of Confucian thought is to be found in the motto of the Scripps-Howard news organization: “Give light and the people will find their own way.”

The Light is Turned On: How to Proceed

How to proceed on the self-cultivation journey? One answer is to engage in an existential adventure. It is a matter of individual choice, planning, and - eventually - implementation. In Confucian terms, it is a choice that results from “self-examination, study, inquiry, thought, sifting of concepts, and practice.” It requires hard work. Confucius recommended: “Study as if you were following someone you could not overtake, and were afraid of losing.” To do this there must be personal commitment. The effort demands motivation, determination, desire.

According to *The Great Learning*, “self-development depends upon maintaining the right attitude (52).” The right attitude predisposes one to generate a motivation to begin, and to cultivate the dedication to persist. It means having the commitment to establish a direction, define a goal, and put ideas into practice.

In order to develop themselves, they had first to acquire a right attitude. In order to acquire a right attitude, they first tried to become honest with themselves. In order to become honest with themselves, they first had to learn as much as possible. Learning as much as possible involved gaining insight into the nature of things. By gaining insight into the nature of things, they came to know the highest good. By apprehending the highest good, they became honest with themselves. By becoming honest with themselves, they acquired the right attitude. By acquiring the the right attitude, they developed themselves (*The Great Wisdom*, in Bahm, 138).

Using a Confucian model, the continuing learner understands that this kind of self-development is a process of continually “adding to” the qualities that define who we are. Hsun-tzu, in his interpretation of Confucian thought used nature metaphors to define the process.

Accumulating of dirt results in the formation of mountains, accumulation of water develops a sea, accumulation of days results in a year, accumulation of goodness produces a man of perfection. By unceasing work and seeking, by accumulation something high, something great, something perfect

can be accomplished (Hsun-tzu, 4).

The *real* teacher is a continuing learner; one who accumulates knowledge, understanding, compassion, perhaps even a little wisdom, on the educational journey. But, perhaps the word “perfect” in the above quotation is an “imperfect” translation. Or, it may be, that it applies only to that kind of wise thinker who is defined by history as a sage; or to one who speaks with the challenging, questioning voice of the prophet. Not many of us fit this description, but even the unattainable may be pursued. Here the oft-repeated cliché applies: “It is not the destination, but the journey, that is important.” It may even be true that “getting there is half the fun.”

A Concluding Reflection

I have suggested that a little reflection upon, and personal interpretation of, the meanings imbedded in Confucian thought may be used to motivate and inspire a teacher to continue the journey of personal growth and development. This is an existential adventure, and does not refer to the bureaucratic use of the phrase “professional development” as is so often used in today’s educational world. Most often this terminology refers to formal, structured, organized efforts to supply teachers with the latest in “how to” instrumentalist methods. Self-cultivation in Confucian terms presupposes more in the way of existentially defined goals; goals that may - or may not - relate to professional demands.⁴

Here we refer to the growth of the self as *person*, not necessarily to increased technical skills and competencies (Of course, self-growth provides a nourished seedbed for the growth of professionalism). If, as noted by Ralph Waldo Emerson, “we teach who we are,” then the continuing growth of the inner person is as important to the teacher - perhaps more so - as is increased knowledge and credentials. We are reminded of the words of John Gardner:

No one knows why some individuals seem capable of self-renewal while others do not ... For the self-renewing man the development of his own potentialities and the process of self-discovery never end ... Exploration of the full range of his own potentialities is not something that the self-renewing man leaves to the chances of life. It is something he pursues systematically, or at least avidly, to the end of his days. He looks forward to an endless and unpredictable dialogue between his potentialities and the claims of life ... By potentialities I mean not just skills, but the full range of his capacities for sensing, wondering, learning, understanding, loving, and aspiring (11,12,13). And so, we may look to the wisdom of Confucius to help us light the path of our own continually revised journey of self-renewal and self-discovery. A teacher can do no less than continue the journey with enthusiasm, hope, and a sense of joy in the quest.

ENDNOTES

1. I am reminded that “it is no bad thing to offer a contrast to the prevailing obsession with being up to date ... In our rush toward the future, there is surely a danger of a parochialism of the present that forgets the wisdom of the past” (Stevenson and Haberman, xii).
2. The continual growth of the self, as W.E.B. Du Bois once wrote, should be a process of “criticism and searching ... ever mindful of the solemnness of world-old things ... welcoming the things that are good and true and the eternal beauty of both old and new” (Du Bois, 65).
3. We may find that the questioning, wondering, creative teacher is unduly constrained by today’s educational orthodoxy which seems to favor a measurable and conforming acceptance of the “official discourses (as) embodied in the language of the No Child Left Behind legislation and other mandates with a focus on accountability, standards, credentials, and testing, accompanied by punitive measures meted out to students and teachers for failing to live up to them” (Nieto, 5).
4. Here, in terms of the theme of this writing, we sense a significant paradox. We are using Confucian thought in many ways as counterpoint to a rigid, authoritarian, “teach to the test” mentality. And yet, there is much in Confucius that leads to that kind of credentialed accountability. Perhaps we are given reason to consider the words of Soren Kierkegaard: “One should not think slightingly of the paradoxical: the paradox is the source of the thinker’s passion, and the thinker without paradox is like a lover without passion” (*Philosophical Fragments*).

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LEARNING STYLES: ALL SMOKE AND MIRRORS?

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Abstract

Learning Styles: All Smoke and Mirrors?

The notion that children exhibit personal characteristics that can be identified as “learning styles” has been around for the past thirty years. Educators have spent countless hours trying to define precisely what is meant by a learning style. Rita Dunn has written as much as anyone on the subject, but her system has not been universally endorsed by other educators. When asked to describe their own learning style, most teachers identify themselves as visual, auditory, or kinesthetic learners. They never apply any of the more esoteric labels such as global or analytic, impulsive or reflective to themselves. The more closely we delve into the theory of learning styles, the murkier the whole idea becomes. Are children really pre-wired with learning styles or is the whole theory merely another instance of smoke and mirrors?

Learning Styles: All Smoke and Mirrors?

Once upon a time, when I was young and single, I answered a personal ad in the newspaper. The woman described herself as “beautiful, vivacious, and lots of fun.” “Well,” I thought, “what’s to lose?” I called her and arranged to pick her up at her home. When I arrived at her house, a note was taped to the front door: “Come in and make yourself at home. I’ll only be a minute.” I followed the instructions, entered the house and seated myself on the couch. Fifteen minutes went by, no sign of the woman. I was checking my watch for the third time when she suddenly appeared from out of nowhere. “Wow,” I remarked, “you look super!” She smiled knowingly, replied: “Don’t let that fool you; it’s all smoke and mirrors.”

Dates are not the only people skilled in the artistry of smoke and mirrors. Educators have been known to perform a few slide-of-hand tricks of their own. Things are rarely what they seem. The theory of learning styles is a noteworthy example. Do children really exhibit something that can be identified as a learning style or is the whole theory merely another instance of smoke and mirrors?

What is a learning style? Price (2004) maintains that “learning style is often used as a metaphor for considering the range of individual differences in learning” (p. 681). Theorists do not agree on how to define the metaphor. One of the more colorful definitions comes from the 1983 National Task Force on Learning Style and Brain Behavior. Their definition brings to mind the old story: What is a camel? The answer to which is: A horse put together by a

committee.

Learning style is that consistent pattern of behavior and performance by which an individual approaches educational experiences. It is the composite of characteristic cognitive, affective, and psychological behaviors that serve as relatively stable indicators of how a learner perceives, interacts with, and responds to the learning environment. It is formed in the deep structure of neural organization and personality [that] molds and is molded by human development and the cultural experiences of home, school, and society. (Diaz, 2001, p. 56)

What a mouthful! The Task Force threw in everything except the kitchen sink. The definition is too broad and inclusive to be meaningful. A useful definition must include some qualities while excluding others. It is like saying democracy is the Alpha and the Omega—the Logos and the Tao of human relationships. Such a definition will not help us to decide whether or not a school has a democratic administration. The Task Force’s definition, in addition to being overly ambitious, is rife with ambiguity. Learning styles, we are told, are “formed in the deep structure of neural organization and personality.” How do we know it is deep and not shallow? None of the members of the Task Force were neurologists. Suppose learning style was removed from in front of the definition and intelligence, or personality, or Freud’s unconscious mind were substituted in its place, wouldn’t they all fit equally well?

There is no shortage of definitions offered for learning styles. Each theorist has formulated his or her pet definition. Kolb, who is generally credited with having initiated the movement, devised a Learning Styles Inventory (LSI) that placed individuals in one of four categories: assimilator, accommodator, diverger, converger (Sadler-Smith et al., 2004, p. 402). Honey and Mumford, not to be outdone, developed their own Learning Styles Questionnaire, which divided individuals into four different groups: activist, reflector, theorist, and pragmatist (Price, 2004, p. 685). Some educators prefer Bernice McCarthy’s 4MAT System, which identified learners as: innovative, analytical, common sense, and dynamic (Feden, 1996-97). Other researchers believe that learning styles should be tied to the subject matter studied. Strong et al. (2004) argue that mathematics students tend to exhibit four distinctive learning styles: mastery, understanding, interpersonal, and self-expression. Mixon (2004),

writing from a music educator's point of view, lists three basic learning styles that are parallel to the senses: auditory, visual, and tactile-kinesthetic.

Sternberg (1996-97) has devised a novel approach for thinking about learning styles. His model is constructed around a political metaphor. Learning styles are like exercises in self-government. "The basic idea is that we must organize or govern ourselves, and the ways in which we do correspond to the kinds of governments and government branches which exist world-wide—legislative, executive, judicial; monarchic, hierarchic, oligarchic" (pp. 155-56). Sternberg's categories, though interesting, are complex and cumbersome. Political nomenclature is not natural to classroom instruction. When is the last time you heard a teacher say: "My students are monarchial?"

Rita and Kenneth Dunn (2004) have put together the most popular learning styles package. Their names have become synonymous with the movement in the United States.

The Dunns have designed a visual representation of their model, which metaphorically resembles a patchwork quilt. [See Appendix A.] They define a learning style as the way in which an individual reacts to 21 (or 23) elements in five basic strands:

- (a) immediate environment (sound, light, temperature, and seating design); (b) emotionality (motivation, persistence, responsibility/conformity, and need for internal or external structure); (c) sociological (learning alone, in a pair, as part of a small group or team, with peers, or with an authoritative or collegial adult; also, in a variety of ways or in a consistent pattern); (d) physiological (auditory, visual, tactual, and/or kinesthetic perceptual preferences; food or liquid intake needs; time-of-day energy levels; mobility needs); and (e) indications of global or analytic processing inclinations (through correlation with sound, light, design, persistence, peer-orientation, and intake scores). (p. 92)

Whatever happened to Occam's razor? It is honored in all the sciences. William of Occam was a medieval scholastic. He left us with a cardinal rule for clear and concise thinking: Do not multiply entities beyond what is necessary. Generally speaking, the simplest explanation is best. Any theory that carries around too much baggage is probably wrong. Look at Einstein's equation: $E = mc^2$. Simple and powerful. How does the Dunn and Dunn model stack up?

The Dunns have a talent for imaginative, artistic designs. Although the patches on the quilt are vivid and colorful, the collection as a whole is incongruous. The qualities that make for an aesthetically pleasing quilt are not the same as those that promote a coherent

theory of learning. The Dunns' model collapses incompatible theories together. Behaviorist assumptions about *environmental* influences (sound, light, temperature, design) are combined with constructivist assumptions about *psychological* processes (global or analytic, left brain or right brain, impulsive or reflective). Rita Dunn (1995) even makes a half-hearted attempt at incorporate Gardner's multiple intelligences into her system. Teachers, she advises, can ask students "to analyze the intelligences needed to do the activity well" (p. 29). Teachers can also "give homework assignments that can be demonstrated through alternative intelligences" (p. 29).

Gardner (1999-2000) does not take kindly to having his MI Theory confused with learning styles. "Learning styles are very different from multiple intelligences" (p. 100). Learning styles are claims about how individuals approach every new situation. "Multiple intelligences claim that we respond, individually, in different ways to different kinds of content" (p. 100). Dunn may label a child as a visual learner, but that is not the way Gardner would frame the problem. "What I would say is, 'Here is a child who very easily represents things spatially, and we can draw upon that strength if need be when we want to teach the child something new'" (p. 100).

Rita Dunn (1995), like Piaget, believes in hands-on learning. A few children who are auditory or visual learners can acquire information easily from hearing and seeing. "Most young children," however, "learn tactually (through manipulatives, with their hands) or kinesthetically (by experiencing or being engaged in whole-body activities)" (p. 13). This is equally true, Dunn (2004) insists, of gifted students, who "prefer kinesthetic (experiential/active) and tactual (hands-on) instruction" (p. 95). Low-achieving students can only master difficult information through kinesthetic or tactual learning. "Low achievers have only one perceptual strength, or none, in contrast to the multiperceptual strengths of the gifted" (p. 95).

The human hand is a miraculous tool. Of that there is no doubt. But is it the key to cognitive development? DeLoache (2005), writing in the *Scientific American*, presents an opposing point of view. "What most distinguishes humans from other creatures is our ability to create and manipulate a wide variety of symbolic representations" (p. 73). No aspect is more important for human development. Symbolization holds great meaning for the practice of education. Teachers in elementary classrooms commonly use manipulatives to teach mathematical concepts. Concrete objects, or so it is commonly believed, assist students in learning abstract numerical concepts. However, "if children do not understand the relation between the objects and what they represent, the use of manipulatives could be

counterproductive” (p. 77). DeLoache ran an experiment teaching mathematics to two groups of six and seven-year-old children. One group used manipulatives and the other group used paper and pencils. “Both groups learned to solve problems equally well—but the group using the blocks took three times as long to do so” (p. 77). A little girl, who had used the blocks during the experiment, asked DeLoache a pointed question: “‘Have you ever thought of teaching kids to do these with paper and pencil’” (p. 77)?

When Freud was asked about the paradoxical nature of people, he replied that there is room inside the human heads for everything. The same can be said about the Dunns’ model of learning styles, which is rich in category mistakes. Nothing, however, is more confusing than the treatment of analytic and global learners. Rita Dunn (1995) informs us that “some students learn more easily when information is presented step-by-step in a sequential pattern that builds toward a conceptual understanding” (p. 18). These are supposedly analytic learners who prefer inductive logic. “Others learn more easily . . . when they understand the concept first and then concentrate on the details” (pp. 18-19). Global learners, on the other hand, favor deductive logic. What a strange dichotomy! Dunn’s conclusions are not supported by either science or logic. Modern science, according to Whitehead (1929/1967), has advanced by utilizing both inductive and deductive logic. “Inductive logic would be impossible without deductive logic” (p. 52). Aristotle (deductive logic) and Francis Bacon (inductive logic) are really complementary bedfellows. It is a “barren game to ascend from the particular to the general, unless afterwards we can reverse the process and descend from the general to the particular” (p. 52).

There is a pervasive dualism running throughout the Dunns’ model of learning styles. The classroom is divided into analytic and global learners. Analytically appear to be left-brain people. Global learners, however, favor the right brain. The division does not stop here. Analytic learners are reflective; global learners are impulsive. The Dunns’ model represents a clear illustration of what Dewey called “either-or” thinking. “Mankind,” Dewey (1938/1959) writes in *Experience and Education*, “is given to formulating its beliefs in terms of *Either-Ors*, between which it recognizes no intermediate possibilities” (p. 1). Dewey rejected all forms of dualism. In *Democracy and Education*, Dewey (1916/1960) argued that dualistic thinking walls people off from one another, creating “different types of life-experience, each with isolated subject matter, aim, and standard of values” (p. 388). Dualisms create a mind divided against its self. Such divisions, however, are not inevitable. When

experience is properly understood, dualisms are replaced by a sense of continuity and growth. Practically speaking there is no such thing as analytic or global learners. There are only students who, on any given occasion, may demonstrate characteristics associated with analytic or global thinking.

The Dunns label learners as either left-brained or right-brained. In reality students (unless they have suffered a brain injury) come to class with their whole brain in tact. The two hemispheres work in tandem with one another. If they did not, classroom instruction would be next to impossible. Gazzaniga (1998), writing in the *Scientific American*, says: “The harder the task . . . the more one half of the brain must call on the subcortex or the other hemisphere for help” (p. 52). Bruer (1999) makes a similar point in the *Phi Delta Kappan*: “What modern brain science is telling us . . . is that it makes no scientific sense to map gross, unanalyzed behaviors and skills—reading, arithmetic, spatial reasoning—onto one brain hemisphere or another” (p. 653).

Rita Dunn’s (1995) problems do not end with misidentifying specific learning with brain hemispheres. She creates an even bigger conundrum for herself when she asserts that “reflective thinkers [analytics] require more time than impulsive thinkers [globals] because they process the questions sequentially, evaluatively, and comparatively. Impulsives, on the other hand, process intuitively and quickly” (p. 20). Such statements fly in the face of what we know about brain functions. Ross’ (2006) article on “The Expert Mind,” *Scientific American*, argues that the game of chess provides “an important test bed for theories in cognitive science” (p. 66). What are the thought processes that make for a grandmaster? Conventional wisdom holds that the grandmaster makes slow, deliberate, analytical moves. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. “Much of the chess master’s advantage over the novice,” argues Ross, “derives from the first few seconds of thought” (p. 64). Experts in other fields demonstrate similar patterns of behavior. “Just as a master often finds the best move in a flash, an expert physician can sometimes make an accurate diagnosis within moments of laying eyes on a patient” (p. 64). Nor can mastery be assigned to either the left or the right hemispheres of the brain. Both sides of the brain work in partnership with one another in order to solve the problem. “The expert relies not so much on an intrinsically stronger power of analysis as on a store of structured knowledge” (p. 67).

Rita Dunn provides a glimpse into how the learning styles system is introduced to children. First, a storybook is read to the children, which explained that everyone has a distinctive learning style. Second, the

IVIE, LEARNING STYLES: ALL SMOKE AND MIRRORS?

children fill out the Dunn Learning Style Instrument (LSI). Third, teachers explain the results of the LSI and assist “each student in recording his or her LS preferences” (Braio et al., 1997, p. 20). Fourth, a large learning styles chart is placed in the classroom. “This chart [is] displayed in each classroom to remind students of their LS strengths” (Braio et al., 1997, p. 6). Students are cautioned to remember that: “Your test grades must be better than ever before—or this experiment is not working and there is no reason to continue” (Dunn, 1995, p. 13). [In gambling this is called stacking the deck!] The researchers report one student telling another: “Don’t forget you’re auditory” (Braio et al., 1997, p. 23). A third student said about himself: “My best style is kinesthetic” (Braio et al., 1997, p. 9). Educators should ponder the wisdom of prematurely hanging labels around students’ necks. How many people have stopped short of realizing all that they might have accomplished in life by allowing others to define them too narrowly?

What evidence does Dunn offer to support her claims? Dunn, Griggs, Gorman, Olson, & Beasley (1995) ran a meta-analysis on 36 experimental studies involving 3,181 students who used the Dunn and Dunn Model of Learning Styles. The statistics revealed that students whose learning styles were accommodated achieved “75 percent of a standard deviation higher than students who have not had their learning styles accommodated” (p. 353). Dunn et al. arrived at a number of interesting conclusions: (a) students with clear learning preferences showed greater gains than students who had mixed preferences; (b) college learners showed greater gains than elementary and secondary school learners; (c) middle-class students were more responsive than lower-class students; (d) average students were more responsive than low or high achieving students; (e) “the content area most responsive to learning-style accommodation was mathematics” (p. 358). Learning styles appeal to a selective population of adult learners who are middle-class, have average academic ability, and who are studying mathematics. The study is hardly an answer to the ills facing public education. The challenge facing America’s educators is to find an instructional method that works effectively with youthful, lower-class, underachieving students who are studying a variety of different subjects. If and when such a method should ever be found, we will all jump on the bandwagon.

To accommodate or not to accommodate—that is the question? Rita Dunn stands firmly on the side of accommodation. Schools should make students comfortable. Joyce and Weil (1996), however, stand on the opposite side of the issue. Schools should create an environment in which students are uncomfortable.

Why? Non-accommodation provides the conditions necessary for change and growth. If the environment merely accommodates students’ learning styles, they may become too comfortable and complacent to change. “Significant growth requires discomfort. If the environment and the student are too much in harmony, the student is permitted to operate at a level of comfort that does not require the challenge of growth” (pp. 389-90). Teachers should strive to create a dynamic disequilibrium in the classroom. “Rather than match teaching approaches to students in such a way as to minimize discomfort, our task is to expose the students to new teaching modalities that will, for some time, be uncomfortable to them” (p. 390). Growth necessitates change. If our students are going to grow, they must give up their “comfortable ways of thinking and survive the buffeting involved in taking on unfamiliar ideas, skills, and values” (p. 397). The purpose of education is to create “environments that impel us to change, not discarding what we were at any given stage, but learning to build on it productively” (p. 397).

The Dunn and Dunn Model of Learning Styles is an elaborate tautology. Teachers and students, we are told, do not natively know their learning styles. Such knowledge is not evident to the naked eye. The only way anyone can really know his or her learning style is to complete the Dunn and Dunn Learning Styles Instrument (LSI) with its 21 (or 23) variables. Once students’ choices have been recorded, they are told what their learning styles are. To assist students in remembering their styles, a large chart illustrating all the different learning styles is placed in the classroom. From beginning to end, the whole process runs in a self-confirming circle. The Dunns’ model illustrates a truism: Whoever formulates the definition controls the conclusions. If we define “man as a rational animal,” then we conclude with Aristotle that “the good life is one of rational contemplation.” Likewise, if we accept the Dunns’ definition of learning styles, we are at one and the same time endorsing their conclusions.

Rita Dunn (1988) claims that her system of instruction based on learning styles has produced “statistically higher test scores, improved attitudes toward school and learning, and reduced number of discipline problems” (p. 3). Students using learning styles have shown gains equal to 75% of a standard deviation. Such claims, if confirmed by independent researchers, would indeed be impressive. There is, however, room for serious doubt. Critics claim Dunn’s research is murky at best (O’Neil, 1990, p. 7). What starts off wrong (confused thinking) cannot be made right (elaborate statistics).

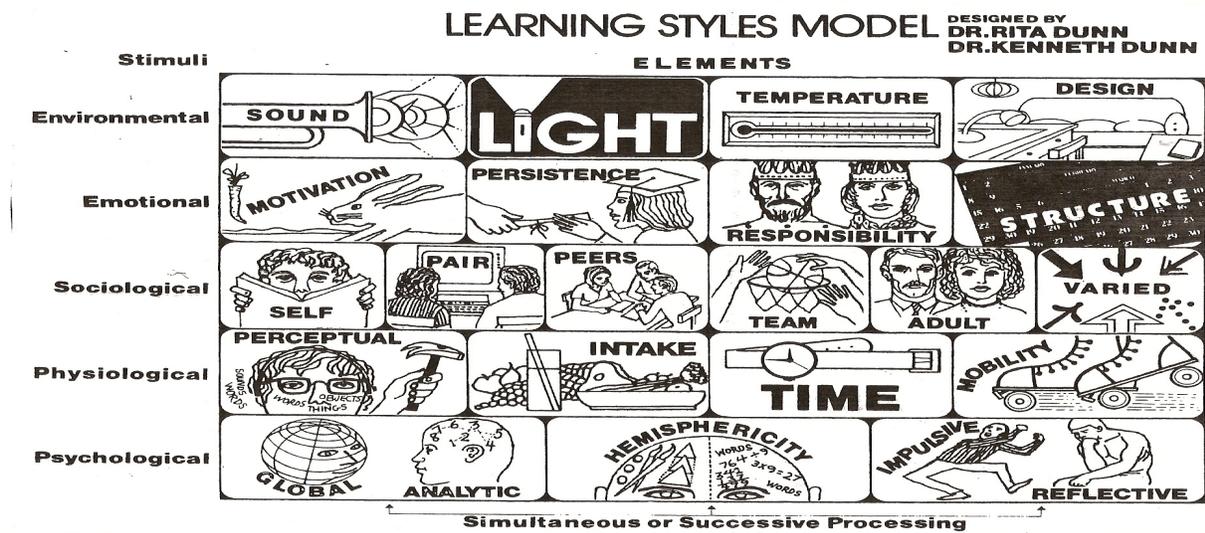
Remember the story of the Hubble Telescope. The lenses were ground to the wrong specifications.

Someone mixed two number systems, feet and meters. Scientists did not discover the error until the telescope was in outer space. The elaborate, expensive instrument provided blurred pictures of the cosmos. The telescope had to be refitted by the astronauts before it would send back the desired images. The same is true of any instrument. No tool is any better than the thinking

(mathematics and grinding) that has gone into it. If the thinking behind an instrument is muddled and confused, there isn't any way of obtaining a clear picture (validity) of what it purports to measure. Meta-analysis, given a patchwork instrument, is merely another instance of smoke and mirrors.

APPENDIX A

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CULTURAL HYBRIDITY: PRESCHOOL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OF LATINO IMMIGRANTS

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Abstract

The present opinion piece proposes a revolutionary change in the position Latino residents hold in American society. They deserve a voice in community decision-making, including input into their children's education (Bhabha, 1994; Valdes, 1996). For U.S. schools to zealously support the educating of children of immigrants is to fulfill the mandates of our own precious Bill of Rights.

In response to Neo-Liberal configurations of transnational capitalism, or Bhaba's "containerized, computerized" world of global trade, the author suggests negotiation into new states of collaborative action between natives and newcomers to correct the colonialist "caste" system (Bhabha, 1994; Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002), wherein workers are welcome as long as they work hard at disgusting, dangerous jobs and make no demands. She challenges the New-Darwinism (Bhabha) that correlates industry and ingenuity with success, calling for affirmation of Latino faith and family honor (Valdes, 1996; Wortham et al., 2002). She asserts that research indicates racial prejudice or misinformation to be one of several key factors in Latino children's school problems (Valdes, 1996; Wortham et al., 2002).

To accomplish change in American education, the author synthesizes research, suggesting "best practices" for English language learners in public preschool, including Spanish-only Pre-K (Cummins, 1994), two-way bilingual elementary school programs (Slavin & Cheung, 2005), balanced mainstreaming and "nesting" (Igoa), and writing/drawing-to-read (Drucker, 2003; Igoa, 1995; Rubin & Carlan, 2005). Affirming the home language and culture, educational goals and values (Valdes, 1996) brings the migrant child out of victimization through "social death" (Bhabha) and into the light of true agency within the educative process.

Introduction

There is a longstanding tradition in historiography to embrace a deficit theory regarding indigenous and native peoples and ethnic minorities(). As early as 1938 a Maori scientist recorded Polynesian navigation by Orion's Belt over the some 2500 miles to Hawai'i. However, because such a feat predated Western determination of longitude, a 1956 anthropologist hypothesized that those ancient voyagers had merely drifted off course and found land fortuitously (Kana'iaupuni, 2005). Only after a contemporary Hawaiian canoe retraced that route without modern navigational aids was the traditional account given

credence. Thus, it is apparent that discourses are used to privilege some groups and justify the inferiority of others (Foucault, 1977; Louie, 2005).

In the 1960s, racist ideology even blamed poverty on culture that is, the deficient inherent character flaws of the racial minorities. If the poor are lazy and shiftless, then "they are poor *because* they are lazy and shiftless" (*Ibid.*, p. 33). Kenneth B. Clark posits that racial prejudice is a disease with dire consequences, especially to vulnerable children of all races (Slaughter-Defoe, 2005). Kana'iaupuni charges that "we cannot control the use of knowledge to support blood quantum politics, assimilationist ideology, and legal maneuvering that continues to erode the identity...of indigenous (peoples) (*Ibid.*).

People of color should be viewed as whole persons "for whom ... (ethnicity) is an important part of their lives, and for whom systemic changes in schools are required in order to serve and teach them" (Slaughter-Defoe, 2005, p. 41). Families need encouragement to build their children's home language skills at home and in the community while adding English as a second language (Paneque, 2006). Instead of classroom practices growing out of "bureaucratic regulations" (Borman, 2005), we must look to research for best practice in closing the educational gap between privileged and minorities.

I will assume without argument that the overarching goal of education is providing equal opportunity to all of our children, regardless of race, religion, country of origin, or socioeconomic level. I will argue that colonial ideology has driven our reluctance to welcome newcomers and has fueled our acceptance of immigrants as servants to be exploited. I will show how racial prejudice remains a key contributor to inequities in US public schools and has undergirded institutional marginalizing structures. I will assert that best practice for Spanish-speaking preschoolers is Spanish-only, followed by two-way bilingual programs which support development of reciprocal respect among native English speaking students and English language learners.

Immigrants are subject to the colonialist "caste" system present in the United States wherein they are welcomed as long as they work hard at stressful, dangerous jobs but make no demands (Valdes, 1996; Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002). They meet further resistance to full incorporation into our society due to the neonationalistic backlash driven by fear of losing racial privilege (Valdes, 1996; Wortham et al.,

2002).

The present educational system in the U.S. produces ever-widening gaps between whites and the poor and minorities. The dropout rate for Mexican immigrant youth from sixteen to nineteen years old overall is 49% (Louie, 2005). This is unconscionable! Our common goal must be to increase opportunity and social mobility by eliminating racial and ethnic barriers (Slaughter-Defoe, 2005).

Several studies recommend Spanish-only instruction in preschool for Mexican children who do not speak English (Cummins, 1994). Such a practice will support their early literacy development in the home language before introduction of English as a second language. Once English is introduced, researchers recommend building on the child's background of phonics skills in the home language and lived experience through student fabrication of personal stories in filmstrips (Drucker, 2003; Igoa, 1995; Rubin & Carlan, 2005) and writing or drawing to read. Two-way bilingual programs show the greatest promise for nurturing home language and supporting the development of mutual respect within educational institutions.

Bilingualism can best be perceived as a proficiency or strength. It provides a sense of community belonging, diminishes marginalization, and improves cognitive performance (Louie, 2005). Additionally, it facilitates entry into the labor market and family relationships.

Causal Factors

Research points to several causal factors for the achievement gap among minorities. These factors are, in descending order: family income, characteristics and language, teacher-student interactions, school/class composition, and school financing (Valdes, 1996). Due to institutional discrimination and low achievement expectations of teachers and peers, minority students begin to buy into the deficiency idea and lose hope. Some adopt a negative perspective and "develop identities in opposition to (the school opportunity structure)" (Louie, 2005). When 75% of the class is labeled "abnormal," ought we not to reexamine our definition of "normal" (Senge, Cambren-McCabe, Lucas, Smith, Dutton, & Kleiner, 2000). The "one-size-fits-all" curriculum causes motivation to decline with each passing year. What we call disability, according to Senge and associates in *Schools That Learn* (2000), "is in truth a description of mismatch between educational process and person" (p. 40). Often children of immigrants are stigmatized by associations with problems from their native countries. They must negotiate social mirroring, with its "corrosive effect on ... identities" (*Ibid.*, p. 92). "Best practice" for the

psychological well-being of children of immigrants comprises a balance between mainstreaming and "nesting," or providing secure safe spaces in familiar surroundings in school (Igoa, 1995).

Possibility of Change

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) mandates that American education be equitable to children from low-income families. Its logic, however, is founded on a theory of deficiency within minority cultures. Educators must reject this ideology. Bhabha (1994) suggests that we move to create revolutionary change at "liminal points" through borderline engagements at spaces of possibility. He presents the metaphor of the staircase between floors, where the present situation is neither one nor the other, but a negotiated shift or metamorphosis into a new state of being.

We must challenge the New Darwinism which correlates cultural characteristics like frugality, temperance, industry perseverance, ingenuity with success (Bhabha, 1994). Educators can turn critiques of Latinos as fatalistic and familistic into appreciation of strength in faith and family, including respect for elders and honoring relatives by moral acts (DeVries & Zan, 1994, Valdes, 1996). Teachers can show they value families by using anti-bias curricula which supports social justice and cooperative problem-solving among students (Williams & Cooney, 2005). We must invite reciprocal communication in deference to the strengths minority families bring to the educational process (Williams and Cooney, 2005). We must offer newcomers a voice in community decision-making (Valdes, 1996).

Conclusion

In summary, the present opinion piece proposes a revolutionary change in the position Latino residents hold in American society. They deserve a voice in community decision-making, including input into their children's education (Bhabha, 1994; Valdes, 1996). For U.S. schools to zealously support the educating of children of immigrants is to fulfill the mandates of our own precious Bill of Rights.

In response to Neo-Liberal configurations of transnational capitalism, or Bhabha's "containerized, computerized" world of global trade, I suggest negotiation into new states of collaborative action between natives and newcomers to correct the colonialist "caste" system (Bhabha, 1994; Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002), wherein workers are welcome as long as they work hard at disgusting, dangerous jobs and make no demands. Furthermore, I challenge the New-Darwinism (Bhabha) that correlates industry and ingenuity with success, calling for affirmation of Latino faith and family honor (Valdes,

1996; Wortham et al., 2002). Finally, I assert that research indicates racial prejudice or misinformation to be one of several key factors in Latino children's school problems (Valdes, 1996; Wortham et al., 2002).

To accomplish change in American education, I point to research suggesting "best practices" for English language learners in public preschool, including Spanish-only Pre-K (Cummins, 1994), two-way bilingual elementary school programs (Slavin & Cheung, 2005), balanced mainstreaming and "nesting" (Igoa), and writing/drawing-to-read (Drucker, 2003; Igoa, 1995; Rubin & Carlan, 2005). Affirming the home language and culture, educational goals and values (Valdes, 1996) brings the migrant child out of victimization through "social death" (Bhabha) and into the light of true agency within the educative process.

More research is needed on effective reciprocal communication at community levels of functioning. We must seek to know more about social relationships and

optimal survival in a healthy and respectful environment of reciprocal decision-making.

New immigration from economically disadvantaged countries has skyrocketed, complicating educational decision-making. By 2015, children of immigrants will comprise 30% of American K-12th grade students (Louie, 2005). We must seek to know people holistically, and to respect families and their contributions to their children's education, to achieve Bhabha's syncretism of native and immigrant life principles. We must recognize, respect, and reciprocate (*Ibid.*). In the words of Dan Gartrell, professor of early childhood education at Bemidji, "We will value what is human in the education process. We will let pressure for academic performance affect us less in how we relate to the children in our classrooms... We will see teaching as being from a heart to a heart" (Gartrell, 2005, p. 71).

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VIOLENCE, HABITS, AND THE WAYS OF PRACTICAL MEN

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Introduction

What is violence? Is it a habit? Is it a product of our society? Is it inherent in the genetic makeup of humankind? Is violence ever the right response or that of the ignorant, poor and poorly educated? Is war violence if it is justified – or can war ever be justified – or is war violence no matter how necessary?

Violence as a Response to Evil

Dewey links the idea of habits, arts, and the environment. He tries to show that morals and morality cannot be the private possessions of the self. Morals and morality take root in the self as a result of the society or environment surrounding the person. If violence or non-violence is a habit, then, using Dewey's definition, this habit is influenced by society or the environment. Dewey says there is a time for non-resistance and a time to resist evil. "Non-resistance to evil which takes the form of paying no attention to it is a way of promoting it... there are circumstances in which passive resistance may be the most effective form of nullification of a wrong action..." (Dewey, 2002, p. 17). Ah...how to know when to act or refrain from action?

Black Elk Speaks (Black Elk & Neihardt, 2000) presents another view of violence as a response to evil. The Oglala evidently had violent interludes with other tribes. But according to Black Elk's account, the Oglala did not seek out the Wasichu (White man) on the Wasichu lands to kill them, but only killed the Wasichu when they trespassed onto the Indian lands promised to the Oglala by treaties signed and written by the Wasichu. But it was okay to kill (and often violently kill) under such circumstances.

Wasichu demonstrated again and again throughout the early history of the United States they were quite foolish, if not outright stupid, in their treatment of the native tribes. Their violence toward the Indians grew from a root of fear, which was nourished by greed and selfishness. From our "enlightened" perspective it is easy to see where the soldiers, politicians, and settlers made their errors. But if we go back to Dewey, these Whites were merely products of their own moral and ethical upbringing and environments.

Changing Habits and Culture as an Act of Violence

In the mid-1800s, the world was changing. The Indian ways no longer fit. *In the White Man's Image* (Lesiak, 1992) depicts Colonel Richard Henry Pratt as desiring to help the Indians survive as individuals. Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, sought to civilize the Indian by banning native culture

and language. Though his methods were cruel, he acted in what he believed were the best interests of both the Indians and the Whites. He tried to change the habits of the Indian, *à la Dewey*, to that of the White.

The essence of habit is an acquired predisposition to ways or modes of response, not to particular acts, except as, under special conditions, these express a way of behaving. Habit means special sensitiveness or accessibility to certain classes of stimuli, standing predilections and aversions, rather than bare recurrence of specific acts. It means will.

(Dewey, 2002, p. 42)

Unfortunately, the Indian prisoners and school children had no choice but to cut their hair, wear the required uniforms, and attend classes to learn to read and write. What else were they going to do? One may always hope and dream of freedom; but one must survive should the opportunity for freedom present itself. The Indians acted as though they had acquired the habits of the Whites, and some actually retained those habits. But more often than not, the Indians "went back to the blanket" at the first opportunity.

Dewey's discussion of objective and subjective morals is applicable to this scenario. The Indians, both the adult prisoners and the children in the boarding schools, were able to carry their old habits into their new environments.

... a good which the existing environment denies.

For this self moving temporarily, in isolation from objective conditions, between a good, a completeness, that has been and one that it is hoped to restore in some new form... (2002, p. 55)

If the Indians could be kept from returning to their ways, could they be successfully transformed into the image of the Whites?

... (W)hen a person is in some respects at odds with his environment and so has to act for the time being as the sole agent of a good, he in many respects is still supported by objective conditions and is in possession of undisturbed goods and virtues. ... But subjective morals taken wholesale sets up a solitary self without objective ties and sustenance. In fact, there exists a shifting mixture of vice and virtue. ... a severance of moral desire and purpose from immediate actualities is an inevitable phase of activity when habits persist, while the world which they have incorporated alters. ... in a changing world, old habits must perforce need modification, no matter how good they have been. (Dewey, 2002, pp. 55-56)

But is the destruction of personal habits and culture justifiable just because they are not the personal habits/culture of the majority or the oppressor?

Can an oppressor transform another people into its image by denying the oppressed their native habits and culture? If a language and culture are forcibly removed and replaced by the image of the oppressor, is not the result a people that are neither oppressor nor native, but a hybrid at home in neither world? Does violence ever work to transform anyone for the better? Do we not, as humans, either acquiesce for a time just to survive, or die in the process? Death does not have to be literal in order to be a reality. Is killing (literally or figuratively) ever morally justified? I submit that the act of depriving another of his/her dignity and freedom through violence not only damages the oppressed, but also harms the oppressor.

Education as a Tool for Oppression

The Indians' situation has some things in common with slavery. The slaves were forcibly removed from their native lands and forced to live in a different culture. They were at the mercy of their owners. However, Pratt insisted the Indians learn to read and write, while slaveholders made it illegal to teach slaves to read and write. They knew the powerful civilizing influence of literacy. Slave owners could not afford to have slaves who understood their plight. Most slaves didn't know the habits/culture of their ancestral homelands. They were not allowed full participation in the White culture and were denied their own. Unlike the Indians, the slaves could not "go back to the blanket" for there was none.

Frederick Douglass (2001) learned to read and write and, just as his Master Ault predicted, became dissatisfied with his life. He developed the idea of what freedom could be and began to form habits (reading, writing, teaching others to read, learning a trade, discovering how to get to the North) that would lead him to acquiring freedom.

But, a wish gets definite form only in connection with an idea, and an idea gets shape and consistency only when it has a habit back of it. Only when a man can already perform an act of right posture and only then can he summon the idea required for proper execution. The act must come before the thought, and a habit before an ability to evoke the thought at will. (Dewey, 2002, p. 30)

Slaveholders used violence to develop the habits of obedience and servility. If violence is the result of fear, then the slaveholders must have been terribly afraid of their slaves. Slave owners twisted Christianity in an effort to justify slavery and its accompanying brutality. It's amazing what humans will do to rationalize evil deeds and deny guilt. If you can justify and rationalize

an action, no matter how evil, then you don't have to deal with consequences. If an entire society agrees with or encourages the rationalization, then there are no apparent consequences. (I think there are consequences, whether visible or not, for evil diminishes everyone.)

The Habits and Customs of Practical Men

Dewey's statement that customs, or habits, "...exist because individuals face the same situation and react in like fashion" (2002, p. 58) can be construed to relate to the customs of war and violence. On the surface it does not seem to be an adequate explanation for the perpetuation of the institution of slavery, however Dewey's discussion of the "practical" men who use the dynamics of habit and custom for their own profit comes close.

They dominate the actual situation. They encourage routine in others, and they also subsidize such thought and learning as are kept remote from affairs. This they call sustaining the standard of the ideal. Subjection they praise as team-spirit, loyalty, devotion, obedience, industry, law-and-order. But they temper respect for the law – by which they mean the order of the existing status – on the part of others with most skillful and thoughtful manipulation of it in behalf of their own ends.

While they denounce as subversive anarchy signs of independent thought, of thinking for themselves, on the part of others lest such thought disturb the conditions by which they profit, they think quite literally *for* themselves, that is *of* themselves. This is the eternal game for practical men. (2002, p. 68)

This reminds me of the attitudes of the slaveholders described by Douglass (2001). By making sure the status quo of slavery was deemed right via support from religion and the law, the White slaveholders were guaranteed their habits, desires, and, most of all, power continued to be the *habit* of the land.

Politicians and corporate leaders also practice to dominate the situation. Clever manipulation of the mass media helps convince the people that the elite view is the right view. Critical thinking and analysis are discouraged. Only those in power are allowed to engage in such potentially destructive activity. Woe to those who dare to question, who dare to do the morally courageous, who dare to think and **act** independently of the nationally (or regionally or locally) accepted moral behavior – behavior that may have only been *right* because it lined the pockets of the "practical" with money and power, but may never have truly been morally right for those against whom it was practiced, i.e., slavery.

Malcolm X (Bagwell, 1994) dared to question the custom and morality of the White man's system and oppression of the Black man. His answer was to build

up the self-image and self-esteem of Blacks and to preach hatred of the White Devil. He advocated violence, if not actually incitement to riot, at least as a theory of change. This, naturally, frightened Whites and conservative Blacks such as the NAACP. Were Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam right to preach hatred and violence in an attempt to change the habits, customs and morals of the United States? Is it ever right to take on the characteristics of the oppressor – become the oppressor – as a means of changing the habits and customs of a people?

And the Practical Men Still Make Their Practical Choices

While Henry David Thoreau (1849) deplored war or violence as a means to change the habits or customs of a people, William James (1906) takes the view that the nature of humankind leans toward characteristics or habits that are expressed in war-like behavior. However, we have moved beyond the old warring behaviors of attacking others for the sole purpose of looting and mastery. Now we must see ourselves as liberating those who are oppressed by an evil regime or are attacked by an enemy bent on conquering for the sake of conquest. Iraq was described as possessing weapons of mass destruction and Saddam Hussein was said to have the will to use them. He had already used such weapons against his own people. He was cruel and evil. Therefore, justification was provided for removing him from power and transforming the Iraqi government into a democracy. Therefore, the U.S. was not wrong, but justified in attacking Iraq, rather than waiting to be attacked. Or so, the Bush PR campaign goes.

It may even reasonably be said that the intensely sharp *preparation* for war by the nations is the *real* war, permanent, unceasing; and that the battles are only a sort of public verification of the mastery gained during the “peace”-interval. (James, 1906, para. 9)

War, especially preparation for war, is big business in the U.S. Companies such as Lockheed-Martin, Hughes, General Motors, Delco, and others spend a great deal of time and money pursuing military contracts and developing weapons during peace time. Preparation has become the custom and morality of the nation. We must always be prepared. Even during peace we are making sure we have enough instruments to back up our claim of being a major world power. But does this support the notion that those who are prepared are war-like and violent?

Arendt (1996) makes a distinction between power

and violence.

Power and violence are opposite; where the one rules absolutely, the other is absent. Violence appears where power is in jeopardy, but left to its own course it ends in power’s disappearance. This implies that it is not correct to think of the opposite of violence as nonviolence; to speak of nonviolent power is actually redundant. Violence can destroy power; it is utterly incapable of creating it. (1996, p. 144)

Saddam Hussein would seem to be the poster-child for the idea that violence can destroy power. But, does the U.S. run the same risk when it decides to attack another sovereign nation that does not share the same customs and morals? Slaveholders used violence as a means to ensure their power and they, too, lost in the end. The custom of racism is dying hard. It continues to live as men and women try to cling to old habits that no longer function. Malcolm X knew that violence can destroy power, but the people who would destroy the existing power must be ready to fill that void. Violence can destroy the very power that wields it even as it seeks to destroy the enemy.

Can the U.S., even supposing the motive was pure to liberate the Iraqi people and depose a tyrant, replace a system of government with democracy by violently removing Saddam Hussein and filling the void with a form of government that isn’t the habit and custom of the people? Especially since the revolution did not come from the people? Can we ever successfully, or quickly, change the habits, customs, and morals of a people through the use of violence?

Fear – The Root of Violence

Fear is at the root of many forms of violence. Many people keep loaded guns to protect themselves against named and unnamed bogey-men. Children pick up the lessons – whether the lessons are voiced or not. So if the way to protect is to have force at the ready, then should we wonder that our children see guns as a means to settle disputes, take out the bogey-man, and get what they desire from those who resist?

Violence rarely transforms anyone or any society. Our history keeps presenting the lesson again and again. It would seem we haven’t yet learned this lesson. How many more peoples and cultures will the Wasichu refuse to see as fully human and endowed with their own right to choose? How many more times will the Wasichu insist that his ways are the only way? How long before the violence destroys even the mighty Wasichu who wield it, or has it already?

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GARLAND GODFREY'S CRUSADE FOR CHANGE AT CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE

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In the 1960s, the United States promised its citizens an era of prosperity and growth. As the society around them rapidly evolved and its technological complexity advanced, average American citizens quickly understood that their future success depended on higher levels of personal training.¹ College campuses, crammed with recipients of aid from *The Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944* (GI Bill) and the newly arriving "baby boomer" generation, soon served as microcosms of the larger social atmosphere, and academic officials worked to ensure the necessary services for students to meet their desired goals.² Administrators at Central State College, "the oldest institution of higher learning in Oklahoma," faced tremendous operational challenges, and the small campus remained no exception to the evolving national trends of turmoil and controversy.³ In Edmond, rights of eminent domain clashed with rights of private ownership, resulting in local social unrest, and quite often, heartbreak.

The Board of Regents of Oklahoma Colleges selected Dr. Garland Alonzo Godfrey (1909-present) to assume the school's presidency in 1960.⁴ Voicing his personal philosophy, he stated his facility "must meet the challenges set for it—it must continue to grow and strive for higher standards."⁵ Defending the institution's best interests, he utilized his appointed authority to assert the legal right of eminent domain and successfully purchased surrounding homes for necessary expansions.⁶ Godfrey's actions elicited local discontent, as "many people did not want their homes and lives uprooted because the college needed room to grow."⁷ A highly controversial and narrowly approved community vote authorized a proposed urban renewal project in the fall of 1965.⁸ President Godfrey's actions during the early years of the 1960s caused heated controversy in his small community, but his prudent and adept decisions provided for desperately needed expansions to the Central State College campus in Edmond, Oklahoma.

From 1940 to 1960, this peaceful town, located a short drive north from the state's capital of Oklahoma City, swelled in population from 4,002 to 8,577.⁹ By 1959, the local state-supported institution's officials pondered how to alleviate badly over-crowded campus conditions.¹⁰ Godfrey, fully appreciating the difficult situation awaiting him, and stating at his job interview, "I'm ready to meet that challenge," clearly envisioned the days ahead as a great personal opportunity.¹¹ As a polished public educator, Godfrey proclaimed that the

"[t]raining of youth, our most valuable resource, must not be neglected."¹² He, having earned a doctorate in school administration from Oklahoma State University in 1957, had served as Superintendent of Schools at Pryor and Durant, before accepting the local institution's presidency in 1960.¹³ Knowing the Board of Regents of Oklahoma Colleges trusted his judgment, Godfrey also thought he stood a good chance of gaining their approval when he recommended the assertion of eminent domain rights, as a practical means of acquiring acreage for badly needed campus expansions.¹⁴

Realizing that future growth meant efficiently utilizing limited funds, he turned to the school's comptroller, Alvin Alcorn.¹⁵ He had hired Alcorn to watch over the school's meager finances, and Godfrey now instructed him to design a workable budgetary system.¹⁶ Working with his assertive comptroller, he carefully considered his options and decided to assert the institution's legal right of eminent domain, as allowed in the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Godfrey realized if he gained the authority through and approval from state officials, that properties of private citizens could be taken in a specified manner: Governmental representatives must use acquired lands for public use and justly compensate owners for their losses.¹⁷ Godfrey went to work planning the necessary strategy, and Comptroller Alcorn joined in the efforts to remove surrounding homes.¹⁸

According to a local newspaper, the college "sat in the middle of a homey neighborhood, with tree lined streets and people who had known each other all their lives. There were well tended gardens, prized pecan trees and people with roots as deep as the trees."¹⁹ Wanting to avoid controversy among the local residents, primarily retirees residing in what constituted the town's originally settled area, Godfrey instructed Alcorn to include an additional ten percent to the recommended purchase amounts.²⁰ For Alcorn, this particular time period produced the most difficult moments of his tenure.²¹ He later recalled, "Going into those old people's homes, with their gardens and pecan groves and telling them we were going to buy their homes. It brings tears to the eyes."²²

Trying though the experience may have been for college officials, many affected homeowners also suffered personal distress and anguish. The Baird family, residing at 312 North Roberts, understood the school's rights and agreed to accept purchase terms.²³

Despite the couple's acquiescence, David Baird recalled that in the summer of 1959, he had overheard his mother, Faye Shinn Baird, "telling someone on the telephone that the way she was losing her house was 'communistic.'"²⁴ Regardless of the couple's initial misgivings about the situation, the Bairds retained positive feelings toward Godfrey.²⁵

Some owners resisted the school's right of eminent domain and entered prolonged negotiations with college officials. Fred Truman Shope and his wife, Erma Irene Baird Shope, relatives of the Bairds, resided next door at 314 North Roberts.²⁶ This family "did not want to leave—at all!"²⁷ Godfrey emphasized to Shope that the college's legal rights meant they "could take his land with or without his approval but would like to see him satisfied."²⁸ Although negotiations turned into a tedious affair, the two men reportedly developed "a genuine respect for one another during the process."²⁹ The following January, the Shope family conceded and agreed to relocate by 1 May 1961.³⁰ The settlement they received added security to the couple's retirement years, and Shope, later personally thanking Godfrey for moving him, commented, "I've got carpet on my floor now and ... my house is real nice."³¹

In addition to acquiring acreage for expansion, Godfrey dealt with other operational challenges from 1960-1965. Outpacing allocated funds, attendance levels soared at the state's smallest college.³² In October 1961, the Oklahoma State Board of Regents for Higher Education provided the school's officials with "\$225,000 for modernization and repair and \$1,475,000 for new buildings," while Godfrey also received authorization to proceed with his plans for the construction of a new administration building, a classroom/fieldhouse, and renovations to the Old North Tower. *The Edmond Sun* reported that even after the "completion of added facilities, Central's total instructional floor space per student will increase only from 66 sq. ft. to an estimated 75 sq. ft.," still far below the national average of 175.³³ By 1962, the fall semester's student-teacher ratios, surpassing suggested levels of seventeen to one, stood at twenty-seven pupils per instructor.³⁴ Frustrations also arose that year over parking, as only 1,000 spaces existed to accommodate 3,141 registered vehicles.³⁵

Throughout the year 1962, Godfrey and his administrators continued to acquire acreage for needed expansion through piece-meal purchases of surrounding properties. The school's officials struggled daily to provide quality services, and their plight did not go unheeded. Meeting with regents for higher education in April 1963, the director of college and university administration of the U.S. Office of Education noted 62,500 students had chosen to continue their educations

in Oklahoma, with four-fifths of that number attending state-supported institutions. Highlighting the local campus's conditions, he remarked, "Take Central State College at Edmond ... it is running out at the ears ... it is the outstanding example of overcrowding." He added that, due to both the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University also operating at capacities for enrollment, legislators should make every attempt to ensure they provided adequate funding for "greatly increased facilities and faculties and expansion."³⁶

That fall, school officials realized a 478.4 percent growth rate had occurred over the past decade.³⁷ Campus rolls indicated students originated from seventy-six of Oklahoma's seventy-seven counties, sixteen different states, and ten foreign nations.³⁸ Faced with the daunting task of providing quality services for their many pupils, administrators scheduled sessions utilizing all available space. For example, the home economics teachers conducted their classes down in the girl's dormitory basement.³⁹ In response to dangerously crowded chemistry labs, regents had already approved construction to enlarge the science building, and Godfrey's objectives for long-range development included acquiring "roughly 85 more acres of land, which would almost triple the size of the present 43 acre campus."⁴⁰

Besides such concerns over campus growth, by 1964, Central's administrators clearly perceived no reprieve to their worries regarding funding shortages. That May, a local newspaper's lead story began with the words: "The board of regents cut the melon Monday for the next school year, and as usual, Central State got mostly seeds and rind. The shorting of the local college in the annual appropriation ritual is nothing new, but this time it appears quite serious." The article blasted both past and present Oklahoma legislatures for having "fallen into the habit of writing hot checks for higher education" and stated the regents' total appropriations of \$29,277,063 for the eighteen state-supported schools fell \$4,277,824 short of estimated fiscal needs; the regents planned to distribute \$6,122,918.67 to the University of Oklahoma and \$6,183,576.61 to Oklahoma State University, while Central State College stood to receive only \$1,491,723.28, about \$212,805 short of projected needs.⁴¹

Despite such financial hardship, crucial campus enlargements took top priority in 1964. With the Johnson Administration's urban renewal programs offering municipalities funds to make capital improvements at a great discount, Godfrey decided to use assistance from national sources to facilitate his local goals.⁴² An informational meeting for the community occurred on 4 August 1964, and approximately 200 citizens, a group described in a

newspaper account as “surging youth against reluctant elders,” assembled in the college’s student union building.⁴³ The school’s officials stated they expected over 6,500 pupils to attend fall classes, and Godfrey explained, “We have 150 applications for married student housing now we can’t meet. We had 20 acres in 1960, have 75 now and we hope to have a total of 150 for the near future.” One speaker also informed the crowd, “the college, expecting a 10,000 enrollment by 1970.”⁴⁴

Despite such efforts to alleviate operational difficulties, the worries and concerns of previous years lingered into 1965. President Godfrey recognized an all-too-familiar pattern when state allocations failed to provide adequately for his facility’s needs; the monies covered an anticipated enrollment of 4,890, while 6,661 people registered for classes.⁴⁵ Campus statistics revealed those in attendance heralded from twenty-eight states, included twenty representatives from international locations, and the college’s student-teacher ratio had climbed to thirty-to-one.⁴⁶ While three other state institutions provided more than 200 square feet of instructional space per student, Central’s pupils remained confined to only fifty-four.⁴⁷ Godfrey broached the subject of urban renewal once again in a letter dated 14 May 1965. He informed city leaders that the Board of Regents for Oklahoma Colleges, having met on 12 May 1965, had authorized him to request their help in applying for the possible national funding.⁴⁸

The federal Housing and Home Financing Agency, located in Fort Worth, Texas, served as the regional headquarters for Oklahoma-based urban renewal projects.⁴⁹ Under Oklahoma law, a municipality’s citizenry determined whether large-scale community improvements proceeded.⁵⁰ The acreage destined for change in Edmond contained approximately 350 neighborhood homes, but after consideration, leaders voted to try for initiation of a local program.⁵¹ The council scheduled a referendum election for 14 September 1965.⁵² The project’s advocates found they “had quite a struggle” on their hands in Edmond.⁵³ Encountering stiff competition from conservative community members, they watched the citywide campaign evolve into a hotly debated ordeal. Of the 1,802 ballots received, the issue passed by a mere forty-eight votes.⁵⁴

Godfrey knew if his administrators could further demonstrate to the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education that they had been, or were actively seeking, to purchase additional lands for expansion, Central State College would then be qualified to receive a \$6.1 million allotment of proposed building bond funds.⁵⁵ However, as with his earlier eminent domain actions,

Godfrey’s efforts elicited mixed and emotion-laden local responses. Some citizens affected by official policies and procedures grumbled and complained about the methodology used in acquiring their properties.⁵⁶ As in the Shope case, some owners resented leaving behind carefully nurtured fruit trees, while one resident found the concept of parting with a pond particularly distressing.⁵⁷

Resentment against the federally funded project festered throughout the winter and into the following spring. In March, a group, calling themselves the Citizens League for Responsible Government, circulated an anti-urban renewal petition.⁵⁸ Godfrey responded to the controversy by stating, “I’d be happy to meet with any of the people who are disgruntled or misinformed and take all the time that’s needed to explain our position to them.”⁵⁹ Protesters called for current progress to be halted and for a second citywide election, to be held 7 June 1966, to determine the hotly debated issue. The expansion program’s advocates remained optimistic as the legal furor unfolded.⁶⁰ When questioned about the initiative, Godfrey, expressing his disappointment, replied, “I can’t believe anyone knowing the facts and problems we have in providing for students can support this action which could thwart the growth of the college.”⁶¹

On 18 April 1966, over twenty protesters crowded into the city council’s chambers to witness the presentation of the completed petition.⁶² As the explosive issue caused such uproar among the small community’s populace, the League of Women Voters later sponsored a public forum at the Edmond American Legion Hut on 9 May 1966.⁶³ An audience, exceeding 100 people, listened quietly to opposing opinions, but booed one speaker for implying “most Central State College students were draft dodgers.”⁶⁴ On 28 June 1966, after conducting his investigations, the city clerk ruled the local group’s petition technically invalid.⁶⁵ An attorney, representing the Citizens League for Responsible Government, then commented, “We believe the petition is sufficient to the law and we definitely anticipate an appeal to the state supreme court.”⁶⁶

The City Council, following a public hearing on 9 January 1967, gave its unanimous approval to the proposed project. Godfrey, realizing the official authorization meant his school’s area would be enlarged to more than 200 acres, referred to the efforts as the “greatest step in the history of the college,” and remarked, “this permits us to plan for the vitally needed expansion of the campus in an orderly way...and make the campus more convenient and a place of which the school, the town, and the state can be proud.”⁶⁷

Protesters, not willing to concede defeat, filed an

MIRLL: GARLAND GODFREY'S CRUSADE FOR CHANGE AT CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE

appeal with the Oklahoma State Supreme Court.⁶⁸ After several months of study, on 28 February 1967, the justices upheld the original Edmond ruling and assured the continuance of the local program.⁶⁹ With the legal battles concluded, Godfrey commented, "It will be about five years before the project will be completed, and the campus beautification goals are met."⁷⁰ The eventual removal of about 400 homes from around the school's campus greatly increased the institution's acreage.⁷¹ By 1968, David Baird noted that his old neighborhood "area was entirely clear," and school officials had begun construction on "a new classroom building, a student union, and acres of parking lots."⁷²

Campus growth and redevelopment continued throughout Godfrey's tenure. Administrators in

Edmond had fought together in the academic trenches and witnessed firsthand the myriad of changes to their small community and campus. Godfrey boldly chose to assert his facility's legal rights, and, under his leadership, an unparalleled amount of growth occurred at the small school. One student exclaimed, "If you would seek to know his accomplishments, look around you."⁷³ Garland Godfrey, making several tough and controversial decisions during the socially turbulent 1960s, ensured his institution's continued prosperity. His dedicated efforts and wise resolutions to assert the right of eminent domain and to utilize federally subsidized urban renewal funds, led to his successfully providing a brighter future for all students attending Central State College in Edmond, Oklahoma.

ENDNOTES

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MIRLL: GARLAND GODFREY'S CRUSADE FOR CHANGE AT CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE

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NORMALIZING STRUCTURES, REBELLIOUS DELINQUENTS: A FOUCAULDEAN READING OF THE BOOK CLUB EXPERIENCE IN A HIGH SCHOOL IN THE MIDWEST

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Abstract

Using Foucault's concepts of normalization and delinquency I examine the book club experience in a predominantly African American High School in the Midwest. The teacher's logs showed that the book *Scorpions*, mainly about gang life, evoked the most reactions and discussions among students. I analyze the teacher's expectations and students' responses to the book club and the book as evidenced in the teacher's logs. Analysis excavates and exposes the power structures and normalizing mechanisms behind both the teacher's assumptions about students and their responses. The teacher's normalizing attempts are revealed as well as the students' rebellious attitudes at times and normalized at others.

Introduction

In this paper I use Foucault's concepts of normalization and delinquency to look at the book club program in a predominantly African American high school in a poor district in the Midwest. I investigate the normalizing mechanisms that underlie the white middle class male teacher's assumptions about the lower class African American students and the students' responses to instruction that is designed to normalize them.

I begin with an analysis of the book club format as an alternative to the traditional reading instruction in the school, showing how the disciplinary system in the school resembles the disciplinary system of the prison in contrast to the relatively freer book club format. Then using Foucault's concepts of normalization and delinquency production as lens, I read the dynamics of the book club experience in this particular school as evidenced in the teacher's logs. The logs document what happened inside the book club classroom from the perspective of the teacher. Therefore, both the documented experiences as well as the perspective of the teacher will be the focus of my analysis. Of special interest and relevance to the theme of this paper is the teacher's description of the class's experience with the book *Scorpions* by Walter Dean Myers. The reason I focus on this book is that the teacher's logs about it reveal his White middle class male assumptions about his lower class African American students as well as the difference in reaction to the theme of gangs that is central to the book. In my analysis I try to look beyond the description of the classroom dynamics to look at the class dynamics influenced by the societal norms and stereotypes. The students' response to this normalizing

instruction was not predictable. Two distinct ways of response were identified by the teacher; a group that refused the book, didn't read it and didn't identify with its theme, and a group that identified with the theme.

Methodology

Using Foucault's concepts of normalization and delinquency as a lens for reading a book club teacher's daily logs, I analyze the book club program in a Midwestern high school, focusing specifically on the power relations and the normalizing mechanisms underlying the teacher's White Middle Class male assumptions about his lower class African American students as he selected the book *Scorpions* and the students' reaction to these untold assumptions.

Background

A Book Club is an alternative framework for reading instruction based on the social constructivist theory which emphasizes learning as a social process for the readers learn by interacting with their peers and with adults (Raphael & McMahon, 1994). To this concept of reading instruction, book clubs add the literature-based aspect. Students learn by reading more books and engaging in discussions and/or debates about themes and concepts from those books. The most popular book club format is the one designed by Raphael and her colleagues (McMahon, Raphael, Goatley, & Pardo, 1997). The book club format they designed has four components; small-group discussions, community-share (whole-class discussions), reading, and individual writing. In the particular book club program I study, the setting is complex and multilayered for the school is located in a community with a history of racial conflict and power struggles.

Of the school population, 87% of the students are African American. Almost all the students receive free or reduced lunches; only three students do not. The school receives Title 1 money-federal funding reserved to help schools with high poverty rates meet the academic standards of the state.

Prison-like structure

The school where the book club experience took place has a strict disciplinary structure much like a prison. It has a security gate with metal detectors and is under police observation. The school's principal walks with a walky-talky device that he uses whenever he needs support from police. Sometimes he calls the police to resolve issues between students. This suggests that the students in this school are deviants needing to

MODHESH: NORMALIZING STRUCTURES, REBELLIOUS DELINQUENTS: A FOUCAULDEAN READING OF THE BOOK CLUB EXPERIENCE IN A HIGH SCHOOL IN THE MIDWEST

be surveilled, controlled, and at times punished.

Part of a program called Gear Up, “a national five-year partnership grant that aims to accelerate and follow the academic achievement of historically under represented students so that increasing numbers will ... complete high school and enroll in college,” (Gear Up) book club is administered through a State University College of Education. The book club is a small branch of the gear up program and is intended to help students who have reading difficulties become better readers by having them read interesting books and engaging in discussions about their readings. The teacher for this particular book club was a graduate student at the administering State University, and the program was part of his duties as a research assistant. He kept daily logs so that he could analyze them later as part of assessing the program.

Students identified as needing special instruction in reading were asked to join the book club, but still had the choice to withdraw whenever they wanted. This choice is given to them so that they feel they are willingly participating in the learning experience. For the sake of my analysis, this is important as an indicator that the students’ reaction to the reading was not due to being forced to be in the class, but to the specific issues or themes they discussed.

Compared with the system of the school that emphasizes discipline and treats the students as potential criminals, the book club format is less restricting. The students noted that “it was better than being in the English class” (Bryan, unpublished report). However, as the dynamics of the book club suggest, this less restricting format unfolds to show a no less normalizing structure. The fact that the students get separated from the rest of their classmates due to their need for a “special instruction” detaches them from the ‘normal’ and sets them as deviants. They need special attention because they are not like others who become the norm. They get to accept this fact about themselves and so participate in the “special format.” This is normalizing even though it might look like freeing them from the disciplined and highly restricting regular classes. Therefore, the book club in this case is both denormalizing and renormalizing. It is denormalizing because it is less disciplinary and less restricting to the students’ freedom than the regular school classes. It is renormalizing because the students who are taken from their classes are assumed to be “at-risk” or “needing a special instruction” and therefore need to be separated from the normal group.

**Dynamics of normalization and delinquency
Books, assumptions, and responses**

The students read several books and filmed scenes

from the book *Monster* by Steve Jackson. Student discussions, according to the teacher’s logs, went fine for the most part. Some students were less enthusiastic about the readings, but they were still all participating to some extent. The teacher then chose a book that he thought would be more appropriate to them as it dealt with a familiar theme, the theme of gang life. The book is *Scorpions* by Walter Dean Myers. After the first reading of the book, the students were engaged in lengthy and at times out-of-control discussions. They engaged in discussions that the teacher could not stop. Although, most of the students liked the book and engaged in discussions about the gang theme, one of the students did not like the book. The teacher’s reaction to the discussions was that he thought he had “picked a winner”.

The reason the choice of the book *Scorpions* is of interest to this paper lies in its theme and in the teacher’s assumption that it is familiar to the students’ lives. The book talks about the story of an African-American boy who is a member of a gang. He manages to get a gun which makes him well respected among his gangsters. The story goes on to explain the internal conflict the boy, Jamal, goes through while trying to decide what to do with the gun and how to keep the respect of the fellow gangsters without the gun.

Obviously the teacher assumed that the students knew about gangs and guns. He brought with him to the classroom his own assumptions about African American teenagers. He assumed that the gang theme is the best theme connected to the students’ lives. This assumption is a normalizing one. It asserts the deviancy of the students and the normalcy of the teacher’s group. By objectifying the students as deviants belonging to groups that know gangs and guns, the teacher constitutes himself as a subject belonging to the ‘normal’ group.

Foucault (1977) describes the distinguishing between the deviant and normal as a constitution of the self as a subject. He talked about penalty in disciplinary institutions as power structures that “compare, differentiate, hierarchise, homogenize, exclude ... [and] in short normalize” (p.183). This normalization is what creates the divisions and binaries of norm and deviation, normal and abnormal, sick and healthy, sane and insane, delinquent and upright citizen, etc. Subjects who do not fit with the norm become objectified by the power of the norm and considered deviant, which implies the need to either discipline or punish or both.

The selection of the book *Scorpions* and the assumption that the students are familiar with the gang theme is such a normalizing act. It compares the students’ group with the teacher’s group; African

Americans with Whites and generalizes all African American youth as deviants, specifically gangsters. The assumption categorizes the character of the book with the students in the book club as having similar lives, interests, and needs. Once the students identify with the gang theme, they accept the power of the norm that has been exercised on them. They are normalized. And this in turn asserts the teacher's subjectivity.

The power of the norm is not exercised directly on the subjects to "exclude" or "repress" them. Instead it "produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (Foucault 1977, p. 194). Thus, the teacher's assumptions are not to be understood as a direct exercise of power over the students to exclude them from the 'norm'. It is the normative power that actually produced the domains of objects which set the African American students as deviants and the White teacher as normal. The teacher is acting from a domain of power that has been set before he started teaching.

"[T]he power of the Norm ... has joined other powers—the Law, the Word (*Parole*) and the Text, Tradition—imposing new delimitations upon them" (Foucault, 1977, p. 184).

Through the combined powers of the law, the word, the text, and tradition, the norm has the power to objectify its subjects, to distribute them around itself as abnormal or subnormal, to distinguish the criminal from the upright citizen, the "at-risk" from the normal student. The classification of the teacher is but a result of the combined powers that objectify the African American students and normalizes them into delinquency.

During the discussion, the teacher referred to his own background knowledge about gangs. Although there was crime in his neighborhood, it was less than what these children considered as normal in their daily lives. The crimes in the teacher's neighborhood never involved gangs or guns. This repeated assertion of the difference between the teacher and the students might have been an effort from the teacher to set a good example for the children so that they might try to follow his ways. But indeed it was no more than a way of emphasizing the whiteness of the teacher, setting it as the norm and emphasizing the blackness of the students and setting it as the 'abnormal'. The teacher shows that the crimes in his white neighborhood never involved gangs or guns, which set them as less deviant than the crimes in the students' black neighborhood. It is as if crimes have "accepted standards" and the crimes of the black fall short to those standards. Even their crimes are abnormal in the world of crimes.

The students are objectified by the very fact that the

teacher considered the gang theme as relevant one to their lives. The assumption is that the society has normal people who do not associate themselves with gangs, and abnormal people who fall short to this standard. According to the teacher's assumption, the students are expected to be enthusiastic about reading the book as it deals with themes from their world, the world of "delinquents."

Normalizing mechanisms directly or indirectly lead to delinquency. Foucault argues that the failure of the prison serves producing delinquency. He asserts that the prison fails to eliminate crime, but it succeeds in "the transformation of the occasional offender into a habitual delinquent" ... [and] "producing the delinquent as a pathologized subject" (Foucault, 1977, pp. 272, 277). Delinquency leads to the "unleash[ing of] disciplinary forces meant to renormalize" (Schwartz, 1999).

Dynamic groups rebelling against the social system by identifying with the gang theme

Foucault asserts that the ruling class and elites alienate the lower class by means of systems and laws that favor only their makers. He noted that most of the crimes are committed by people from the lower classes, people who "lack ... resources and education [and hence] do not know how to remain within the limits of legal probity" (p. 276). So, crimes are actually results of alienation not excuses for it. The dynamic groups in the lower classes reject the laws and regulations as a way of demanding social justice. The law that is set by the ruling class to serve its interests is the same law that punishes deviants. So, the dynamic groups end up in prison and are produced as delinquents. This process is "strategic" to the elites as it alienates the dynamic groups among the lower class reducing the risk of revolution.

The selection of the book *Scorpions* highlighted the teacher's assumption that the AA students are deviant from the norms that fit in the teacher's environment. He thought the book would be a "winner," and when the students confirmed their knowledge of and familiarity with the theme of gangs, it further reaffirmed his assumption. However, in Foucault's terms, the students, by acknowledging their deviance and rejection of the laws, are expressing their struggle against social injustice. They are the ones who are made to be delinquents through the complicated system of which they find themselves obliged to be part. The dialogue between the teacher and students shows an effort from both parties to exhibit their belonging to their respective groups and highlight difference. The teacher talked about coming from a "very White" area where gangs are not common. The students, on the other hand, showed that they did not belong to the

MODHESH: NORMALIZING STRUCTURES, REBELLIOUS DELINQUENTS: A FOUCAULDEAN READING OF THE BOOK CLUB EXPERIENCE IN A HIGH SCHOOL IN THE MIDWEST

environment where the teacher comes from. They identified with the deviants as defined by the system that serves the interests of the teacher. One of the girls confirmed that her brother is in prison because of gang problems. These are the dynamic groups among the low social class. They reject the law and express that in various ways, like joining gangs. The law as a power of the norm is set up in a way that guarantees these groups' continuous delinquency. Not only the law, but even tradition and text guarantee the continuous delinquency of the low social class. In this book club we see that the text and context assume the delinquency of the African American students.

The students had their most heated and prolonged discussions over the book *Scorpions*. Students talked over the top of each other, they shouted sometimes, and sometimes they took things personally. It was a theme they knew and cared about. However, among these students was one who did not like the book or read it. His reason was that the book was written in a Harlem dialect, not Standard English.

One student rejecting delinquency

All the students discussed the gang theme and were critical of the role of the police and media in maintaining gang life as is. They all liked the book except one who thought it was not written in Standard English. The Harlem dialect is spoken by African Americans and is the dialect of the gangsters in the book *Scorpions*. Although all the students identified with the theme of gangs and discussed it, only Salem (not his real name) did not like the language of the book. He said it was not Standard English and so he did not like reading it. Even after the teacher explained to him the different writing styles, and after the other students tried to convince him that the book was a good reading, he still did not want to read it. Salem is not only rejecting the language. He is rejecting the objectification of the African Americans under the name of dialects. If the Harlem dialect is the dialect of the gangster (Jamal) in *Scorpions*, then it is not the best language for the book. As discussed earlier, the word and text have a power that is added to the power of the norm and which works to objectify the abnormal.

Salem's example could be understood as a way of rejecting delinquency from a different point of view as well. The teacher started the book's discussion with questions about whom of the students knew a gang member and who had seen a gun, etc. Questions asked by the teacher had already set up the dichotomy between the two worlds: that of the normal teacher and that of the deviant teachers. The students identified with the theme of the book, which means they accepted the delinquent role. But Salem, although he

acknowledged his familiarity with gangs, was very critical of the role of media and the police in not doing much to stop gangs. He said that he rejected a proposal from some gangsters to join their gang. Salem acknowledged his deviance in some way, but was aware of the system that caused it. His rejection of the language is a rejection of the power of the norm that objectifies him.

Conclusions

I present the complexity of power relations and structures that play in the background dynamics of the book club experience in a high school in the Midwest. The idea and format of the book club take away some of the confinements the students experience and make their learning environment freer. However, both the white teacher's assumptions and the African-American students' reactions showed the underlying power struggle in the society. To normalize and maybe correct students' behavior, the teacher brought up the theme of gangs under the disguise of bringing a theme that the students are familiar with. In the very assumption that the students are familiar with the gang theme is the intention to correct, normalize, and alienate. To this assumption the students respond with recognition of their deviance and a rejection of the laws that alienate them. Students who have been normalized to delinquency reject their own background in favor of what has been perpetuated as the norm. I conclude that for a book club experience among the lower class group, the teacher should first understand the power structures that play in the students' lives and form and transform them. Doing demographic and biographical studies on the students in the area the book club is to take place would help the teacher to understand the background of the students and to address their issues better.

Significance in the field of education

Using Foucault's notions of normalization and delinquency to look at the book club experience excavates and exposes the underlying assumptions behind teacher's choice of books as well as the power structures responsible for students' reactions to books and instruction in general. The purpose of book clubs is to serve as a successful and more appealing alternative framework for reading instruction (Raphel & McMahon, 1994). My study exposes the power relations and structures that influence the success of such framework. Understanding these structures and going deep in the psyches of the students will help teachers in book clubs and in schools engage students in meaningful discussions that enhance their learning and growth.

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THE MAKING OF A PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR: THE SWEDISH CONNECTION

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Introduction

Maurice R. Berube (1994) offered the following observation on the progressive education movement in the United States:

Perhaps no educational philosophy so influenced and characterized American education as progressive education....[which] was shaped by the American society of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century....At a time when the frontier was closing and the romantic myth of rugged individualism was gaining greater currency, progressive education espoused schooling as child centered, where creativity, self-expression and individualism were to be nurtured. These values have become synonymous with American education and the American character (p. 13).

Other scholars (Cremin, 1969; Kliebard, 1986; Ravitch, 2000) also emphasized forces in American society that shaped the development of progressive education. Like Berube, they acknowledged the influence of European philosophers but provided limited information on the work of European educational practitioners in shaping progressive schooling in the U. S.

This paper will explore the impact of a little-known Swedish school on the development of progressive education in the United States. In it I will argue that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Seminarium for Teachers at Naas, Sweden, (also called the Sloyd Training School) fostered educational reform by instructing thousands of teachers from Sweden and other countries in methods to promote active learning adapted to the needs and interests of the individual child (Thorbjornsson, 1994, p. 2). Naas graduates achieved a far-reaching influence in the U. S. by advancing these principles, which became identified with the progressive education movement. While some scholars have demonstrated the Seminarium's impact in the careers of university faculty members such as Charles Kunou and Ella Victoria Dobbs, little has been written on the school's effect on American practitioners of elementary and secondary education. This paper will demonstrate the degree of influence the Seminarium had on American progressive schooling by examining the experience of Flora White of Massachusetts, whose course of study at Naas shaped her development as a progressive school administrator.

Background on Swedish Sloyd

Slojd—or “sloyd,” as it is written in English—is a Scandinavian word meaning “craft” or “manual skill” (Thorbjornsson, p. 1). Until the late nineteenth century, many rural Swedes spent their evenings making

household and farm utensils from wood, thereby supplementing the family income. As industrialization altered the fabric of Swedish society—and work and school were removed from the home and institutionalized (Eyestone, 1992, p. 29)—a movement began to promote home industries by teaching young people traditional Swedish handcrafts (Salomon, 1900, pp. vii-viii). The government provided funds to set up private sloyd schools to develop skilled workers and reaffirm the values of good citizenship (Eyestone, p. 29). August Abramson, a wealthy Jewish merchant, became an early proponent who in 1868 founded a sloyd folk (neighborhood) school and four years later a sloyd work school for boys on his estate at Naas. Abramson, a widower, invited his nephew, Otto Salomon, to assist him (Bennett, 1937, pp. 61-62), and in 1874 the two men began a sloyd training school for girls. The Naas curriculum reflected a broad range of studies and a separation of craft work along gender lines—wood-sloyd, turnery, wood-carving, or saddlery for boys and weaving, spinning, knitting, sewing, and cookery for girls. By 1886 the girls' and boys' schools merged. In 1888 the two men closed the school to devote full attention to training teachers in sloyd methods (Salomon, pp. vii-viii).

As early as 1874 Abramson and Salomon opened a training department for teachers as part of their school. At first the two men wanted to train artisans to become sloyd teachers; however, Salomon modified this approach upon visiting Finland in 1877. There he met Uno Cygnaeus, father of Finnish folk schools and pioneer of educational arts and crafts (Salomon, pp. vii-x). Cygnaeus convinced Salomon of the importance of organizing sloyd on an educational rather than economic basis, making it an integral part of the elementary curriculum (Kananjola, 1881, pp. 5-7, Bennett, p. 64.). Salomon began a scientific study of sloyd as a means of education; he developed five-week sloyd courses for Swedish teachers and, in 1882, discontinued the artisan training program (Bennett, p. 64). Salomon also dropped other forms of sloyd in favor of wood-sloyd (Salomon, pp. ix-x). Eventually he offered four courses for teachers annually, each lasting six weeks—two summer courses for men and women, a spring course for women, and a winter course for men (Bennett, p. 64). With his uncle's support, Salomon extended sloyd instruction to teachers from foreign countries (Salomon, pp. vii-x).

On the surface, training in traditional Swedish handcrafts would appear an unlikely source of ideas for reforming schools in a rapidly industrializing country like the United States. However, beneath his conservative public demeanor Salomon had ideas about education that were seen as “progressive, even radical” (Thorbjornsson, p. 2). Salomon convinced teachers at Naas that handcrafts were critical media for transforming the elementary school and moving away from mass education emphasizing superficial knowledge. While Salomon carried on sloyd instruction—urging individualized learning and independence of thought and action—Abramson maintained good relations with the conservative Swedish king, Oskar II, and other influential Swedes. Mindful that their Jewish family had been forced to migrate to Lutheran Sweden seventy or eighty years earlier, Abramson and Salomon wanted to demonstrate they were good Swedish citizens. Showcasing the country’s handcrafts helped to deflect criticisms that might have otherwise been aimed at their school (Thorbjornsson, p.2).

Theoretical and Practical Influences

One year after Abramson and Salomon opened their program for teachers, Flora White began a two-year teacher training program at Westfield State Normal School in Massachusetts (White, 1942, publisher’s announcement). Founded in 1839 as the first coeducational teacher training institution in the United States, Westfield was part of Horace Mann’s plan to improve the state’s common schools (A distinguished history, 2001, p. 1). White was fifteen (*Heath gravestone records*, 1991, alphabetical listing, p. 28) when she began her studies at the normal school led by Principal John Dickinson, a follower of Pestalozzi (Brown, 1988, pp. 49-51).

Otto Salomon also studied and borrowed ideas from Pestalozzi as well as Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Salzman, Froebel and Spencer. He read in their own languages the works of educators and philosophers who favored physical activity as a means of formative education. Salomon hoped to make physical work an element of general education. He believed elementary schools placed too much emphasis on rote learning, causing negative attitudes in students. He also felt children suffered from spending too much time at desks without physical activity. The core of education, according to Salomon, was developing the child through his or her own learning (Thorbjornsson, pp. 2-3). He articulated the following principles of educational sloyd:

1. To instill a taste for and an appreciation of work in general.
2. To create a respect for hard, honest, physical labor.

3. To develop independence and self reliance.
4. To provide training in the habits of order, accuracy, cleanliness and neatness.
5. To train the eye to see accurately and to appreciate the sense of beauty in form.
6. To develop the sense of touch and to give general dexterity to the hands.
7. To inculcate the habits of attention, industry, perseverance and patience.
8. To promote the development of the body’s physical powers.
9. To acquire dexterity in the use of tools.
10. To execute precise work and produce useful products (Salomon, p. 7; Thorbjornsson, p. 4).

Salomon believed students should perform work of increasing difficulty by working at their own speed (Thorbjornsson, pp. 4-5), with the teacher acting as a guide but not interfering in the work process (Salomon, p. 31). He thought teachers should be well-trained and capable of teaching both crafts and theoretical subjects in elementary school so they could acquire a comprehensive understanding of each child’s mental, physical and moral development (Thorbjornsson, pp. 4-5).

Each day at Naas, Salomon involved participating teachers in six to seven hours of practical handcraft work and one to two hours of theoretical lectures and discussions (p. 4). Instruction at Naas was free and was offered in more than one language (Bennett, p. 89). Salomon’s lectures focused on varied subjects including educational history, handcraft teaching methods, psychology, morals, and hygiene. He hoped to develop the will, morality, and interests as students learned to solve problems at higher and more complex levels (Thorbjornsson, p. 3).

Otto Salomon studied wood handcrafts and replicated their creation in eighty-eight exercises (Eyestone, p. 31) that proceeded from low skill to greater difficulty (Salomon, p. 11). In 1902, he reduced the number to sixty-eight (Thorbjornsson, p. 6). In his early years Salomon included gymnastics training and required his students to be ambidextrous. In 1893 he stated that workbenches should be a suitable height for the worker, who should maintain a correct standing position at all times. Later he revised this view, recommending the use of gymnastics to correct cramped positions of the body inevitably resulting from work with tools at a bench (Bennett, p. 66).

Flora White took sloyd instruction at Naas during the summer of 1891 when she was thirty-one years of age. She was an experienced teacher, having taught in the public schools of West Springfield and Springfield, Massachusetts (M. Plourde-Barker) as well as in a boys’ preparatory school in South Africa (Pickwick, p.

5). When White returned to the United States, she and her sister, Mary, opened a small day school in Springfield “to experiment in motor-training [physical movement] as a means of education” (White, 1940). White financed her trip to Sweden by selling a short story to *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*; it was published under a male pen name (Heath, 1891). She was one of 27 Americans who by 1893 had received instruction at the Seminarium (Salomon, pp. 147-148).

White described her experience in the “exquisitely simple” (White, May 31, 1891) surroundings of Naas in a letter to her mother and sister:

We work from 8 o’clock a.m. to ½ past 4 p.m. with ½ hour intermission for lunch—but during these hours we have exercise in the Ling system of gymnastics twice a day and interval of a few minutes in which we are obliged to leave the work rooms. We have to stand at our work which is rather hard but the rooms are so pleasant and the views so lovely when we look up that nothing seems a hardship (White, May 31, 1891).

White also described Salomon’s system of assuring that students learned correct sloyd procedures without undue interference with their work:

There is such a fine fellow that works near me—Captain of our Sloyd room—who cannot speak anything but Swedish but who has managed by smiling and watching my work and various signs in mutual language of all nations to be extremely friendly and kind. It is charming to see how anxious he is that work should all go right. The Captain of the room is one of the students who has been voted in that position by the other pupils & it is his duty to keep us in order etc. that is to see that we stop work at the proper time & are ready to begin in time & put our tools in the right places. The work is delightful. I enjoy it more & more every day (White, June 13, 1891).

Hjalmar Berg wrote a description of the Seminarium in 1891 that suggested its benefits went beyond the skills acquired and the lovely surroundings: Naas is a good Sloyd school, and much besides. It is the meeting place of leading teachers of all degrees and all nationalities, for common work, and for the interchange of ideas. Professors, inspectors, secondary and elementary teachers, women as well as men, there meet on common ground as comrades (Salomon, xi-xii).

Flora White also commented on gender roles at Naas, noting: “There are about 3 times as many gentlemen as ladies here—We do everything together except eating. I think it a very funny plan to separate us then” (White, May 31, 1891).

She also noted,

There is a big, fat jolly German here who thinks we are all very unwomanly to be doing this work. He writes much against sloyd of this kind for woman in the “Zeitung” at home. Of course we are all against him in spite of his jolly face and charming ways which he is always entertaining us with (White, June 13, 1891).

Salomon’s Influence

Between 1880 and 1907 the Seminarium instructed approximately 4,000 Swedish teachers and 1,500 teachers from other countries in educational sloyd (Thorbjornsson, p. 4). As early as 1878 Abramson and Salomon began to export their model series to Germany, Switzerland, and Brazil; later they included the United Kingdom and the United States. Utilizing the support of Swedish embassies in nearly every European country, they invited public officials, professors, and teachers to visit Naas or attend a course at the school. They also showcased the Seminarium at international exhibitions held throughout Europe, the United States, South America, Japan, and South Africa. Some foreign participants became so interested in educational sloyd that they translated Salomon’s principles into their own languages and published his articles and books. Upon returning home, many participants lectured and wrote articles on educational handicrafts in their own countries and introduced sloyd instruction there (p. 8).

Flora White was one foreigner who, upon graduating from the Seminarium, crusaded for the inclusion of “motor activities” (Pickwick, p. 5) in American schools. From 1892 to 1895 she taught at Westfield Normal School where she introduced sloyd and physical culture (physical education) programs in the two-year teacher training course (*State normal school*, 1893-1895, p. 2). She moved to Boston to become associate principal at Baron Nils Posse’s Normal School of Gymnastics and left the position following Posse’s death (White, 1940). In 1897 she and her sister Mary founded Miss White’s Home School for Children in Concord, Massachusetts, an “experimental school” (White, 1942, publisher’s announcement) stressing that “a healthy, active organism is the first requisite for a healthy, active mind” (*Miss White’s* 1900, p. 1).

The school offered an education that included English, Latin, German, French, mathematics and science; in addition, “Games, Sloyd and Gymnastics (both educational and corrective)” formed “an integral part of the school work” (*Miss White’s*, p. 2). The regime was “simple, hygienic, and invigorating” with “[a]bundant exercise and recreation” (pp. 3-4) reflecting Flora White’s belief that knowledge itself was not power; knowledge through action was (White,

1899, p. 6). Miss White's Home School was "organized for girls"; however, exceptions were made "with young children, especially in cases where it is desired to place two or more children from the same family in the school" (*Miss White's*, p. 3). The school received endorsements from respected Massachusetts citizens including the superintendent of the Springfield public schools, leading clergy, and a Boston physician specializing in women's health (pp. 7-8). Prominent among the endorsers was G. Stanley Hall, the President of Clark University and champion of child developmentalists who was grounded in the writings of Rousseau and Pestalozzi (Kliebard, pp. 42-43). He assured parents that Miss White's Home School was to be "heartily commended ... for its general methods and scope, and for the devoted personal attention each pupil is sure to receive" (*Miss White's*, pp. 7-8).

While she directed the Concord school Flora White emphasized in writing and speeches many of the principles she had learned in Naas (White & White, *Growth and Education*; White & White, *Manual Training and Manual Evolution*). In a paper presented at the 1896 meeting of the National Education Association (NEA) at Buffalo, New York, she stated, "It has long been a fancy of mine that nature covers her face and weeps whenever she beholds a schoolhouse" (White, 1896, p. 3). She bemoaned the "dreary brick buildings on small plots of ground, where children are driven into rooms by fifties and sixties, yes even by hundreds....and then compelled to sit for five long hours each day" with little movement. She praised Otto Salomon for "sending forth a new hope to American schools" (p. 5). White defined the work of educational sloyd in America as "the adaptations of tools and materials to the needs of the growing child" (p. 3). Three years after her address, the NEA Committee on Normal Schools proposed including sloyd and physical culture in the four-year curriculum for normal school students (Brown, p. 105).

In her remarks to the NEA Flora White may have anticipated the criticism of Swedish sloyd among some American progressive educators. For example, G. Stanley Hall and Colonel Francis Parker criticized the sloyd system as being too methodical and dictatorial; they, along with others, argued for creativity and developing the powers of imagination, for more coordination between manual training and art, and for instruction based on student projects (Thorbjornsson, pp. 8-9). White suggested sloyd should be taught with "A handful of children, not more than fifteen, with plenty of space and air and sunlight, doing things they love to do, making things they love to make, coming to this happy spot by no compulsion but their own will daily" (White, 1896, p. 4). Her ideas reflected the aim

of American progressive educators to further the child's intellectual, social, artistic and moral development (Berube, p. 14).

Flora White's NEA paper was featured in the *Sloyd Bulletin*, a publication of the Sloyd Training School in Boston (White, 1899, pp. 5-10). The school was located in the North Bennett Street Industrial School building, which offered instruction to immigrant children through the support of philanthropist Pauline Agassiz Shaw. In 1889 Shaw brought sloyd teachers to the school and, in 1891, chose Naas graduate Gustaf Larsson to direct the sloyd program (Williams, 1987, pp. 15-18). He persuaded Shaw to offer free sloyd instruction to Boston's kindergarten and elementary school teachers. Twenty-three sloyd teachers graduated from the school in 1892; by 1917, the number had risen to over 400 (Hoffman, 2000, p. 364).

White commended Larsson, who modified Swedish sloyd to reflect the needs of American public school children (Eyestone, p. 31). She called him the leader of sloyd in this country [who] has ably demonstrated that sloyd is no finality, no system, no course of models or tools or materials, but such a use of tools and materials that space and opportunity are afforded for the growth and development of the child in the direction of his individuality (White, 1896, p. 6).

Larsson adapted the Swedish sloyd curriculum in three important ways. He altered the use of drawings to permit more spontaneity in children. He enforced Salomon's idea that sloyd models could be modified to meet the everyday needs of different people living in varying locations. Larsson also expanded the types of media employed in sloyd work to include bookbinding, printing, machine work, metal work, forging, cement work, and furniture-making. The school continued to thrive until 1921, two years after Larsson's death (Eyestone, p. 33).

As early as 1903 Gustaf Larsson estimated that graduates of his school had influenced 34,000 students across America (Williams, pp. 18-20). Cremin reported that in the U. S., "largely influenced by Swedish instruction in *slojd*" (p. 33) manual training moved into the elementary school in the form of arts and crafts in the lower grades. By 1890 some educators asserted that if "the ordinary activities of the kindergarten could be joined to *slojd* at the elementary level and tool exercises or homemaking in the secondary school," there would be "an orderly progression of manual work to parallel intellectual activities" (p. 33) through the twelve years of general education. Cremin noted, "In a proper balance of the two they saw a new vision of popular schooling suitable to the demands of an industrial age" (p. 33).

Meanwhile some critics asked for more draftsmanship in sloyd instruction and for a series of fewer models providing more rapid skill acquisition (Thorbjornsson, p. 8). In time sloyd was eclipsed by industrialization as tool work moved from wood to steel, machines replaced hand tools, and productive skill rather than artistic handcraft became a major focus in the United States (Cremin, pp. 33-34). Nevertheless, the pervasive influence of educational sloyd was evident in a 1910 article in the *Elementary School Teacher*, which stated that sloyd was one of two systems of European industrial education adopted in the U. S. over the past quarter of a century. (The other was the Russian system of manual training.) The article noted, "These forms of handwork with various modifications have been gradually introduced into our schools until today the city system which does not include manual training from its primary grades through the high school is considered unprogressive" (Fletcher, p. 8).

Today educational sloyd is credited with being a forerunner of technology education (*New Hampshire Technology Education Curriculum Guide*, 2001, p. 3). It is a compulsory subject in Swedish comprehensive schools (Lindstrom et al., 2006, p. 1). In 1903 Salomon likened educational sloyd to a "casting model...that ought to be thrown away and dismantled when the work-of-the-art has been cast" (Thorbjornsson, p. 9). He added:

I believe that the so-called "Naas-system" has had its day.... While most of the principles have become so universal that they are stated to be self-evident.... there is no further need for a "Naas system" in the domain of manual training. May it die and may it rest in peace! I will not be found among the mourners. I have long ago lost my belief in systems within the Art of Education, and believe now only in personalities (Thornbjornsson, p. 9).

Following Otto Salomon's death in 1907, an additional 5,000 to 7,000 teachers studied sloyd at Naas until 1966, when the program was transferred to Linkoping, Sweden (Thorbjornsson, pp. 1, 9).

Flora White sold her school in 1914 with the intention of traveling in Europe; however, the onset of

World War I caused her to remain in Massachusetts (Calver, 1979, pp. 197-198). Her students went on to achieve successful careers (Pickwick, p.5). One pupil, sculptor Mary Ogden Abbott, drew on her early enjoyment of sloyd eventually to study at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Abbott's teak doors were placed in the Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C. (Philpott, 1938, p. 7). Another student, Henry Howard Brooks, painted at the Fenway Studios in Boston and exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C. (Henry Howard Brooks, 2006). Mary Lowell Coolidge received a Ph.D. from Radcliffe and became a Professor of Philosophy and Dean of Wellesley College. Known for her clear thinking, Coolidge was an excellent equestrian who had strong interests in aesthetics and art as a craft (Glasscock, 1975, 66-67, 466). Despite these successes, White made it clear that the educational principles of her school were more important than positioning students for college admission and career advancement. Late in life she wrote:

I made it clearly understood that [Miss White's Home School] was an experiment in educational values; that it stood upon the merits of its theories and would be in no way dominated or influenced by college requirements. My pupils however had no difficulty in passing college examinations (White, June 17, 1940).

Flora White described her experimental school as "the climax of my educational work" and noted with satisfaction, "[I]t was a marked success" (White, June 17, 1940).

Summary and Conclusions

A study of the career of Flora White shows the Seminarium for Teachers in Naas, Sweden, directed by Otto Salomon, had a significant impact on her development as a progressive school administrator during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is hoped that future research will give further attention to the influence of European school practitioners on American practitioners of progressive education.

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MORICE: THE MAKING OF A PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR: THE SWEDISH CONNECTION

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TORNADOS ARE SWIRLING: IMPLEMENTING GAMES FOR THE “DIGITAL NATIVES”

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Introduction

Geoffrey Moore (1995) opens his book, *Inside the Tornado*, with the following passage: “At the beginning of *The Wizard of Oz*, Dorothy and Toto are caught up inside a tornado, swept away from their mundane world of Kansas, and deposited into the marvelous land of Oz.” Please pause for a moment and reflect upon this film image.

What a transformation! Dorothy and Toto have been transported from a world of black and white, to one of Technicolor. Their world has been turned upside down. The destructive force of a tornado has transported them from a world which they knew to a world which they must explore. In this classic film of 1939, they must traverse the yellow brick road to Oz. Dorothy and her companions must discover some things about themselves before they are able to make the journey home.

Moore parallels the tornado Dorothy experienced, with the tornado he describes in the “Technology Adoption Life Cycle.”

Moore’s Technology Adoption Life Cycle

Moore argues that the adoption of products into the mass market occurs in a succession of five phases, modeled upon a bell-shaped curve. This curve is formed by plotting the numbers of adopters over time, resulting in five groups (the phases). The first group is the *Innovators*. They are the enthusiasts who like technology for its own sake. *Early Adopters* who have the vision to adopt an emerging technology to opportunities that are important to them make up the second group. Then, the bell-shaped curve is interrupted by a chasm. The next two areas under the curve are the largest, the *Early Majority* and the *Late Majority*. The *Early Majority* are the users who, though more conservative than the individuals in the previous groups, are nevertheless eager to investigate the advantages of testing technologies. They are the

beginning users of the mass market. The *Early Majority* are the tornados with the swirling winds that make the product take off. The *Late Majority* are those users who are last to embrace new technology. Moore equates the *Early* and *Late Majorities* with a city’s main street. The final part of the curve covers the *Laggards*. They do not engage with high technology products, except to block them.

For Moore the most important part of the bell-shaped curve is the chasm, the gap between the *Early Adopters* and the *Early Majority*. For a technology tool to be widely adopted, it needs to cross over the chasm. Our students have grown up in a world in which technology is prevalent. (Prensky (2001) calls them “Digital Natives.”) While few students are *Innovators* or *Early Adopters*, many fall into the categories of *Early Majority* and *Late Majority*. How can we, as educators, best teach the *Early Majority* and the *Late Majority*? For the remainder of this paper, we will address the use of digital games as a vehicle for inducing our students to become engaged in their own learning.

Digital Games in Education

Marc Prensky’s (2001, p 119-124) *Digital-Games Based Learning* identified six key structural game elements: (1) rules, (2) goals and objectives, (3) outcomes and feedback, (4) competition/challenge/opposition, (5) interaction, and (6) representation or story.

Bonita Bray and Bob Boufford (2003), who are e-Learning Support Specialists at the University of Alberta, shared how playing digital games impacted their students’ learning. They believe that while trying to improve student learning is important, how you achieve it is not as critical.

Bray and Boufford (2003, 2005) aligned Prensky’s elements of learning to the elements of games. The following chart outlines this comparison.

Elements of Games	Elements of Learning
Goals and Objectives	Goals and Objectives
Outcomes and Feedback	Outcomes and Feedback
Competition/Challenge/Opposition	Competition/Challenge
Interaction	Interaction
Representation or Story	Information
Rules	Policies

OLLIGES: TORNADOS ARE SWIRLING: IMPLEMENTING GAMES FOR THE “DIGITAL NATIVES”

Games have goals and objectives as do courses, where these goals are generally described in a syllabus. In a digital game, the computer provides feedback; in the classroom it is the instructor or fellow students who do so. In a game, the objective is to win. In a class, students seek high grades and the teacher’s praise. Similarly, one could compare games and classrooms with respect to the last three categories in the chart. Bray and Boufford (2003, 2005) succinctly stated,

Online games allow for

1. Easy repetition of the game until students reach their desired score – and learning points
2. Repetition which can involve different questions to maintain freshness and encourage learning
3. Playing in private so that students can explore with confidence and ‘fail in private’ which Roger Schank maintains is the beginning of real learning
4. Competition – either individual or team-based – to be introduced. (2003, 2005)

Spectre and Prensky say that,

Academic research strongly backs up the common sense notion that when students are engaged in the learning process, they learn and retain more.

Engagement can come through emotion, relaxation, and especially through fun.” (2003).

For Edgar Dale, multiple experiences were important. Digital games can provide simulations and direct purposeful experiences, which are two levels of Dale’s Cone of Experience. Using graphics and audio, more of his levels are achieved.

But even if educators wished to use digital games to help their students learn certain concepts, cost prohibits them from hiring software engineers to create games for each lesson. A flexible template, which allows instructors to input questions and answers, needs to be made easily available to instructors. By so doing, computer games can be effectively used to enhance learning.

The purpose of game playing in education is to engage students in an activity where relevant learning occurs. Prensky posited that,

The reason computer games are so engaging is because the primary objective of the game designer is to keep the user engaged.... Gameplay is all the doing, thinking and decision making that makes a game either fun, or not (Prensky, 2002, pp. 1 & 9). Motivation is achieved by keeping the player engaged at every moment.

Some e-learning specialists assist faculty in using games to foster significant learning, incorporating Chickering and Gamson’s seven principles for good practice in education.

Seven Principles for Good Practice

Chickering and Gamson (1987 and 1991) iterated

the following seven principles of good teaching and learning in undergraduate education. An effective classroom experience:

1. Encourages contacts between students and faculty.
2. Develops reciprocity and cooperation among students.
3. Uses active learning techniques.
4. Gives prompt feedback.
5. Emphasizes time on task.
6. Communicates high expectations.
7. Respects diverse talents and ways of learning.

According to Chickering and Gamson (1987 and 1991) their principles employ six powerful forces in education:

1. Activity
2. Expectations
3. Cooperation
4. Interaction
5. Diversity
6. Responsibility

Chickering and Gamson’s work occurred prior to online learning. Technology has a rather short lifespan, approximately three years. Five to seven generations of technology innovations have occurred since Chickering and Gamson’s work was published. In the following paragraphs we address the question of whether this work is still applicable.

Good Practices for Technology Education

Conrad and Donaldson (2004) incorporate many of Chickering and Gamson’s principles in their checklist for an effective Game or Strategy for use with the “Digital Natives.” Conrad and Donaldson (2004, p 95) list the following questions that need to be addressed when developing digital games.

1. Is the student directly involved in making decisions and learning from the outcomes?
2. Does the activity enable exploration of the complex nature of the real world?
3. Does the game include tasks that provide elements of engagement, decision-making, and knowledge acquisition from a new perspective?
4. Does the simulation activity require students to role-play or to assume a new perspective?
5. Does the game or simulation provide a safe environment for exploration?”

These questions parallel the concerns articulated by Chickering and Gamson. They reinforce the desirability of providing students with prompt feedback, and learning activities that not only engage them but allow them to be decision-makers.

Using a Game with the “Digital Natives”

Each Autumn, I teach a Freshman Seminar on the Missouri Botanical Garden. An exhibit by Dale Chihuly “Glass in the Garden” was on display from April 30

through October 31, 2006, and I wanted to create a game based upon this exhibit.

I had learned about the following from conferences I have attended. Several inexpensive software packages are available at the Game-Based Learning Resources site. For example, at the recommendation of the University of Alberta e-learning specialists, I used the Quandry software. Quandry allows the developer to create a web-based maze that provides scenarios and allow for choices to be made. Using Quandry, I created a game in which Chihuly's glass art work was displayed and explored. I added hyperlinks to offer students additional learning opportunities. Along the way some assets were acquired. Depending upon the value of a given asset, particular paths were opened. This game was tried during a class assignment in which the students were required to compare Chihuly's glass art work. The game was available to be played online immediately after their visit to the garden. It is evident the game had a significant impact as evident by the following unsolicited comments I received via email.

One student wrote "I enjoyed the exercise. It makes you read and pay attention to what is written. I did not

have a digital camera and the two objects that I wanted to compare were able to be viewed during the game." Another student commented, "I thought that this game was interesting because it taught me new information about Chihuly's pieces that I had not known beforehand." Several students stated the game made learning more engaging, and believed that they learned more about Chihuly's glass art work as a result of playing it.

Conclusion

At the 2005 meeting of the Society of Philosophy and History of Education, I gave a presentation on the educational use of digital games (Olliges, 2006). Having since experienced their power, I am even more convinced of their usefulness in teaching. Chickering and Gamson as well as Conrad and Donaldson have articulated principles of good educational practices. We educators are at a chasm. Some outstanding early work has been developed on the use of digital games in education. Moore's tornado is swirling overhead. Will it be effective in moving this work forward to use with the "Digital Natives?"

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OLLIGES: TORNADOS ARE SWIRLING: IMPLEMENTING GAMES FOR THE “DIGITAL NATIVES”

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THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT: A HISTORY OF RIGHTS

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Abstract

One of the most significant ethical and financial issues for educational institutions at all levels is the problem of how to offer access to people with disabilities. Aging buildings are often too expensive to refit to offer full access to people who have significant physical mobility challenges. This paper looks at the history of the Americans with Disabilities Act from a variety of perspectives. The objective is not only to provide a time event report, but also to show how this history might be contextualized within history and through ethical dilemmas.

Introduction

Throughout the history of the United States, people have felt that anything is possible in America as long as you are willing to work hard and are able-bodied. People with disabilities were seen as “feeble-minded, weak, deformed, and ill-fit” for inclusion in the building and shaping of America. From 1880's to the 1920's the “eugenics movement” was a public policy adopted by thirty states that said people with disabilities were “deficient” and should not marry or have children. In the wake of this policy, many people had to undergo forced sterilization (O'Brien, 2001; Switzer, 2003). More people with disabilities are seen after the Civil War because before that time most people died if they suffered an injury or had profound birth defects. It was not until World War I and World War II that technology and medicine were developed that could save lives. As early as the 1940's, the beginning of universal design was being developed because of World War II veterans who were wanting access to universities and to workplaces (Iezzoni & O'Day, 2006). It was during this time that the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1954 developed the ideal that people (especially war veterans) be “treated” for their disability so that they could re-enter society and especially employment (O'Brien, 2001). The idea of rehabilitation medicine was used to get the most of people with disabilities so they could become more “whole.” In this way, rehabilitation was seen as helping people with disabilities to develop their full potential so that this “sick person” would not lead to a “sick society” (O'Brien, 2001, page 8).

It was not until the early 1960's that a movement was started to fight for the “civil rights” of people who were different; meaning, different from young, able-bodied white, males. The explosive mood of the civil rights movement sent a message that others wanted to fully participate in America without being

discriminated against primarily because of their color or sex. “Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited employment discrimination based on race religion, sex, color, and national origin” (Kohl and Greenlaw, 1992). Several years later, older citizens were included when the attribute of age was added in the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. Although these acts were badly needed and a long time coming for the people they protect, a significant population was not included. That group was people with disabilities. Then in 1968, The Architectural Barriers Act helped eliminate some barriers to facilities that used federal funds.

Americans with Disabilities Act

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had strong-enough support in Congress to be amended in 1972 to include people with disabilities. Leaders such as Senator Hubert Humphrey wanted to amend the Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination of people with physical and mental disabilities, however, “civil rights leaders feared that amending the act in this way would weaken its protection of minorities and women and would be associated with high costs” (O'Brien 2001, page 114). This notion of the “cost to society” would be repeated many times and add to the fear of legislation like the American's with Disabilities Act (ADA).

In 1972, following the Vietnam War, Congress passed a rehabilitation bill that President Richard Nixon vetoed. Many disability activists launched a protest across the country resulting in a flood of angry letters. Then, in September of 1973, Congress overrode Nixon's veto and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 finally became law. The Rehabilitation Act was written primarily to authorize programs that provide rehabilitation services to people with disabilities (Scotch, 2001). But, it also contained something more; it contained the first federal prohibitions of employment discrimination against people with disabilities. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act states “no qualified individual with a disability in the U.S. shall be excluded from, denied the benefit of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity that receives federal financial assistance or is conducted by any agency of the executive branch of the US Postal service” (Public Law, 93-112, The Rehabilitation Act of 1973).

The Rehabilitation Act along with the accomplishments of the civil rights movement led people with disabilities to believe that if they joined together, meaning as a group rather than separate parts,

RAMEY: THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT: A HISTORY OF RIGHTS

such as the blind, deaf, etc., they could make their efforts more “coherent and cohesive” (O’Brien, 2001, page 11). The disability movement was not without problems as the idea of people with disabilities had several problems to overcome: First, a long history of people with disabilities being seen as not “sufficient” to participate in society. Second, mobilizing the affected population was difficult because people with disabilities were isolated not just from society but also from each other. Finally, people with disabilities are not a single “social group.” A social group is defined as people sharing the same social relation. For example, the deaf communities have their own culture and different needs from people with other disabilities (O’Brien, 2001, page 11).

In 1975, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) was passed ordering that all children with disabilities receive a free, appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment (Public Law 105-17, The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1975). This made it clear to politicians, the education field, and the American public that a major revision of national policy toward people with disabilities was taking place.

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) was sold as an anti discrimination legislation during a time when the Republican president, George Bush, and the Democratic Congress were willing to take a stand for the civil rights package. Many were feared the image that would be cast upon them (being against people with disabilities) by the supporters of the bill if they failed to pass the bill. The bill itself was advertised as banning discrimination in employment and public accommodations, only forcing employers and storekeepers to make “reasonable accommodations” that do not put an undue burden on the organization (Public Law 101-336, The American’s with Disabilities Act of 1990).

The Rehabilitation Act includes anti discrimination and reasonable accommodation requirements in conjunction with access to information. In addition, the Rehabilitation Act bans discrimination of people with disabilities when an organization receives federal funds. The Rehabilitation Act paved the way for the ADA, which removes barriers, both physical and technological in the workplace. Moreover, the ADA protects people with disabilities by making both public and private organizations accessible without the federal funds requirement. Accommodation must prohibit exclusion, segregation and unequal treatment.

Many people with disabilities and advocates of people with disabilities saw the enactment of the Rehabilitation Act, section 504, as Congress’ recognition that inferior social and economic status of

people with disabilities was a result of societal barriers and prejudices (Noe, 1997). Additionally, section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act was historic because for the first time people with disabilities were viewed as a minority group. Previously, public policy had been characterized by addressing the needs of particular disabilities by category, such as deaf, based on diagnosis (the medical model). After passage of the Rehabilitation Act each disability group was seen as separate, with differing needs. With the passage of the ADA, supporters felt that the act would increase the employment and wages of people with disabilities and reduce their dependency on public programs (Baldwin and Johnson, 2000).

People who oppose the Rehabilitation Act and the ADA feel that disabilities are an individual problem and are not the responsibility of the government. Those who oppose the acts also feel that public monies should not support individual problems and that the person with disabilities is not the state’s responsibility. Many feel that each person should make his or her own way and not look to the state as caretaker or provider.

The United States has a long history of casting those who are different aside. Many people believe that our nation was founded with able-bodied people who were willing to work hard. Our nation has long looked at people with disabilities in very negative ways. For example, according to the “disability rights timeline,” in 1883 the Eugenics movement was embraced by the US by passing laws to prevent people with disabilities from moving to the US, marrying, or having children. Eugenics laws led to the institutionalization and forced sterilization of disabled adults and children. Additionally, in 1912 *The Kallikak Family* written by Henry H Goddard was a best selling book. It describes disability as being linked to immorality and alleged that both were tied to genetics (Parmenter, 2001; Switzer, 2003, page 35). It advanced the eugenics movement. Also, in 1924, the Commonwealth of Virginia passed a state law that allowed for sterilization without consent to anyone found being “feebleminded, insane, depressed, mentally handicapped, epileptic, and other” (Switzer, 2003). It also applied to alcoholics, criminals and drug addicts, and in 1927 the US Supreme Court upheld eugenics laws as constitutional. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes equated sterilization to vaccination (Switzer, 2003, page 38).

Many people in the United States felt that Social Darwinism, the belief that if people were left on their own without interference from the government they would rise or fall according to their own abilities meant that people with disabilities had no place in our society. People who opposed the Rehabilitation Act and the ADA also felt that the government should not interfere

in the conduct of business. The ADA opposition believe too many rules and regulations already exist. In addition, the ADA creates more economic hardship for businesses. New building construction must meet new specific architectural codes to guarantee access and major renovations would be required in many establishments to bring about compliance. People who oppose the ADA wonder who will absorb these costs? Many feel that some small businesses will face economic hardship or worse, lawsuits, while trying to comply.

Disabilities and the Media

Media have traditionally portrayed people with disabilities as one of two stereotypes. The first is that of a “poor thing, a sad and unlucky disabled person” and the other is that of some courageous disabled person who has done something amazing and how great they are to “triumph” over their disability (Thomson, 2001). The Jerry Lewis telethon, for example, has always had the most severely disabled child who was the prettiest or the most adorable. While someone who has done something considered amazing is “celebrated for overcoming their disability and performing seemingly superhuman feats” (Shapiro, 1994).

The media have also helped produce public awareness of discrimination toward people with disabilities by creating an appreciation for participation of people with disabilities in the mainstream (Rothstein, 2000). There were many news articles about popular sports figures who have disabilities. By highlighting famous athletes in such a positive manner, people are starting to become accustomed to seeing the benefits and values of allowing for full participation of all members of society. Still, however positive, some media coverage has turned some people with disabilities into “super human” after overcoming “severe hardship” (Rothstein, 2000).

Disabilities and Culture

Most people agree that it is the white, perfect, able-bodied youth that rules our culture. The more perfect your body is the more power and privilege you have in American culture. In the nineteenth century “freak shows” provided people who were different and disfigured for public amusement. P. T. Barnum’s “American Museum” showcased the “oddities” of the world and turned people into puppets for the entertainment of others. The movie industry has also had a hand in American culture by portraying people with disabilities as victims or villains to be pitied or feared. After the passage of the ADA people with disabilities were portrayed differently in films such as *Children of a Lesser God*, *The Elephant Man* and *Forrest Gump*. Still, films such as these allow “viewers to see spectacles of bodily differences without fear” of

being socially inappropriate (Snyder & Mitchell, 2006, page 157).

People with disabilities as a whole share no cultural heritage or traditional activities. We are all vulnerable to disabilities and if we live long enough, we may all have some type of life altering disability. Maybe that is why people have started to change their views and include people with disabilities in the culture. We all know that in a split second, any one of us could be in an accident leaving us with a disability. A culture that dismisses the least among them in a sense shows their respect, or lack of respect for their world. A perfect example is Easter Island; the culture’s downfall was using all their resources poorly. The people and environment were the greatest resource but the activities of the people of wealth and privilege that led to the ultimate downfall of all the people.

The fateful trip from Springfield, IL to California for the Donner Party is another example of problems with resources. The trip was carefully planned, it was only going to take 6 months and they planned for more time plus enough provisions for the first 6 months once they got there (Murphy, 2001). But things didn’t turn out as they expected. It is impossible to know how to plan for all the problems associated with implementing a policy like the American’s with Disabilities. It is a challenge to determine resource allocation because it is difficult to plan for all the needs to ensure access. Evaluations at the point of initial implementation and at interim points are important, as are evaluations of the effectiveness of the implemented changes and coordination with previous implementations to determine future resource needs.

In 1973, Congress enacted the Rehabilitation Act, a comprehensive statute establishing a partnership between the federal and state governments to foster the provision of vocational rehabilitation services to people with disabilities. This program provides training and related services to people with a wide range of disabilities primarily to equip them for entry or reentry into the workforce. However, Congress also recognized that, in addition to a lack of educational opportunities and work experience leading to skills development, people with disabilities also face discrimination both by employers and by the public agencies. To ensure that the federal government would not perpetuate the discrimination that the vocational rehabilitation system was designed to mitigate, congress also enacted civil rights protections for people with disabilities (Public Law 93-112, The Rehabilitation Act of 1973).

Disabilities and Work

Work provides discipline and structure to our lives. For many, work is seen as a source of identity and social acceptance. People need work to help sustain life

and build a material existence (Noe, 1997). When people work they have the dignity of contributing and trying to succeed. Since people with disabilities have a low rate of employment, supporters of the ADA who believed that people with disabilities were being discriminated against in employment needs as well as other ways, they adopted strategies used by Civil Rights activists. Many feel that the ADA is based on the assumption that prejudice creates obstacles to employment for people with disabilities (Baldwin and Johnson, 2000).

The ADA legislation was an important achievement for the disabled and began the process of opening the door of respect and full participation to our community. Its intention is for people with disabilities to live better, more independent lives. In addition, the ADA is meant to prohibit discrimination of hiring people with disabilities. The ADA regulates employment in all state and local government services and with all companies with fifteen or more employees (Public Law 101-336, The American's with Disabilities Act of 1990).

The wording "reasonable accommodation" is contained in both the Rehabilitation Act and the ADA. It means that an employer may have to modify their business to accommodate a qualified person with disabilities. But the Rehabilitation Act and the ADA do not say what employers must do to fulfill the reasonable accommodation requirement. Moreover, additional medical costs could affect expenses associated with some accommodation (Kohl and Greenlaw, 1992). This has led to confusion and anger about the costs of these accommodations. Though the ADA allows "reasonable accommodation," expensive court cases will determine what is a reasonable expectation and what is a "good faith" effort (Baldwin and Johnson, 2000). Opponents hold that businesses are already overloaded with too many rules and regulations, driving up the cost of doing business. The ADA is only one more example of the government's intrusion into free enterprise, to the detriment of the whole of society, in order to benefit a small minority of people (Popovich, Scherbaum, Scherbaum and Polinko, 2003).

People who disagree with the ADA and the Rehabilitation Act think that compliance is costly and inconvenient and that it is difficult for small business to comply. Many feel that the government should stay out of the economy and let the forces of the free market work. Proponents feel that the ADA has forced employers to hire and promote according to the government's priorities and not those of the enterprise. It has compelled businesses to make changes to their physical structure at their own expense (and so the regulations work like a tax). Moreover, it has forced

them to pay for costly litigation to defend themselves against the claim that they have discriminated.

Proponents also feel that the government using the ADA has imposed huge costs on state and local governments, and told them to tax their citizens to fund these costs (Baldwin and Johnson, 2000). Unfortunately, many businesses' were sued, and assuming costly legal expenses in addition to the cost of the accommodation for people with disabilities. Many businesses who oppose the ADA are afraid that they may be sued if they hire a person with disabilities. One limitation of the ADA is the wording which limits the understanding and interventions that it provides as only general guidelines and not specific instructions (Popovich, Scherbaum, Scherbaum and Polinko, 2003). However, the ADA has a provision where the Department of Justice must investigate discrimination and try to resolve it prior to litigation. Usually, the case is high profile and receives a lot of attention from the media furthering the case against discrimination of people with disabilities.

Disabilities and Society

The ADA document provides a history of how our society has regarded people with disabilities. The ADA states in section 2, part a., number 2, that "historically, society has tended to isolate and segregate individuals with disabilities, and despite some improvements, such forms of discrimination against individuals with disabilities continue to be a serious and pervasive social problem." Additionally in number 5 it goes on to say that "individuals with disabilities continually encounter various forms of discrimination," number 6 says that "people with disabilities occupy an inferior status in our society, and are severely disadvantaged socially, vocationally, economically, and educationally," indicating that our culture has traditionally seen people with disabilities as inferior. Number 7 continues by saying that "people with disabilities are subjected to a history of purposeful unequal treatment, and relegated to a position of political powerlessness in our society." (PL 101-336, Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990). This language implies that the goal of the ADA is to improve independence for people with disabilities through accommodation of perceived resource deficits rather than on strengths (Baker, Stephens and Hill, 2001). Our culture pride itself on independence and "making it" as a sign of great strength.

Former U.S. representative and ADA sponsor Tony Coelho says that the ADA was "deliberately written vaguely" since the definition of disability varies greatly (Coelho, 2003). Reforming the ADA will not be easy because people with disabilities are powerful and well organized. No politician wants to be perceived as anti-civil rights, let alone as unsympathetic toward people in

wheelchairs. One way to make reforms might be that the federal government in the way of tax credits should reimburse any expenditure made as a result of the ADA.

Studies have shown that modifying the environment has helped improve the lives of those with physical disabilities (Baker, Stephens and Hill, 2001). Additionally, the "willingness of society to attend to the needs of persons with disabilities is influenced by factors such as perceived cause of the disability, the economic conditions, the body of medical knowledge, the sociocultural philosophy, and the perceived threat of the disability group to the community" (Noe, 1997). Some studies have shown that people have little knowledge about what conditions are covered under the ADA, which may lead to stereotypes that could manifest as discrimination in the workplace (Popovich, et. al., 2003; Baldwin & Johnson 2000; and Noe, 1997).

Disabilities and Civil Rights

When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, many African-Americans had a large sense of "black pride" because the government of the United States finally recognized their rights and freedoms. The women's movement had a similar feeling of "cultural connectedness." In addition, the rights of gays and lesbians are rallied with feelings of "gay pride." People with disabilities do not share this same connectedness with other people with disabilities. People with disabilities have formed groups of "cultural identity," such as the deaf community to help them form a unified voice for their cause. Because of this people with disabilities do not have a sense of "history or a cultural tradition that helps to adhere other groups to social, cultural and political purposes" (Hahn and Beaulaurier, 2001).

G. Wayne Barr says in his essay:
the disabled recall to us our deepest fears. They are daily reminders of our inability to control pain and suffering. They remind us of our mortality. We can flee as far into ourselves as we please, but the person we pass who is blind, deaf, stooped over, in a wheelchair, muttering or swinging fists at phantoms is a reflection of you and me. We are wasting our indifference, pity or contempt on a problem that could visit us at any second. How could we ever conclude that people with disabilities are the problem? (Barr, 2000).

Enforcement of Title II and the Rehabilitation Act against state and local governments are handled first through the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) and secondly, complaints can be submitted with the Department of Justice (Colker & Milani, 2006). Once a complaint is made it is up to the Department of Justice to make the determination which agency has jurisdiction to resolve

the complaint. Private lawsuits are required to attempt administrative solutions before filing with federal courts (Colker & Milani, 2006). States have "sovereign immunity," meaning that the state cannot be sued in its own courts without consent. Because there is no "dedicated enforcement agency," it is important for people with disabilities to be their own "self advocate" by educating themselves.

Justin Dart a longtime advocate and supporter of rights for people with disabilities said, "the economic cost of segregating millions of disabled people from the productive mainstream of American life was running \$300 billion per year" (Davis, 2002, page 129). Members of Congress agreed and acknowledged in the "findings and purposes" of the ADA that "historically, society has tended to isolate and segregate individuals with disabilities, and, despite some improvements, such forms of discrimination against individuals with disabilities continue to be a serious and pervasive social problem; discrimination against individuals with disabilities persists in such critical areas as employment, housing, public accommodations, education, transportation, communication, recreation, institutionalization, health services, voting, and access to public services" (Public Law, 101-336, ADA, 1990, findings and purposes). In addition, Justin Dart called the ADA "the first declaration of independence and equity for people with disabilities" (O'Brien, 2001, Page 162).

Justin Dart, who was stricken with polio in 1948, felt that it was important to learn from the civil rights movement and the accomplishments of Martin Luther King Jr. to improve the fight for basic rights of people with disabilities (Shapiro, 1994 B, page 111). He quoted Martin Luther King's words "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" as he entered a "concentration camp" of neglected children who also had polio. After seeing the horrible conditions the children were held in, Dart and his wife fostered over 80 children. Dart was appointed to the National Council on Disability and although he was a strong advocate for the ADA, he made it clear that he never wanted to be known as the "father of the ADA" (Reid, 2000). In addition, Dart founded "Justice for All" in 1995 as a way to communicate information and form advocacy bonds among the community of people with disabilities (Fleischer & Zames, 2001).

Malcolm X spoke of the "brainwashing" of African-Americans by the white society as the basic problem that affected the beliefs and values held by many African-Americans. He thought that African-Americans believed that they were incapable of succeeding in society without the help of the white society (Malcolm X Speech 1). In addition, Malcolm X believed that

African-Americans should be able to “control their own politics” within their own community (Malcolm X Speech 2). For example, people with disabilities should be the ones who are educating the people that represent them to the needs of people with disabilities. Also, Malcolm X believed that “everything that is offered is not what it produces” meaning that even though there is the ADA, people with disabilities must make sure that their rights are enforced (Malcolm X Speech 3). Further, people with disabilities should exercise their right to vote to continue to promote people who will eliminate political issues that do not protect people with disabilities.

Conclusion

Disability rights under the American’s with Disabilities Act (ADA) are seen as “civil rights” that should be afforded every person in the United States. However, in our society we have not viewed people with disabilities as “whole” people and have for years associated the “disabled body” as the source for oppression (Barnes & Mercer, 2003). The ADA is designed as a “civil rights approach” to help people with disabilities in the workplace (Diller, 2003, page 72). Part of the reason that people with disabilities have had problems receiving civil rights is because of the longstanding history of segregation and isolation (Johnson, 2003). Traditionally, disability has been seen from the lens of the medical model. Under the medical model, disabilities are seen as a medical problem that implies a medical treatment to “fix” the person with a disability. For example, a person with mental illness could be fixed up with the proper medical plan including the proper psychotropic medications. When medicine cannot fix the “problem,” society “relegates people to a position of political powerlessness” (Diller, 2003, page 72).

Marginalization of people with disabilities (also, women and minorities) is nothing new. Each has been struggling for years and have experienced both employment and wage inequities. Despite federal legislation to level the playing field, many people still live in poverty and lack access to medical services, equal pay for equal work, and job placement (Charlton, 2000). Just as passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and

the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the ADA has made little progress in providing anti-discrimination based on sex, race and disability (Russell, 1998).

Rehabilitation Services is located within the Department of Education but many feel that since the services are directed toward employment and they should be under the Department of Labor. The Department of Labor provided and “Office of Disability Employment Policy, Job Accommodation Network, One-Stop Career Centers” and other resources for people with disabilities and employers. To make every feel good, “Congress enacted Public Law 176 in 1945 establishing October as the month to recognize the contributions Americans with disabilities are making in the workplace” (Office of Disability Employment Policy, 2006). With nine different agency and programs designed to help people with disabilities join the workforce, the Department of Labor joins with other departments such as Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Department of Transportation (DOT), the Federal Communication Commission (FCC), The Department of Education, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and others to help develop programs for people with disabilities. For example, “under the ADA, the EEOC was directed to issue implementing regulations” (Mason & Ash, 1997, page 35). These regulations factor in the current trends in litigation but most courts uphold the intent of the ADA. Because each federal agency has different jurisdictions, different scope of importance, and a different language to help address the needs of people with disabilities, many people with disabilities end up fighting many systems that have neither an overarching system of enforcement of rights nor oversight to make sure that rights for people with disabilities are being adhered to.

For people with disabilities, it is important that the public and political authorities are educated and that the rights of the disabled to participate in society are enforced. Legislation is in place that offers people with disabilities rights to access every part of society. Advocacy continues to reduce “stumbling blocks” toward positive change (Schuh & Dixon, 2000).

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CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND CHEROKEE TRIBAL MEMBERSHIP

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I am 1/32 Cherokee according to the federal government. Although I am German, Scottish, Irish, and Creek, the Cherokee connection is the one my father always focused on and was extremely proud of. We are enrolled members of the Cherokee Nation, and that gives us a sense of belonging to something more than the idea of coming over here on a boat might have. We were and are a part of this red earth that is Oklahoma. We sprang from it and in it we have our roots. Because we are of such tiny blood quantum, my family has always had a sheepish explanation of why we were so identified with Indian culture when we were barely Indian at all. It had to do with the belief that if our ancestors who were more than half-blood, had enrolled on the Dawes Rolls as ½ or more, they would have had their lands put in trust. That was the story that circulated among my family members. In fact, they said, we were both Cherokee and Creek; that part is true. They claimed that the ancestors had to choose one tribe over another; that was also true. But when they claimed that they had to minimize their blood quantum so as not to have their land placed into a trust, they went too far. I later learned that this favorite family story is probably apocryphal since “all allotments were restricted when the rolls closed in 1906, and there wasn’t any apparent privilege granted to those of lesser degree blood at that time.”¹

The Dawes Act of 1887 signaled a change in U.S. Indian policy from forced removal to “assimilation, population shifting, and detribalization.”² Anyone who signed up on the Dawes Rolls, like my ancestors did, would have had to be a clairvoyant to know that two years later Congress would pass a law to lift the restrictions on those of less than ½ degree blood as to their homestead allotments, and less than ¾ for their surplus allotments.³ One thing is certain, though, the Dawes Rolls were full of inaccurate blood quanta for another reason. The concept of “full blood” was one of cultural and linguistic participation rather than one of biology. “Full blood” was used to describe the person who participated fully in the culture, shared the Cherokee world view, and spoke the language. In fact, throughout the nineteenth century many famous Cherokees, such as Major Ridge, Sequoyah, Stand Watie, Lewis Downing, and Redbird Smith were referred to as “fullbloods” in spite of the fact that they were not biological full bloods.⁴ The Cherokees, more than any other tribe, intermarried with whites, and had been doing so since they mingled with the Tories during the American Revolution.⁵

In a twenty-first century test of the limits of tribal membership, the descendants of former slaves of the Cherokee sued the Cherokee Nation in its own courts seeking citizenship in the Cherokee Nation. The highest Cherokee court recently held that these freedmen had⁶ to be admitted to the tribe, a decision which would potentially swell tribal membership in this Nation’s second most populous tribe by a whopping 45,000. The Freedmen, former slaves of the Cherokee, had been made tribal members in 1866, but excluded by tribal vote one hundred years later.⁷ Now in the twenty-first century, the Principal Chief Chad Smith greeted the news with the announcement that he preferred putting the issue before the citizens of Cherokee Nation. “Is the Cherokee Nation a race or a nation?” wondered Marilyn Vann, president of the Descendants of Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes. This question of what constitutes a tribe is an important one. Are Indian nations composed of persons of similar race, persons who share a similar culture and language, or are they created by legislative or judicial fiat? Chief Smith believes that Freedmen should not be members of tribe because those who voted in 1975 to exclude them must have felt that “an Indian nation should be composed of Indians.”⁸ This begs the question of who is Indian.

Although tribes may legislate the requirements of tribal membership, the federal government exercises control of which groups are recognized as tribes. The state of Oklahoma is home to thirty-nine federally recognized tribes. A telephonic survey of all the thirty-nine tribes was attempted, but there were four tribes for which no response was available.⁹ The results of the survey revealed that tribal membership requirements vary greatly. Because tribal membership may mean receiving certain benefits, such as a share of casino profits, Indian Health Services, employment preference in tribal jobs, scholarships, etc., some tribes are restrictive in their enrollment requirements. Others may fear dilution of the culture. Fifteen of the Oklahoma tribes control membership by limiting the blood quantum required for enrollment. They range from the Kialegee which requires ½ to the Euchee which allows enrollment for persons who have as little as 1/32 blood coursing through their veins. Additionally, seventeen of the thirty-nine Oklahoma tribes, including the Cherokees, have no minimum blood quantum requirement. Among those tribes surveyed, seventeen forbid dual enrollment and three deny enrollment to individuals who have received money or land from any other tribe, thus reinforcing the notion that tribal

enrollment requirements are a means to control dilution of tribal assets.

During the sixties and seventies, with the “increased politicization of Indian identity,”¹⁰ Indians began to “make demands upon the federal government in myriad ways.”¹¹ They sued for land and water rights, staged sit-ins, and testified before Congress.¹² The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) realized that with the renewed interest in Indian rights came demands for recognition from unrecognized tribes. For this purpose the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) was established in 1978. The function of the BAR could be reduced to the notion of “cash and color,” a question of Indian racial identity and Indian gaming.¹³ Being recognized meant the ability to participate in gaming, having your art be recognized as “Indian art,” being able to recover your ancestors’ remains, and reclaiming of tribal lands, hunting and fishing rights, etc. In a holdover from colonialism, Indians are the only ethnic/racial group who are required to prove their membership in their group. Imagine asking a White or Black American what his or her degree of white or black blood is! Similar requirements were imposed on people of color in South Africa during the days of apartheid. Homi Bhabha in his discussion of cultural hybridity recognizes this urge toward “fixity” as a means of controlling that which tends toward chaos. The master is dynamic, active; while the subject is fixed, unchanging. The BAR, an instrument of the “master,” fixes tribal membership, determines which group is a real Indian, and who gets the casino, thus avoiding a headlong plunge into “chaos” by freezing the notion of Indian-ness.

My father contemplated this separation between races in his story about Removal.¹⁴ Indian Removal Act was designed to distance Indians from land-hungry White settlers. A perfect example of what Edward Said’s concept of the “white middle-class Westerner [who] believes it his human prerogative not only to manage the nonwhite world but also to own it.”¹⁵ The inevitability of the Indians’ loss of homeland is expressed by Pulitzer-prize winning novelist, Larry McMurtry¹⁶: “The whole continent was strongly contested: the Indians yielded up none of it easily. But, first or last, East or West, the Indians were up against people with better equipment...” Ironically, the federal government pursuant to the Indian Removal Act also removed those non-Indians who had intermarried into Indian families. Rachel, the second wife of my great great grandfather Ganu’teyo’hi, was dispossessed from their land in Georgia along with her husband and mother-in-law. As she trudged along with her fullblood mother-in-law, Rachel lamented:

At this moment, we were no longer separated by our

skin color, no longer a white woman and a full-blood Cherokee. Neither were we separated by religious beliefs, she being a heathen and me believing in Jesus Christ. At that moment we also were not different because we came from entirely different worlds. ... we were as identical twins; two weary, dejected females who were alone and unwanted in their homeland... made aliens by the greed and hatred of the unfriendly people who had taken over their homes.¹⁷

Although Rachel was white, she was snared in the same cruel net as her Cherokee husband and mother-in-law. Rachel inhabited “the rim of an in-between reality,” a “borderline existence,” as Bhabha would describe it. Although she appeared to be from the hegemonic class, Rachel was totally swept up in the rising waters of oppression and injustice which was aimed at the nation’s indigenous people. It was an attempt to clear the land for white European settlers who looked and acted like Rachel, exemplifying, as Bhabha observed, “a cultural politics of diaspora and paranoia, of migration and discrimination, of anxiety and appropriation.”¹⁸ A thin layer of paternalistic protectionism was insufficient to conceal the government’s true motive.

N. Scott Momaday’s novel *The Ancient Child* recounts a man’s journey toward self-discovery, his response to his own Indian-ness. Set, a Kiowa man totally assimilated into white, mainstream culture when he was orphaned at the age of seven, became a well known artist, had a white girlfriend, and mingled with the rich and famous. Inhabiting an interstitial space between “the colonialist Self” and the “colonized Other,” Set bore the “artifice” of the white man on his brown body, being neither one nor truly the other.¹⁹ It wasn’t until he returned to his birthplace after his grandmother’s death that his approach to Kiowa culture commenced. His grandmother had been so anxious for him to have the medicine, and he felt obliged to take it back to his other life. As the power of the medicine pouch inexorably took hold, Set was gradually, yet dramatically transformed. Was it biology or culture that lured him back? Was Indian-ness in the blood or his psyche? Or is it a spiritual call that demanded an answer? Momaday recounts Set’s metamorphosis into a bear as his destiny determined at birth, the call of the blood which could not be denied.²⁰

Many Cherokees, such as 19th century newspaper editor Elias Boudinot, had been educated by White missionaries and believed that all people shared a common humanity and that Indian people were just less evolved than White people. When called upon to address White audiences, Boudinot would say,

What is an Indian? Is he not formed of the same

materials with yourself?... Though it be true that he is ignorant, that he is a heathen, that he is a savage; yet he is no more than all others have been under similar circumstances.”²¹

Boudinot believed that progress meant assimilation, abandonment of Indian ways and embracing of White culture. In this world view, greatly influenced by Western culture, Indians were just lesser Whites who would surely soar to great heights as soon as they tossed away their ballast of Indian-ness. Bhabha refers to this cultural phenomenon as “the shifting boundaries between barbarism and civility.”²² This belief of Boudinot’s cost him his life as his adherence to assimilation for the Cherokees drove him to sign the Treaty of New Echota acquiescing to the removal of the Cherokees. He was murdered by his own people at the end of the Trail of Tears.

These notions of Indian identity reflect the infinite ways identity is determined for all individuals. Like a cubist painting, which captures an image as an amalgam of views, it’s as if the observer walks around an object, takes mental impressions, and then recombines them into a new image. Part of our identity is externally decided, by the way others see us. For Indians this identity is often in the hands of the federal government or the tribe. There are persons who are racially and culturally Indian who cannot trace their ancestors back to a Dawes Rolls signee because their family members simply refused to cooperate with the federal government. Others, such as I, had more compliant ancestors. My grandfather Noah Franklin Twist along with two dozen or so other members of the Twist family signed on to the Dawes Rolls as 1/8 Cherokee from the town of Hanson, Oklahoma, a dot on a map of long ago, not much more than a whistle stop on the railroad, obliterated twenty years later in the swirling winds of the Dust Bowl. Then Noah married a white woman, my grandmother Eula and produced two sons Jack and Glen who also married white women. Thus were born five 1/32 Cherokees, my three siblings and I and my cousin. I can’t really speak for the others except to say perhaps all of us live with nothing but a nostalgic connection to the tribe and with few racially identifiable Indian features. Yet, legally, I am Indian, and those who cannot get a certificate of degree of Indian blood because they cannot trace an ancestor to the Dawes Rolls, is not legally an Indians, no matter how much they may look, act, and think like an Indian.

Another facet of our identity arises from the way we see ourselves which is influenced by the culture in which we were raised. Persons who grow up in areas which are heavily indigenous are bound to see themselves as more indigenous than persons who are full blood Indians who have been adopted by white

families, such as Momaday’s protagonist Set. Because of fears that tribes were being robbed of their future patrimony by well-meaning individuals, including state social workers and attorneys, who encouraged adoption of poor Indian children into white middle-class homes, the Indian Child Welfare Act was enacted, putting certain procedural safeguards in place when custody of a minor tribal member is to be decided in court. One of these is the right for tribal attorneys and social workers to intervene in custody proceedings. Thus, what had happened to Set in Momaday’s book would in more enlightened times not happen so frequently to other children. Although Set had never been steeped in Kiowa culture, he had a longing to reintegrate which had been awakened when he returned to attend his grandmother’s funeral. The early effects of Set’s metamorphosis were evident in the bold brush strokes of vibrant color which undulated across his canvasses as opposed to the icily controlled, alienating abstract paintings he was producing earlier. Later, his transformation was complete and undeniable as he changed species from human to bear.

Another transition, of a more unfortunate nature, was described in a secondary character in Louise Erdich’s *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse*.²³ Toward the end of the story, the town’s priest, Father Damian, encountered a former resident who had fallen on hard times. On a trip to Fargo, Damian stumbled onto an old Indian woman, “[h]unched, drunk, half collapsed,” who was panhandling. Even though the priest had known the woman very well in Little No Horse, it took some effort to recognize her as the tribal member he had once known in her old role as Mashkiigikwee, a resident of Little No Horse, a wife and a mother. As the priest called out to her by her given name, the toothless wretch replied, “What are you calling me by the old name for?... Left that one years ago. Do you have money?”²⁴ On a downward spin, she had abandoned her tribal way of life, her culture, even her name to subsist on strangers’ handouts and wander aimlessly in a city to which she did not belong. This woman became invisible and wondered how did it all happened. Cut loose from the moorings of her remote town and tribal existence, she wandered rudderless and exposed to the whims and vagaries of climate, charity and law enforcement. She is the personification of Bhabha’s “invisibility” which erases the self-presence of that ‘I’.²⁵ Because of the forces of Western culture, namely alcohol, this woman fell from her place as a highly functioning individual whose name was well known to a hideous, anonymous nonentity, the embodiment of Memmi’s idea that “colonization weakens the colonized.”²⁶

Homi Bhabha views cultural identity as a complex

RENDON: CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND CHEROKEE TRIBAL MEMBERSHIP

entity which is neither unitary nor “simply dualistic” but rather a “system of meaning.”²⁷ Cultural hybridity can be examined in the act of proselytizing—“in the very practice of domination the language of the master becomes hybrid.”²⁸ Missionaries, such as Father Damian in Erdich’s novel learned the indigenous language in order to dominate, to convert, to colonize the Indians. In this cultural-linguistic ebb and flow, both priest and parishioners are changed, both are hybridized. Father Diego de Landa, in an effort to subdue the Mayas, solicited the assistance of bilingual Mayans to rescue the sacred text *Popul Vuh* which has been summarily incinerated by his predecessors. Fray Bartolome de las Casas in his *Cronicas* expressed his sympathy for the Aztecs who were subjugated by the Spanish conquistadores. All three of these priests were both transformed and transforming in their contact with indigenous people.

Teachers in today’s schools are both agents of change and objects of change. They impact the lives of students who were often born into homes and neighborhoods distinct from those of their students. They often speak a language or a dialect of the dominant group in society, but teachers often evolve as they are pressed to become culturally competent in Spanish or in the dialects of English of minority groups living in poverty. Homi Bhabha sees this process as a “social articulation of difference” which is “a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation.”²⁹ It is easy to oversimplify the world and view it as neatly divided into industrialized and developing nations, into the colonized and the colonizer, but it is imperative that we recognize our schools as sites in which colonization is an ongoing process. In schools, the hegemonic culture is imposed on those who are from a myriad of cultures through Eurocentric curriculum, teachers with their own

prejudices, and inequities in school funding. As Gordon Allport in his classic work *The Nature of Prejudice* describes human interaction, in groups and out groups are formed wherever human congregate, and schools are no exception. To seek one’s own kind is a natural reaction to our discomfort with diversity.³⁰ As Bhabha explains,

there are groups of people who occupy the quasi-colonial status; laborers who are settled in the slums of large cities; groups like Negroes in the United States who are segregated physically and discriminated spiritually in law and custom.³¹

Teachers, then might find guidance in what Bhabha calls for the “right to narrate as a means to achieving our own national or communal identity in a global world.”³² Instead of giving all students the right to be like the ruling class, some effort should be made to allowing students to develop in their own ways, unimagined by us. What should we do in a world where we are simultaneously the problem and the solution? Bhabha suggests that “we must not merely change the narratives or our histories, but transform our sense of what it means to live, to be in other times and different spaces, both human and historical.”³³

Can tribes teach valuable lessons about cultural diversity or are they just large in-groups obsessed with their own preservation? Considering the forces within our present society that actively promote the destruction of the tribes—poverty, poor health care, drug and alcohol addiction, globalization of resources—the tribes must be ever vigilant to prevent total annihilation. How can they then be both agents of change and objects of change without promoting their own demise? Perhaps their greatest contribution is the teaching of cultural survival against formidable odds. Perhaps they can help provide, as Bhabha describes it, “a form of writing of cultural difference in the midst of modernity that is inimical to binary boundaries.”³⁴

ENDNOTES

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3. Coates, 1.
4. Coates, 4.
5. Rennard Strickland, *Fire and the Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 49.
6. Tony Thornton, “Tribal Members’ Fate Discussed.” *The Oklahoman*, March 15, 2006, 15A.
7. Thornton.

8. Thornton.
9. During August 2006 the researcher called all 39 federally recognized tribes to inquire about membership requirements. Responses were obtained from 35 of those tribes.
10. Cramer, 7.
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17. Twist, 27.
18. Bhabha, 84.
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20. N. Scott Momaday, *The Ancient Child*, (New York: Harper, 1989).
21. Theda Perdue, ed. *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot*.. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 13.
22. Bhabha, 59.
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24. Erdich, 304-305.
25. Bhabha, 79.
26. Memmi, 115.
27. Bhabha, 52.
28. Bhabha, 49.
29. Bhabha, 3.
30. Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*. (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books, 1979), 29-47.
31. Bhabha, xviii.
32. Bhabha, xx.
33. Bhabha, 366-367.
34. Bhabha, 361-362.

VIRGINIA WOOLF MEETS GAYLORD FOCKER: EMBRACING THE SOCIETY OF OUTSIDERS

Donna M. Sayman, OSU

Introduction

A few years ago my son asked me to explain what I was researching in my doctoral program and why. I told him that I was examining gendered occupations and why there are so few women employed in the science, mathematics, and engineering programs in the United States. He listened intently to my explanation, as he has heard snippets of them for many years, and then with an utterly serious tone he said it was all rubbish. He explained that when he saw the movie, *Meet the Parents* (DiNiro, 2000) he was disgusted about the way men in nursing were portrayed. My son felt discomfort and shame for the main character whose chosen occupation as a caring, conscientious nurse, was lambasted and ridiculed simply because he was a man. My son stated that in order to really discover about gendered, or sex-role specific occupations, it was as vital to study men in non-traditional careers as it was to study women in nontraditional careers.

I began to rethink my proposal. It is true that occupations become gendered for both sexes and the ramifications for each are tremendous. While we encourage our daughters to become doctors, overall, Americans do not applaud their sons for choosing a career in nursing.

In her revolutionary book, *Three Guineas* (1938), Virginia Woolf crafts a picture of the myriad ways in which all aspects of patriarchal society locate women as an “outsider class” (p.26) and prevent them from attaining equity with men. She challenges women to overcome stereotypes and discrimination and to work toward a future in which justice, freedom, and equality are woven into all aspects of society. Maintaining that a woman’s position as an outsider is one of strength, since it frees women from the trappings of societal constructs and “of the obvious effect of such distinctions to constrict, to stereotype, and to destroy” (p. 114). Woolf declares that women, as members of the Society of Outsiders, are positioned to dialogue with men honestly (p. 31), “not by repeating [their] words and following [their] methods, but by finding new words and creating new methods” (p.143). Developed within her broader theory of how one must educate to prevent war, she needed first to address prior questions that critically examine the underpinnings of how women position themselves as outsiders and how that positioning can form a future society that is based on “liberty, equality and peace” (p. 106).

However, her timeless message makes clear that in our new century many women have embraced a false

message and have joined the Insiders and become like them. Even though more women have entered male-dominated professions, the truth is that women and children still make up the largest segment of the population living in poverty (Kincheloe, 1999). Occupations are still highly gendered, and women have not broken through many barriers of sexism and stereotyping due to the problem of continued archaic practices and ideals that deem a job suitable for only one sex. This continues a cycle of culturally produced gendered occupations. For me to examine how men position themselves in atypical careers dictates a complete reversal of the image placed before us by Woolf. Nevertheless, sexism is pervasive and works toward empowering a deeply ingrained patriarchal system. I think she would forgive me for applying her concept to men who are marginalized, stereotyped, stigmatized, and experience repression because of their chosen careers.

I will use the lens of Virginia Woolf’s concept of outsider to examine the film, *Meet the Parents* (DiNiro, 2000) and determine how men can utilize this notion in order to break through culturally produced gendered occupations that are harmful to both men and women.

Theoretical Lens

The theoretical frame for this research is a critical feminist theory which I will use to identify the process that perpetuates gender-based hierarchies in vocational choice (Cheng, 1999; Connell, 1987; Kimmel, 2000). A feminist critique posits that gender identification is a socially produced ideology (Arnot, 2002; Mies, 1998). Studying masculinity through a feminist framework makes it possible to gain a complete picture of social constructs and how they affect both sexes (Gardiner, 2002). Men who work in nontraditional occupations may feel positioned into a marginalized masculinity and are often viewed as a hindrance to the prescribed hegemonic concepts of what it means to be a man (Cheng, 1999; Evans & Frank, 2003; Lease, 2003; Williams, 1995). Sex discrimination is a two-edged sword. How these labels affect men also influence women and perpetuate stereotypes. Christine L. Williams (1995) observed that once men are in a female-identified occupation they often quickly rise to managerial positions by “the glass escalator” (p. 88) thus negating any true hope for equality in occupations. This is the same scenario described by Woolf when women enter men’s professions and become “just as possessive, just as jealous, just as pugnacious” (p.66).

Critical theory has influenced modern feminist

thought by addressing the question of inequity through both class and gender differences (Freedman, 2002). Critical theory centers on issues of power, oppression, and domination. Critical theorists seek to expose how these power relationships work in all aspects of culture and allow people to become aware of that oppression. Modern critical theory focuses on social action along with recognition of the hegemonic issuance of oppression. This perspective endeavors to reveal true social relationships and exposes false consciousness with an aspiration for change. Critical theory is a demystification of reality (Crotty, 1998). Woolf created a lovely metaphor of critical theory as she imagined a bridge between the private home of women and children and the public arena of the professional men and worldly aspirations. She affirmed,

We have worn the veil that St. Paul recommended. But we have not come here to laugh, or to talk of fashions—men’s and women’s. We are here, on the bridge, to ask ourselves certain questions. They are important questions and we have very little time in which to answer them. (p. 62)

The Myths of Tokenism and the Male Advantage

I propose that men in female dominated careers are positioned as outsiders. How they view their masculinity and maintain their identity may bring crucial insight and implications for advancements and equality of women in nontraditional careers. The main character dubbed with the unfortunate name, “Gaylord Focker” or “Greg” as he is nicknamed in the movie, *Meet the Parents* (DiNiro, 2000), placed himself in the position of outsider by choosing his occupation as a nurse. This movie demonstrates how sex-role specific occupations are still a strongly determined construct today except that these men now face the same stereotypes and stigmatization as did the women of Virginia Woolf’s era. Although Woolf did not include men in her concept of the outsider, the positive benefits she expounds in her book are applicable as a lens for examining contemporary contexts of men working in a female dominated profession.

There exist numerous obstructions for men in the field of nursing. The lack of men in this profession could be a major reason for the current nursing shortage. When men do enter a female-dominated occupation, they are often faced with overwhelming frustration and lack of support. They also find a difficult process of negotiating relationships with the other nurses and with doctors. The biggest problem for some men is that they do not receive adequate support in the nursing profession—from their families, from the profession itself, or from society. There exist too many unspoken biases and stereotypes that lead to frustration and burnout for men in nursing (Meyers, 2003). Men

may also experience a lack of mentoring and often find themselves working in a hostile workplace environment that offers fewer benefits and rewards than their female peers receive. They often lack equal facilities, equal access to hospital units, and feelings of disassociation due to working in a female-dominated occupation (Allison, Beggan & Clements, 2004; O’Lynn, 2004).

Some research has questioned whether men in nursing quickly ascend to positions of authority. In her interviews with men in the nursing profession, Burt (1998) found frustration from men at not being able to obtain promotions. She listed the myriad gender discrimination lawsuits that men have filed within the nursing profession which indicated there may not be an unfair advantage for males to climb to positions of authority. Research by O’Lynn (2004); Poliafico (1998) and McMillian, Morgan, & Ament (2006) posited that men are not easily able to advance an administrative ladder in nursing and many feel they are discriminated against in the occupation.

Historical glimpse of gender and nursing

The focus of equity should examine nontraditional male career choices. Lease (2003) discovered that there is little research on changing societal views of gender and atypical occupations. Normally, when a woman enters a male dominated occupation, she is viewed as making a positive career choice. The same perceptions do not hold true for a man who enters a female-dominated occupation (p. 246). In schools where men receive their nursing training, little is discussed about dynamics which could lead to misunderstanding and frustration in their future careers. As a result of insufficient support, dropout rates from the nursing profession are higher for men than for women. This is disturbing due to projections by the Bureau of Labor and Statistics which posits that of the thirty fastest growing jobs by the year 2010, 17 are in the healthcare and healthcare support industry (Hecker, 2001). Recognition of the barriers for men entering a nontraditional career is the first step toward bringing about equitable pay and advancement opportunities for all people.

When men enter a female-dominated profession, they may face lowered social status, decreased financial rewards, and in some cases find their sexual orientation called into question. In light of abundant feminist research and understanding, it is difficult to view masculinity as being marginalized, but there exists a very definite group of men who find themselves relegated to a lower perception of what it means to be masculine. These groups include minorities, the poor, gays, and non-Christians (Cheng, 1999; Lease, 2003).

In an effort to better understand the social constructs of gender, R.W. Connell (1987, p. 184)

developed a theory called “Hegemonic masculinity.” This idea proposed that the dominant group of a culture determines and prescribes standards of conduct for men and women along with values that must be embraced for desired gender character. This construct is promoted through the media, schools, churches, and work. European-American males in our culture have dictated the current model of perfection for men which includes specific traits such as domination, aggressiveness, competitiveness, athletic prowess, and control (Cheng, 1999; Lease, 2003; Williams, 1995).

Hegemonic masculinity creates a dichotomy through emphasized femininity which functions to enforce this masculine ideal. This scenario is promoted through all areas of culture, but particularly in gendered occupations. The consequence for men who enter a female-identified career is stigmatization from other males and, surprisingly, from females as well. Along with denigration, men may encounter lack of support and a devalued sense of importance in their occupation (Evans & Frank, 2003). More disturbing was the discovery that some men in nontraditional occupations began to doubt their own sexual orientation due to negative labeling. In research that focused on males in the nursing profession, it was discovered that some men were called derogatory names or asked why they were not training to become a doctor. Some of the men studied were too embarrassed to admit they worked in the nursing profession (p.3).

Embracing the Other

The homophobic, anti-Semitic, misogynistic journey called *Meet the Parents* (DiNiro, 2000), opens with an ethereal choir singing a lovely hymn set amid a panoramic view of the Milky Way. One would think that this film is a religious docudrama extolling the wonders of some great philosophical prophet until the words to the angelic hymn are discerned, “Show me a man who is gentle and kind, and I’ll show you a loser.” This conveys a quiet foreshadowing of the silly, humiliating journey the movie will follow over the next two hours. Of course, it is a farce but one that strongly mirrors patriarchal gender roles. It is billed as a comedy and stars very recognizable names; Robert DeNiro, Ben Stiller, and Blythe Danner.

Greg Focker is a quiet, gentle man. Portrayed by Ben Stiller, he emulates a sort of loving, bumbling hero. In the opening scene of the movie, we meet him in the hospital where he is rehearsing a marriage proposal to his girlfriend. He is dressed in scrubs and working with an elderly patient. When the older man thanks him and addresses him as “doctor,” Focker proudly rips off his surgical gloves and with genuine satisfaction proclaims, “Actually, I’m a nurse!” We then see in contrast his girlfriend Pam in a classroom

with small children. She is typical of all of the women portrayed in the movie as being either a housewife or a teacher. With the exception of Greg Focker, all of the men also hold traditional, masculine identified careers. Even as Pam tells Greg that her sister is getting married, she refers to the groom as “Dr. Bob.” Later in the movie, when Bob’s family is introduced to Greg, the father is heralded as “the world famous plastic surgeon Dr. Larry.”

Occupations for the men are clearly defined as being traditionally patriarchal, masculine, and sex role appropriate. Pam’s mother is exemplified as the quiet, shy, housewife who adores her husband and children and has built a life around them and her home. Very traditional misogynistic roles are firmly entrenched throughout this movie with the nontraditional occupation of men in nursing being the source of constant ridicule and derision.

On the first day Greg meets Pam’s family, the father asks Greg, “Not many men in your profession?” to which Greg responds, “No, not traditionally.” When the doctors “Bob” and “Larry” hear that Greg is a nurse, their first reaction is raucous laughter followed by a disbelieving silence. They question why he did not decide to go for an M.D. with the sarcastic comment, “Those boards are killers.” Pam insists that Greg did take the MCAT and passed it with high marks. The men are still baffled why he did not choose to become a doctor. As Greg is explaining that nursing was a better fit for him and that it allowed him to be directly involved with patient care and not the bureaucratic aspect of medicine, he is rudely cut short. The topic of discussion is diverted. This is the one scene of the movie where the character shows in a non stuttering, non hesitant manner why he loves his occupation, but he is never given the opportunity to fully express his feelings.

In the end, all of the blunders and mishaps are forgiven, and Greg and Pam are happily engaged to be married. It is interesting that in the airport scene as De Niro is “negotiating” conditions that he would accept Greg as his son-in-law; the one stipulation mentioned is, “Will you give up nursing?” to which Greg adamantly and strongly says, “No!” I see this as Gaylord Focker embracing his role as “Other”. Certainly life would have been easier for him had he entered the M.D. program and become a doctor. It would have been what society expected of this young man. Not only did he realize that he was meant to be a nurse, but he embraced the qualities that he knew made him atypical to societal constructs of masculinity—a caring, concerned, and gentle manner. This is the message that Woolf speaks of when she characterizes the Insiders and Outsiders of society. In her overall

thesis of how to prevent war, she maintains that women must embrace the Outsider role. In order to develop a civilization where all can live without fear, women must maintain freedom from unreal loyalties which she lists as “pride of nationality ... religious pride, school pride, family pride, sex pride and those unreal loyalties that spring from them” (p. 80). She further clarifies that those who belong to the Society of Outsiders have the same goals as the Insiders, ... freedom, equality, peace, but that it seeks to achieve them by the means that a different sex, a different tradition, a different education, and the different values which result from those differences have placed within our reach (p.113).

Outsiders will work in private dispensing with all of the pageantry, pomp, and honors that are traditionally sought by societal notions of success. Is this not what the character of Gaylord Focker is doing in his role as a man in nursing? Woolf states, “Let us never cease from thinking—what is this ‘civilization’ in which we find ourselves? What are the ceremonies and why should we take part in them?” (p. 63) “And of course, if we are offered honours and degrees for ourselves we can refuse them—how, indeed, in view of the facts, could we possibly do otherwise?” (p. 37).

The character of Greg Focker was offered degrees and honors. He passed his MCAT and could have entered a lucrative world of becoming a socially acceptable M.D. It was expected of him as a man, as proof of his masculinity and success, yet he refused it. Even in the face of derision and shame by his fiancée’s family, he opted to stay in his profession as a nurse where he could make a difference in the lives of his patients and, in his own small, way allowed an opportunity for men and women truly to integrate the field of nursing.

Implications

Woolf identifies four great teachers for women in order to contribute to educating for peace and creating a more equitable society. She lists poverty, chastity, derision, and freedom from unreal loyalties (pp. 78-81; p. 112; pp. 91-99). The ideal of chastity she advocates is that of mental chastity, to reject “adultery of the brain” (p. 97). “There is a very clear connection between culture and intellectual liberty....” Derision teaches that fame and praise are to be rejected and shunned as “the obvious effect of such distinctions [are to] constrict, to stereotype and to destroy” (p. 114). This Society of which Woolf speaks will change the world from the outside. They will reject those patriarchal norms that have maintained strict sex roles for both men and women and have not benefitted society or civilization at all. Today, as in Woolf’s generation, there are still wars. There are still abundant pictures of dead and bloody bodies, worldwide cruelties, and there continue dictators who rule with an iron fist. What is needed to make real lasting change is not more money for armaments, but a quiet change, “... -we, remaining outside, will experiment not with public means in public, but with private means in private” (p. 113). These outsiders will make a difference by rejecting the insider expectations dictated by hegemonic forces within society. The outsider embraces the differences and seeks to cut a new path, a new model of reality, in order to change society.

Gaylord Focker exemplifies Woolf’s definition of a member of the Society of Outsider for men in the nursing profession. The implications for women are myriad. In order for women to achieve parity with men in all professions, a study of how men in nontraditional occupations negotiate their identities and societal concepts of masculinity must be examined. As women become more numerous in male dominated fields, the lesson must be that they are to remain outsiders with the hope of providing a new model of reality and creating a truly equitable society.

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NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND: CATALYST AND CONTROVERSY

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Introduction

After five years the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) has come up for reauthorization. An outgrowth of the educational and cultural turmoil of previous decades, NCLB became President George W. Bush's first term platform to reform America's public schools. Excepting the landmark *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision and the "Great Society's Elementary and Secondary Education Act, few federal mandates or Supreme Court decisions have sparked the passion and litigation as has NCLB. Desegregation dominated the 50's and was joined by the push for Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" in the 60's. The "Sony Wars" sparked heated debate in the 70's. The highly publicized "A Nation at Risk" report drove reform through the 80's, while the 1990's saw the growth of Charter Schools and the religious right's growing influence on school choice. These and other movements have played a major role in shaping public education throughout the second half of the 20th century and helped fuel a series of reform movements.

NCLB's emphasis on accountability should not be surprising. Indeed, much of the controversy surrounding the legislation stems from both educational and cultural issues; (1) penalties for schools failing to make adequate yearly progress, (2) lack of federal funding to enable the legislation, (3) excessive and sometimes insensitive bureaucracy, (4) federal intervention in states rights, (5) highly charged special education issues, (6) sanctions for schools not closing achievement gaps, and (7) an emphasis on high stakes testing are some of the more highly publicized issues facing NCLB at age five. Arkansas and other states have had their standardized testing of Exceptional Children and English Language Learners rejected for failing to raise student standards. States continue to go back to the drawing board to strengthen curriculum and required standardized tests for limited English language speakers, at risk youth, and special education youngsters. Educators, professional associations, special interest groups, state policy makers, and investigators are calling attention to what they view as inherent flaws in NCLB. Everyone seems to agree that the ideal of educating all children and leaving none behind represents a worthy goal, but a significant and vocal coalition of voices question the penalty-driven mandated process and the premises upon which NCLB was built. Many critics believe that in the real world of the public schools there must be opportunities for children, especially developmentally challenged children to learn without the intense pressure, anxiety, and tension created by a barrage of standardized tests.

There does not appear to be a nationwide consensus on ensuring a working process to close the achievement gap. As mid term elections approach some politicians are suggesting that policy makers revisit the use of standardized tests to close the achievement gap. Some Florida candidates for office are calling for elimination of FCAT, the state's comprehensive achievement tests while Georgia is scrapping the PRAXIS, a standardized test long used for state certification of teachers and administrators, and joined a growing list of states creating their own certification tests for entry and advanced level testing.

With the battle joined between those who advocate a national curriculum, those who support states rights, supporters and opponents of educational rights for illegal immigrants, and those who support parental freedom of choice, an interesting consensus has emerged for more dollars and alternative testing strategies. Mc Andrews (2006) notes that no remedy including NCLB, property tax equalization, vouchers, charter or magnet schools, has yet bridged the gap between high and low achievers in public elementary and secondary schools.

Immigrants and Language

Diagnosing the problem has proven easier than developing effective educational strategies for low income underprivileged students. Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act requires that all English Language Learners have quality instruction in both English and grade level content. Some flexibility is allowed for programs of instruction with greater accountability for English Language Learners and academic progress. A worthy goal of NCLB is to assure that all children have a fair, equal and significant opportunity to have a high-quality education and reach at least minimum proficiency on high stake academic standards and assessments. Where numerous problems have occurred, especially with testing standards, are with those states having to revise their tests to be sure high standards are met. Local school district administrators are finding it difficult to raise test scores with special education and English Language Learners.

Forty years of federal court decisions have addressed linguistic issues and immigration status. In *Lau vs. Nichols* the Supreme Court found the San Francisco School District violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by denying non English-speaking Chinese students a meaningful opportunity to participate in the education program. If English is the mainstream language for instruction, then efforts must be made to ensure English is taught to limited English proficient students. The Supreme Court found in *Plyler v. Doe*

(1982) that public schools were prohibited from denying immigrant students access to a public education. Undocumented children have the same rights to a free public education as U.S. citizens and permanent residents. Undocumented immigrant students are obligated, as are all other students, to attend school until they reach the age mandated by school law. Public schools and school personnel are prohibited under Plyler from adopting policies or taking actions that would deny students access to education based on their immigration status.

Although Congress and state legislatures can pass legislation to nullify these decisions, public school district officials currently may not require children to prove that they are in the country legally by asking for green cards, citizenship papers and should avoid unintentional attempts to document students' legal status in view of Plyler rights (Vasquez, Careera, 2006). All states have programs in place to train teachers to work with Limited English Language Learners. NCLB provides direction for the learning of English through teaching methods considered by NCLB to be proven for remediation. School districts are to examine whether limited English proficient students are doing acceptable work in the regular instructional program. If they are not performing effectively, school districts must provide an alternative language program. When there are few ESL students the process can be informal. In large school districts the program will be structured and formal. There is a large variation and migration in America's school districts including size, number of students, amount of resources and variety of languages involved (Vasquez, 2006).

As the Census Bureau reports the a rapidly increasing number of immigrants, both legal and illegal, the body of law developed over the decades since Council of Chief State School Officers (CSSO) appears to clash with a growing backlash from states with overburdened social service systems including education. The debate is coming to a head now because of a disconnect between Washington and state capitals. As the U.S. Senate considers a new immigration bill that would allow the nation's estimated eleven million illegal immigrants the opportunity to win citizenship and create a broad temporary worker program, many state politicians are moving the opposite direction. States, fearful of the potential problems from growing illegal immigrant populations, are taking immigration issues into their own hands. Among the 368 immigration-related bills that are pending in forty-two states, Georgia's Security and Immigration Compliance Act is one of the toughest and most prohibitive. Cowen (2006) cites Republican Georgia Senator Chip Rogers, who initially proposed the legislation as saying "We

were concerned about social benefits, safety issues and employment issues." The state House of Representatives passed the version of the bill adopted by the state Senate last March. "I think we accomplished that by passing the most comprehensive immigration bill of any state. The law as signed by Governor Sonny Perdue requires employers to maintain valid documentation for employees in order to claim a tax deduction for wages, and to verify the legal status of employees through a federal work authorization program. State agencies will be required to verify the immigration status of applicants before doling out benefits such as unemployment or Medicaid except for emergency medical treatment and disaster relief. A proposed 3 percent surcharge on out of country wire transfers for those who could not prove valid citizenship status was taken out of the bill, but in its place, lawmakers substituted a 6 percent withholding of wages for contract workers without a valid taxpayer identification or social security number.

Funding

A growing chorus of parents, educators and elected officials of both parties at the state and local levels are raising serious concerns about the NCLB's lack of funding. Many are calling for more federal resources for methods proven to boost student achievement, rather than forcing schools and school districts to spend limited resources and money on costly regulations. The following is a small sampling of recent comments, drawn from the National Education Association's "Growing Chorus of Voices."

MICHIGAN "The No Child Left Behind Act threatens to pose more unfunded federal mandates....While the intentions may be well and good, the realities create more frustrations for educators and administrators already competing for shrinking dollars. Unfortunately, federal reforms often become barriers to innovation and flexibility." Jennie Hoffmann, parent and school board candidate for Marshall Public Schools (Battle Creek Enquirer, 6/11/04)

TEXAS "The President's budget will leave Americans behind at every level. U.S. Rep. Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX) , (Statement issued 2/07/05)

VERMONT "Any Vermont school board member knows...that the federal government is imposing a federal education tax on local school districts by failing to fund its own mandated programs." John A. Nelson, executive director, Vermont School Boards Association, (Rutland Herald, 8/22/04)

MASSACHUSETTS "Without the promised funding, NCLB may do more harm than good, an unfunded mandate that diverts resources desperately needed to help students catch up."(Editorial, Dover-Sherborn Press, 6/3/04)

SIEGRIST AND VAN PATTEN: NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND: CATALYST AND CONTROVERSY

CALIFORNIA “Programs for the gifted have been cut back at public schools nationwide as educators put their time and money toward getting more children to the proficient level.” (Editorial, Los Angeles Times, 10/23/04)

CONNECTICUT “[The \$12 billion NCLB funding shortfall in the President’s budget] is going to put incredible pressures on our states and localities to meet these mandatory obligations included in the federal legislation.” U.S. Sen. Chris Dodd (D-CT)

(Connecticut Post)

“This law imposes an illegal, unconscionable unfunded mandate.” Connecticut Attorney General Richard Blumenthal, who is filing suit against the federal government over lack of adequate federal funding for NCLB mandates (Connecticut Post, 4/6/05)

“There is a severe lack of funding [under NCLB] for transportation and school construction to arrange the transfer ... Funding for transportation and school construction must accompany this option to transfer students if it is to be real. U.S. Rep. Rob Simmons (D-CT), letter to U.S. Education Secretary Rod Paige
INDIANA “Michael Benway, superintendent of Valparaiso Community Schools agrees students’ progress should be followed from year to year, but said the system does not provide the proper dollars for improvement.” (News article from Northwest Indiana Times, 6/25/04)

PENNSYLVANIA “Don’t ask us to test, then leave us without the resources.” Pennsylvania Democratic Gov. Ed Rendell (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 4/9/04)

UTAH “We’re trying to live within the spirit of the law, but we can’t live within the letter of the law... We can’t afford it.” Utah Republican State Rep. Margaret Dayton, who has proposed legislation in the Utah legislature to place Utah’s education priorities first (News in Brief: A State Capitals Roundup, 12/1/04)

“It’s an unattainable goal... There was a study released in Ohio last week that shows it’s going to cost one and a half billion dollars just in remediation costs to implement No Child Left Behind.” Utah Republican State Rep. Kory Holdaway

WISCONSIN “By failing to commit the needed funds and support, the administration has hamstrung states and localities with mandates they can’t afford to implement, having a direct and harmful impact on children and their schools.” U.S. Rep Ron Kind (D-WI) (WisPolitics.com, 3/8/04)

OHIO “All well and good, but where is the money? For all the Bush team’s rhetoric, it offers miserly support of its touted requirements. More frustrating, the administration’s failure shifts the financial burden to state governments, (Editorial, Akron Beacon Journal, 1/26/04)

“The president’s plan for education reform has become nothing more than an unfunded mandate. It leaves schools grossly under funded, forcing teachers to teach students to pass performance tests without adequate resources promised in the legislature.” Letter from U.S. Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich (D-OH)

<http://www.denniskucinich.us/>

OTHER “It’s the largest unfunded mandate in the history of the United States.” Idaho Republican Sen. Gary Schroeder (Idaho State Journal, 1/28/05)

“The feds promised 40 percent funding for IDEA, but we are only getting 20 percent funding. I fear we are on the same path of unfunded federal mandates.” Maine Senate Majority Leader Michael Brennan, who has called on the state’s attorney general to sue the federal government for failing to fully fund NCLB. (Press release from Maine Senate Majority Office, 4/6/05)

“[NCLB] was one of the commitments. It leaves us open to the charge of unfunded mandates.” U.S. Sen. Olympia Snowe (R-ME) (<http://www.factcheck.org>)

“The worst thing that has ever happened to social studies has been the No Child Left Behind law.” Al Frascella, spokesman for the National Council for the Social Studies (Kansas City Star, 4/13/05)

“The central point of the discussion ought to be how do we change the implementation so that we talk about what funding is necessary and how do we go about providing for all of our children.” New Jersey Education Commissioner William Librera (Newark Star Ledger, 9/28/04)

State Rights and Litigation

According to Kalderman (2006) of StateLine.Org, the organ for the National Council of State Legislators, schools are preparing for their fourth year under the federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) this fall even as a state-led grassroots rebellion rages against the education law. The revolt is expected to intensify in the 2005-2006 school year as stricter testing requirements and penalties take effect. Several states have launched legislative and legal attacks against NCLB, or are openly defying provisions of the law, which calls for annual student testing in grades three to eight and penalizes schools that fail to improve test scores in all racial and demographic groups. States have complained since the law went into effect in 2002 that it is too costly and that federal standards usurp state and local control of schools. Leading the revolt has been the solidly Republican state of Utah, which handed Bush his largest margin of victory in the nation in the 2004 presidential election. After more than a year of debate, the GOP-dominated Legislature on April 19 authorized schools to ignore NCLB mandates that conflict with the state’s own testing regimen or that require state dollars

to meet them. In Bush's own home state, also a Republican stronghold, the Texas commissioner of education has unilaterally decided to disregard NCLB requirements for testing students with learning disabilities. The Lone Star state—also home to U.S. Secretary of Education, Margaret Spellings—already has been fined \$444,282 of its \$1.1 billion federal education allocation for missing a data-reporting deadline, and stands to face more costly sanctions if it continues to flout NCLB. Georgia and Minnesota also have been fined for failing to meet requirements of the act, and according to Communities for Quality Action, a Washington, D.C.-based advocacy group tracking state actions on NCLB, fifteen states (Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Texas, Vermont and Wyoming) have considered legislation to “opt-out” of NCLB and forgo federal education funds. Four states (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Wisconsin) considered bills that would prohibit the use of state money to comply with NCLB.

Long-threatened legal challenges to NCLB are materializing in at least five states. The National Education Association (NEA), the nation's largest teacher union, and school districts in Michigan, Texas and Vermont sued the U.S. Department of Education April 20, alleging it has failed to fund NCLB adequately. Connecticut's attorney general said he would soon file a similar lawsuit on behalf of the state Legislature, and Maine lawmakers in May passed a bill ordering their state attorney general to sue the federal government if the state determines NCLB is not fully funded.

According to NCSL's Kalderman No Child Left Behind Act, Bush's signature education initiative, leads the list of power grabs and requires that states annually test students in math and reading and prescribes punishment for schools and districts that miss academic benchmarks. Not only has the education law reduced local control, but the testing and other requirements will cost states more than \$26 billion from fiscal years 2004 through 2006. Several states and the nation's largest teachers union began to fight back this year. The Republican-controlled Legislature in Utah authorized schools to ignore NCLB mandates that conflict with the state's own testing regimen or that require state dollars to meet them. The Texas commissioner of education unilaterally decided to disregard NCLB requirements for testing students with learning disabilities. The National Education Association (NEA), the nation's largest teacher's union, and school districts in Michigan, Texas and Vermont sued the U.S. Department of Education April

20, alleging it has failed to fund NCLB adequately. Connecticut's attorney general said he would file a similar lawsuit on behalf of the state Legislature, and Maine lawmakers in May passed a bill ordering their state attorney general to sue the federal government if the state determines NCLB is not fully funded. A long list of professional organizations has been joined by state governments as diverse as Connecticut and Utah in civil litigation over funding of NCLB. Scott Young (2006) of The National Conference of State Legislatures groups state legislative activity regarding NCLB into the following areas:

1. Those considering resolutions or memorials requesting Congress and/or the President to provide waivers or other means of flexibility and/or additional money to cover its mandates.
2. Those considering bills that would prohibit the state from spending state funds to comply or state that they will comply only in areas fully funded by the federal government.
3. Those considering, or have considered, bills or resolutions “opting-out” of NCLB (e.g., not participating in the entire ESEA/NCLB program and returning all Title I and related funding).
4. Those that have rejected or reallocated Title I funds to avoid costly sanctions associated with failing to make AYP, such as providing school choice, supplemental services and technical assistance (district/state)
5. Those that have been financially penalized (typically administrative funding) for not meeting the federal requirements, since the introduction of NCLB.
6. Those that have filed litigation in response to NCLB.

Just a brief search seems to bear this out. The Council of Chief State School Officers (CSSO) has developed a summary of four categories of state requests for amendments to accountability systems and plans. According to their Executive Summary:

- 25 percent of the states have requested amendments to standards and assessments
- Almost all states have requested amendments requesting at least one change to their AYP model
- Almost all states have requested amendments regarding flexibility for Limited English proficient students
- A small number of states have requested amendments in AYP Consequences and Reporting.

Table one lists the states considering bills, resolutions, or litigation requesting Congress and/or the President to provide waivers or other means of flexibility and/or additional money to cover its mandates.

Civil Rights and special interest groups are taking up sides in the debate over NCLB. Connecticut's NAACP has sided with the Bush administration efforts

to throw out challenges to the act. The lawsuit filed by Connecticut's Attorney General and supported by two-thirds of the state school boards was criticized by civil rights advocates for wasting money and threatening to undermine the civil rights law. The NAACP noted that Connecticut's low income, at risk and minority students have one of the lowest achievement levels in the nation (Legal Wrangling, 2006).

The media has been replete with reports of NCLB loopholes that have allowed millions of children to go uncounted and unnoticed - loopholes that seem to make a mockery of NCLB and the President's commitment to disadvantaged minorities. Overall, the Associated Press found that about 1.9 million students — or about one in every fourteen test scores — aren't being counted under the law's racial categories. Minorities are seven times as likely to have their scores excluded as whites, the analysis showed. It claims that from the outset this President, his Ed Secretaries and NCLB have allowed states to use cheap and easy tests to create false impressions of progress and have allowed states and schools to ignore poor children and minority children. Jamie McKensie in **NoChildLeft.com** claims that from the very beginning NCLB has weighed more heavily on the poor and disadvantaged districts and that it is not an educational reform, but a human disaster twisting and distorting educational agendas in ways that damage children and schools. NCLB has hit schools as Katrina hit New Orleans, and the Bush team is handling this disaster with the same miserable performance it gave for the hurricane and the ill-considered invasion of Iraq. Despite the fancy words and rhetoric, NCLB has done the opposite of its own name. NCLB began by leaving many children behind and has actually increased the numbers being ignored, neglected and undereducated. Special situations require constant reassessment of the NCLB Act to meet needs of minorities. Yankton *Sioux Tribe v. Kempthorne*, F.Supp.2d, 2006 WL 2021695 (D.S.D., July 14, 2006) involved the effects of NCLB on tribal schools located on Native American Land. The court granted plaintiff's motion for a preliminary injunction and the defendants were enjoined from carrying out a restructuring and personnel plan designed to meet NCLB requirements regarding average yearly progress and oversight of tribal schools under BIA regulations.

Special Education

It produces dumbfounded stares and sighs of frustration. Yes, special education students now have to take regular tests. And the kicker? They are expected to do just as well as students without the same problems. Claudette Riley and Dianne Long (2003) cite U.S. Rep. Jim Cooper, a Democrat from Nashville. "It just seems to be fundamentally unfair to give children an

impossible test to take," he said. "There's no way for them to succeed." Under No Child Left Behind, nearly all special education students have to take the same tests as others their age. And they are all expected to score on par with their peers by 2013 -14. Only 1 percent are allowed to take alternative tests designed to measure the progress of students with little or no academic skills. "It's not fair to have any child take this test on their grade level when everyone knows they don't perform on grade level," said Donna Parker, supervisor of special education. "It's very frustrating for a lot of the students." Advocates of the law admit they are asking a lot but argue that if they don't require students to be tested, they won't know how they are doing. Some educators agree that raising expectations could pay off if it forces schools to improve the way they teach special education students, which could in turn produce more graduates who can hold down jobs, pay taxes, and pursue their interests. But others worry that because schools are now evaluated on how well they educate different groups of students, those that miss benchmarks because of special education students will be penalized by NCLB. Educators point out that students can only be in special education if they're lagging behind their peers and need some type of help that they can't necessarily get in a regular classroom. "There are a significant number of children out there that truly have processing problems," said Joseph Fisher, assistant commissioner of special education for the state Department of Education. "It's unfair for children with disabilities to have to meet the same standards as all children." One of the loudest complaints about the new law is that it seems to have a different philosophy from the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, the trailblazing federal law passed in 1975 that champions meeting the specific needs of each child. "We've spent all these years believing that we need to address the individual needs of students, but that's been pushed aside somehow," said Parker, who is also president of the Tennessee Association of Special Education Administrators. "There could be times when the child's needs would not correlate with the requirements of testing." Tennessee State Education Commissioner Lana Seivers, a former speech pathologist and the mother of an adult son with severe disabilities, said she supports high but realistic goals. "These kids need to be measured based on their own abilities, their own plan. It doesn't mean lower expectations," she said. "Just because you have a label doesn't mean you can't take a test." But will schools be able to keep expectations high for all students and still help 100% of them graduate with a regular diploma?

Standardized Testing and Punitive Measures

According to Joe Batory (2006) (NCLB) sounds so much better than it is. This deceptive law with its “catchy” slogan on the surface portends to offer some ultimate strategy for improving American education. However, far from addressing significant issues involved in educational improvement, NCLB is really a “political sleight of hand” from Washington, D.C., little more than a standardized testing program forced upon public schools in order to make politicians look good. Ironically, prior to NCLB being enacted, USA students were already among the “most tested” in the world. In 2002, Senator Paul Wellstone publicly lamented the excessive overemphasis on standardized testing which lies at the heart of NCLB. Senator Wellstone summarized NCLB this way: “It works well on a bumper sticker for politicians ... but it represents a hollow promise. Far from improving education, this high stakes testing marks a major retreat from fairness, from accuracy, from quality, and from equity.” Essentially, the Bush administration and Congress have used test score results mandated by NCLB to threaten and shame schools into improvement. Paul Houston, the executive director of the American Association of School Administrators, has termed NCLB as a misguided federal effort “to bludgeon schools to greatness.” Dr. Houston goes on to emphasize that “this agenda of coercion is wrong and has never worked anywhere in the world.” The Great Lakes Center for Educational Research & Practice (2006) has noted policymakers have oversold the public on the notion that test scores are the best way to hold schools accountable. Schools are under intense pressure from high stakes testing to avoid being labeled as failing. Many schools are spending too much valuable pupil time on test preparation, teaching test taking skills, reducing classroom activities that focus on higher order skills such as creativity, analysis and synthesis, reducing the amounts of time spent by students on any subject areas not directly related to NCLB testing, and cutting back in music and the arts. The policy brief reveals that:

1. The meager improvements in test scores are unlikely to be the result of the AYP process and are too modest to achieve the goal of 100 percent mastery by 2014;
2. Funding is inadequate to effectively implement the program, particularly for high poverty schools;
3. The AYP process is driving schools to focus only on subjects that are tested at the expense of other important instruction;
4. The nation’s poor and diverse schools are hit hardest by the negative effects of AYP.

Arizona State University’s David Berliner and Sharon Nichols, co-authors of a report entitled “The Inevitable Corruption of Indicators and Educators

through High Stakes Testing,” present this sobering summary from their research:

Now we see a kind of mentality seeping into the schools, where generations (of students) are being trained to beat the system. Learning subject matter in depth is no longer the goal of schools involved with high stakes tests. We are witnessing proof of a well known social science law, which basically says that the greater the pressure to perform at a certain level, the more likely people will find a way to corrupt the system and achieve favorable results. (2005)

Added to all of this is a basic issue of equity. Dr. Berliner has documented, with great detail, the impact of poverty of hundreds of thousands of public school students, so much so that it often overwhelms almost all other educational interventions at their schools. And yet, the focus of NCLB is on regularly embarrassing and discrediting many schools and students from the most disadvantaged areas of our nation that need help and support the most and then classifying them as “failing” or “in need of improvement.”

What government chooses to ignore is that there are tremendous funding inequities among schools. Literally, thousands of America’s schools are sorely lacking in educational resources, personnel, facilities and instructional materials. Public schools do not exist in a vacuum. For politicians to unilaterally dump all of the problems of American society on the doorsteps of schools by mandating more standardized testing may be politically expedient but will not improve educational quality.

In a nutshell, schools and the society that surrounds them are directly linked. The federal government’s obsession with standardized test results as THE solution” for education serves to divert public attention away from the responsibility of elected officials to meaningfully address educational inequities and other needs that exist in American society and its schools. Peter Henry writing in *The Minnesota Daily* on March 8, 2006 offers perhaps the best summary of the inherent flaws in NCLB as follows:

What is joyful about learning, and what makes us want to learn as much as we possibly can, are the intangible qualities of creativity, curiosity, compassion, wonder and joy. By reducing human effectiveness in education to paper, pencil and marking ovals, we are cheapening and even destroying the fundamental inspiration that drives learning.... We will not produce world class thinkers or artists or scientists through threats or fear or punishment. Education is not---and has never been---a coercive act imposed by government on its people. Nor is it, except in extremely authoritarian

societies, so strictly controlled, mandated and circumscribed by bureaucrats and politicians.”

The millions of things that public schools do each and every day can hardly be quantified into test score results! Schools with a majority population of disadvantaged pupils and schools that educate students characterized by heterogeneity of race, class, and socio-economic status simply cannot be compared to schools with largely white, affluent pupil populations.

It is ironic indeed that the development of the NCLB legislation involved so little input from those who best understand teaching and learning—principals, teachers, students and parents who would have certainly told our elected officials that schools are not manufacturing plants with widgets rolling down an assembly line.

There are millions of complex human challenges and individual needs inside our nation’s schools that will take vastly more than the threat of test scores to make a difference for the better. As Batory tells us, “Tragically, what the NCLB legislation reveals more than anything else is an out of touch federal government with no concept of the real challenges and the priorities for educational improvement inside America’s public schools.” (2006)

Dean Tom Rosebrough reminds us that the two great goals in education are academic and social. The most important word in that last sentence is the word “and.” No Child Left Behind is an act of Congress that is based on academic goals, which, in a phrase, is to give them essentially what they need and test them to make sure they received it. From this perspective, NCLB shows signs of succeeding. But there are problems. The Center on Educational Policy, a respected independent research center, in its latest newsletter, reports that 71 percent of school districts have reduced elementary school instructional time in at least one other subject to make more time for reading and mathematics - the subjects tested for by NCLB. Struggling students are receiving double periods of reading or math or both, missing other subjects altogether. Those subjects include science, history, literature, language, music, art and physical education. In the name of not leaving any children behind, we are shortchanging students from receiving a good education. Yes, gains are being made in reading and math achievement, especially among traditionally underserved students. Learners are quite resilient; they can figure out what the minimum standard is and meet it. But what is the cost of this narrow focus? Aside from the \$6 billion a year we spend on testing (and the law is still not fully funded), we are squelching creativity in teaching and learning, driving good teachers out of teaching and contributing to the dropout problem by

eliminating factors which keep children interested in school. In a Newsweek column last January, Fareed Zakaria reported on Singapore, the Chinese province that is leading the world in high school math and science achievement. Yet the Chinese or other Asians can boast of few of the world’s leading mathematicians or scientists. Singapore’s education minister in a frank interview admits that Asia could learn much from America’s legacy and skill in critical thinking, research, innovation and creativity. This America was achieved without test-mania. In the world of standardized tests, there is little creativity encouraged before the test and certainly none during the test. Teachers are dropping out the profession at an alarming rate: Fifty percent of America’s teachers are leaving the profession in their first five years. One out of every three students drops out of high school (and this is a conservative estimate). We have not approached the 76 percent graduation rate achieved in the late 1960s. Nor will we begin to approach the 100 percent rate goal set by NCLB for 2014. The target groups for NCLB, the traditionally underserved students of color, English language learners, low-income students, and students with disabilities, are the very groups that are at much greater risk of dropping out or being pushed out of school. What should be our thinking; what can be done? Here is a short list:

1. Scale back standardized testing, but do not eliminate this type of accountability.
2. Put more emphasis on finding out what students are learning AS they are being taught. This is simple formative evaluation. We must understand that one does not teach something until someone learns something. A score on a test does not equate to learning.
3. Create true learning communities among stakeholders in schools so that they may share the ideas of the profession and solve their own classroom problems.
4. The secretary of education must signal that social studies, science, the arts, physical education, literature and other subjects are still a vital part of the school curriculum.
5. Find and celebrate the good teachers and principals in our midst. There are many more out there than we realize.
6. Finally, let’s remember that education should NEVER label students based on a test score alone.

Those who really want to solve our schooling problems should look carefully at the nature of learning itself and be concerned that we are in danger of losing our flexibility and resourcefulness in education. Only then can we reclaim good education. (Tom Rosebrough is the dean of the College of Education and Human

Studies at Union University writing for *The Jackson Sun*. 2006-08-06)

NCLB Research

NCLB has created a significant degree of stress in higher education and with private think tanks as well, particularly in the field of research and data collection. As districts are becoming more data oriented and states are invoking federal privacy laws (FERPA) to protect students, researchers are feeling the pinch (Viadero 2006). She cites two movements, both of which are tied to NCLB, as fueling the dilemma. The first is the push to hold schools accountable for student progress, while the second is the emphasis on programs and practices scientifically backed by research. NCLB has raised the bar on more and better data on student progress. States have responded by creating data-collection systems allowing the anonymous tracking of youngsters over time. According to the Denver based Education Commission of the States over 30 states have databases linking test scores, the length of time a student is enrolled in given school, and graduation records. In short, the longer researchers follow students the greater the chance of revealing their identities. To prevent this, states are invoking FERPA to tighten their data sets. There are provisions in FERPA that accepts studies conducted by the schools themselves or researchers under contract to them. Several universities like Duke and the University of North Carolina have begun working under an agreement with the North Carolina Education Department. Colorado, citing FERPA restrictions, has created a Data Store through which researchers can obtain prepackaged analysis of student data. As cited by Viadero, researcher Margaret Raymond indicates that, "My big itch with them [Colorado] is that they have pretty much commandeered the ability to do independent research." She also notes that Texas researchers have run into conflicts with Texas school officials over a study designed to use student level scores to track student learning growth as they move in and out of Charter schools over the course of their school careers.

According to Gary Orfield, Director of the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University The U.S. Department of Education has proposed sweeping changes in the way we count minority and white students in our schools, changes that would dramatically alter the reported enrollment by race and ethnicity in our states and educational institutions. These proposed changes would make it extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to conduct meaningful research or monitor civil rights compliance and educational accountability for students by race and ethnicity. The guidelines published August 7, 2006 in the Federal Register, specify the changes by which

schools, colleges, and state governments will collect and report individual-level data and aggregate data on race and ethnicity.

Using 2005 data collected by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Orfield has examined the impact of the proposed guidelines on the collection of racial and ethnic data compared to the existing method. His findings show that the proposed changes would suddenly produce vast changes in the apparent racial composition of our educational system, create a large new category that is a grab bag of many forms of multiracial backgrounds, and would very seriously undermine both research and policy analysis work that is essential to understanding racial change and racial inequality as well as to monitor civil rights enforcement. He believes that these changes are not supported by good research and that the goal of including multiracial students in our counts can much better be accomplished with procedures that parallel those devised for the Census. Also the policy changes that would rely on fourth graders to respond to complex questions about their race and ethnicity are mistaken and will produce data that is questionable and often meaningless, undermining achievement by racial subgroups that is a valuable result of the No Child Left Behind law. Schools and their communities would suddenly find subgroups growing, shrinking, and changing size in ways that would be confusing and disruptive to the accountability system. Orfield recommends that these proposed changes be rescinded and that better procedures for accurate counts be devised in collaboration with researchers and community leaders. He also recommends that the processes for collecting accurate data from children, families and teachers be carefully researched and tested before implementation in order to avoid procedures that cause a serious loss of vital information and accountability for educational institutions. If the proposed guidelines are adopted, it would become the only available source of educational data on race and ethnicity and would make it impossible to compare future patterns and trends with past ones or to know whether various institutions were making progress in educational outcomes by racial and ethnic group. Moreover, the proposed system of accounting is incompatible both with the data that has been collected consistently for the past 40 years for the Office for Civil Rights and with the much more thoughtful way the Census has handled the collection and reporting of multiracial statistics after very extensive work and research with experts across the country. He further states, "Our findings show that because the proposed system treats Hispanic as a preferential category and precludes counting multiracial students within the

various racial categories, the resulting data will exclude from the various racial counts many students who may consider themselves and be seen as “white”, “black”, “American Indian” or any other race or ethnicity.” His team believes the data collected under the proposed guidelines would seriously undermine both research and policy analysis work that is essential to understanding racial change and racial inequality. It would undermine civil rights enforcement. It would make the nation’s white enrollment appear to have suddenly dropped substantially and would have a similar impact on the black population and on American Indian and Asian enrollments in some states. The mixed race category would be an essentially meaningless category for civil rights and research purposes since it would include large and unknown numbers of people who were from two historically underrepresented groups, others from two groups that are not underrepresented, and various other combinations. It would provide, of course, no information on how many of these students were overwhelmingly of one race with some distant connection with another versus those who now have two parents from different races and ethnicities. Professor Orfield and his coauthor Jill Anderson urge a delay in implementing this radical change in policy and believe that full congressional hearings are needed before embarking on changes that will produce a fundamental change in the description of American school and college populations.

Margaret Spellings, U.S. Secretary of Education, has attempted to respond to widespread criticism and state challenges in fulfilling NCLB mandates. In an October 2005 letter to Chief State School Officers Spellings indicated that when states have shown a good faith effort to comply with both the NCLB and the Individuals with Disabilities Act’s highly objective uniform state standards of evaluation they wouldn’t face sanctions for failing to demonstrate that all its public school courses are taught by highly qualified teachers. They would instead have extensions to submit revision plans.

NCLB appears to have been a major catalyst for an expanding knowledge of the complexities of the educational system in the United States. The Act has served as an impetus for dialogue among administrators, teachers, parents, and legislators about our public school educational system. All children need to be considered in the effort to close the achievement gap, but options should also be provided for expanded choice for at risk students with special learning challenges. Accountability is a worthy goal but should not provide an impediment to civil rights equal opportunity, a balanced educational program, and

access goals.

Aside from the administration, the legislature, prestigious think-tanks, and large well funded foundations, other organizations, some with less political clout, but no less passion have also make their views known via print and electronic media regarding NCLB. Just a few of these organizations are listed below all of whom have made publicly accessible statements focusing on NCLB

1. The National Council on Disability
2. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics
3. The National Association for Bilingual Education
4. The Thomas B. Fordham Foundation
5. National Center for Education Statistics. The Nation’s Report Card
6. No Child Left.com. Gambling with the Children
7. Indian Country Today: Problems Outweigh Goals of No Child Left Behind
8. USA Today: States fight No Child Left Behind, calling it intrusive
9. Arkansas New Bureau: Report: Education law flawed
10. EDDRA (Gerald Bracy) The No Child Left Behind Act, A Plan for the Destruction of Public Education: Just Say NO
11. Alliance for Childhood: High Stakes Testing Project
12. Susan Ohanian.Org: NCLB Outrages
13. The 38th Annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll Of the Public’s Attitudes Toward the Public Schools
14. The Bracey Report on The Condition of Public Education
15. Education Week: NCLB Seen as Ineffective, Poll Suggests
16. Enter Stage Right. No Child Left Behind Act: An intrusion on states’ rights.
17. Balanced Politics.org. Should K -12 Students Be Required to complete State-Sanctioned Minimum Skills Tests?
18. Deseretnews.com (UTAH) Will minority students be left behind; Proposed changes that target NCLB worry leaders

In an attempt to keep this paper reasonably short, the authors will simply note here that a brief internet search provides a multitude of editorials, guest editorials, professionals, parents, and columnists who have weighed in on the issue of NCLB recently. These include TODAY.com, Kansas City InfoZine, the Salt Lake City Weekly, The San Antonio Express News, The Mason City (Iowa) Globe Gazette, The St. Petersburg Times Online, The Helena Montana News, The Scottsdale Arizona Tribune, The Columbia (Missouri) Daily Tribune, *Paths of Learning* Educational Clearing House, and last (but not least)

Calling All Grandparents (Newton Hamilton Pennsylvania). The magnitude of the discussion is impressive. A recent Google search using “no child left behind” as the search phrase brought up almost seventeen million references over a span of five years. This is indicative of a most fascinating evolution in a relatively young medium, the Internet, where everyone from the White House to grandparents can weigh in on a subject. Some maintain established, well funded, and sophisticated web sites, and some piggyback on professional association sites. Others simply use BLOGS. Their motivations seem limited only by their imagination and their passion. Some have a very specific agenda while others attempt to politically “spin” the issue. A surprising number are debating an issue that appears to affect them, their friends, or their loved ones personally. This dialogue cuts across racial, social, and ethnic lines. Some might call this cultural warfare while others see skirmishes in a healthy national dialogue.

The Supreme Court in *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957) underlined the importance of academic freedom in a democratic society. “No field of education is so thoroughly comprehended by man that new discoveries cannot be made” (354 U.S. at 250). NCLB demonstrates that is particularly true in the social sciences, where few, if any, principles are accepted as absolutes. Scholarship and dialogue cannot flourish in an atmosphere of repression. Investigators, from students writing papers to faculty conducting research must always remain free to inquire, to study and

evaluate, and to add to the body of knowledge.

Jefferson’s *Academic Village* has been replaced by *Electronic Villages* which require new forms of academic freedom protection, as well as protection from the plethora of federal agencies created to combat terrorism. It is ironic that in the space of a few years our global information society has created a whole new set of legal and moral challenges to the status quo, challenges that are multinational in nature.

In publishing most recent Annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the Public’s Attitudes Toward the Public Schools Rose and Gallup (2006) offer a glimpse of these challenges from the American public’s perspective in the dialogue over No Child Left Behind. When asked who would be to blame if large numbers of public schools failed to meet the requirements of NCLB, 48% said the schools, 41% said NCLB, and 11% did not know.

The initial five years of NCLB has seen a continuing shift in the relationship between federal and state education agencies and has resulted in significant changes in how local schools plan and implement programs, staff for instruction, and evaluate academic performance. NCLB has powerful proponents, is a noble experiment, and may very well be good for public education in the long run, but as we have seen, a great many view it as flawed. States are legally challenging its provisions or requesting significant amendments to those provisions while special interest groups, education professionals, and the public at large are divided over much of its interpretation.

TABLE ONE
States considering requests for relief on NCLV mandates.

Alaska (SJR 30)	Kentucky (HR 174)	Louisiana (HCR 12, 13, 20, 77, 88)	South Dakota (HCR 1018)
Arizona (SCM 1006)	Minnesota (HF 1917/SF 1853)	New Jersey (ACR 142)	Tennessee (SJR 694, HBB 2079/SB 2256)
California (ACR88)	New Mexico (HJM 9)	Oklahoma (HCR 1052)	Utah (HCR 9)
Colorado (HJR 1086)	Pennsylvania (HR 794)	Rhode Island (S 3129)	Vermont (HJR 25, SR 23, SB 308)
Connecticut (SJR 4)	South Carolina (HCR 4889, HR 4891, SCR 1031, HR 6028)	West Virginia (HR 6, SCR 32)	Virginia (HJR 192/SJR 77)
Florida (HR 11967)		Wisconsin (SR 32, 33)	Washington (HJM 4042)
Hawaii (HCR 62/HR 42)		Wyoming (HJR)	
Idaho (SJM 108)			
Indiana (SB 258)			
Iowa (SCR 105)			
Kansas (SR 1834) (SCR 1621)			

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CONSUMER EDUCATION: REFRAMING ITS IMPORTANCE TODAY FROM A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Introduction

Consumer education has long been a part of the American school curriculum. Its perceived importance has been varied, and its presence in schools ranges from elective offerings to required courses for high school graduation. Traditionally, consumer education has been conceived as instruction for developing knowledgeable consumers. As such, key concepts typically include budgeting, strategic shopping, and calculating interest. However, in our current era of big business domination on the one hand, and an increased public demand for critical thinking skills on the other hand, I propose an interdisciplinary approach to teaching critical consumer awareness.

Consumer Education in the Early Twentieth Century: A Look Back

In the 1920s and 1930s, consumer education became a priority due to families' low income levels. Henry Harap, a curriculum professor at George Peabody College for Teachers who wrote extensively about consumer education during this period, found that a general lack of knowledge existed among Americans about how to choose the best products. As such, he wrote *The Education of the Consumer* in 1924, which outlined groups of consumable items including food, housing, fuel, and clothing, and offered recommendations for the best choices for maximum benefit with the least amount of waste.

Harap continued his work and tied it to formal education in his book *Economic Life and the Curriculum* (1927), which described the importance of including consumer economics in the school curriculum. In addition to the individual economic reasons for such a focus, he cited the exploitation of consumer ignorance by producers. Markets grew quickly during this time, which led to consumers being faced with more choices of products coupled with a lack of direct contact with producers. As a result, Harap saw a decline in the integrity of the seller and a general increase in ignorance of the consumer. He believed that it was up to schools to "wage a counterattack of enlightenment" (Harap, 1938). In his view, the role of education in this area was to raise the economic level of families through better understanding of consumer choices.

In 1935, Harap conducted a national survey of existing courses in consumption. His final selection consisted of twenty-eight courses that he classified into four groups: 1) college courses; 2) college textbooks; 3) secondary-school courses; and 4) study outlines for women's clubs. He found some variance in emphasis

between the groups, but overall the most frequently occurring topics were government aid to consumers; clothing; price; banking, saving, and investing; household accounting and budgeting; and food. Most of the course outlines that Harap analyzed required extensive reading in periodicals, government publications, and technological materials for firsthand sources of information.

The amount of attention toward consumer education continued to grow, especially throughout the years of World War II. Not only did the number of courses grow, but also the number of advocacy articles in educational journals increased. As the economic production of the United States grew during these years and the memory of the depression faded, the purpose of consumer education changed slightly, but its focus on informed consumers remained strong. In 1944, Harap conducted a follow-up study of developments in consumer education. This survey included 122 course outlines with a higher percentage than before coming from secondary schools. Overall, the emphases within the courses were similar, but there was increased consideration of credit and money management topics.

One of the movement's initial advocates, Harap is often referred to as the father of consumer education. His work in the field continued throughout subsequent decades, and in 1953 he was instrumental in the establishment of the American Council on Consumer Interests (ACCI), which continues to advocate for full disclosure to consumers in the interest of their well being. Today the ACCI works with educators in an effort to increase their knowledge of current research in the field, as well as to facilitate communication and the exchange of ideas between consumer education advocates.

Consumer Education at the Turn of the Century: A Contemporary Perspective

Since the Second World War, economic prosperity in America has increased exponentially. Accompanying this rise in wealth has been an increased complexity in the economic system, including technological advances, global trade, and more diversified supply chains. In light of all these aspects, the need for consumer education is as strong as ever, especially as savings rates are at an all-time low and personal debt is at an all-time high (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2006) and consumer knowledge is still lacking (Brobeck, 1990).

Nationally, there is an increased drive for more economics education and financial literacy at the K-12 level. Legislators in Virginia, Texas, and South

Carolina have recently passed laws mandating that students learn about topics including online shopping, creating a budget, and identity theft. A subsection of the Virginia law advocates for banking-at-school partnership programs, in which local banks open small branches in schools to encourage students to save money.

Currently, consumer education in Texas is part of the required semester-long course normally taken in the senior year of high school, entitled "Economics with an emphasis on the Free Enterprise System and its benefits." The course focuses primarily on more abstract concepts such as supply, demand, money, banking, financial institutions, and types of business ownership. Such an emphasis on general economic concepts is mandated by the state standards, the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS), restricting teachers' ability to educate for consumer awareness. However, during the last few weeks of school, once the TEKS are no longer monitored as closely, many teachers venture into true consumer education, emphasizing what students need to know about buying cars, getting loans, and formulating budgets.

Outside schools, numerous nonprofit organizations seek to educate young people on wise consumption habits. As part of their advocacy, many groups offer curriculum programs both to schools and to individuals. One of these organizations is the National Council on Economics Education, which trains teachers to be better equipped to teach principles of personal consumer economics. The Internet provides an arena for several other organizations to reach out to young people and help them develop their skills in financial literacy. Three of the most prominent are *jumpstart.org*, *mngen.com*, and *consumerjungle.com*. Each of these attempts to connect with students as they learn how to utilize their purchasing power.

Possibilities for Consumer Education in the Twenty-first Century: Critical Consumer Awareness

Similar to the way in which the world economic environment has shifted, so has the situation facing students. They are inundated by advertising, not only in schools, but all around them. Businesses spend millions of dollars targeting young people, convincing them that they need the product being sold. Precisely because of this changed world in which our youth live, there is an increased need for critical skills when it comes to consumer education. There is much talk in education about the desire for students to be critical thinkers, and nowhere is this more important than in how they approach economic transactions. By applying a critical framework to consumer education, students will not only improve their critical thinking, but will also become more prepared for their future as consumers.

Jennifer Sandlin, an education professor at Texas A&M University, connects the issues of consumer education and critical theory within an adult education context. Utilizing a cultural-studies framework, Sandlin outlines three possible levels of reactions to consumer culture (Sandlin, 2004). The first is that of embracing consumption. This is the mode in which traditional consumer education courses are organized. Within this perspective, consumers appropriate consumption as the organizing framework of modern life. When critical skills are an area of focus, the critique remains a part of the dominant system. The second reaction to consumer culture is individually questioning consumption. While this approach does help individuals to question systemic consumption, it remains at the individual level. The third level, collectively politicizing and fighting consumption, seeks to challenge the philosophy of consumerism. Sandlin advocates moving consumer education from the first level to the third level by educators exploring topics such as fair labor practices, with possible extensions into community activism.

In an effort to add a further dimension to the reconceptualization of consumer education, I would like to introduce Reagan and Osborne's (2002) notion of critical language awareness. While they propose their model as a critical pedagogy for foreign language instruction, I believe their ideas can be transferred to other domains. The three essential components are: 1. problem posing, 2. a holistic approach, and 3. evaluation as an expression of awareness.

Problem Posing

Problem posing draws on Paulo Freire's work in challenging the dominant system through a dialogical and change-oriented focus. In the classroom, utilizing problem posing involves constructing units around questions, issues, concerns, and puzzles so that students can make deeper connections with the content as they think critically about it. Through the use of this instructional technique, students can extend their learning beyond the elemental concepts of budgeting, strategic shopping, and calculating interest. Instead, they can enter into a better awareness of both the open and hidden messages in economic realms. This knowledge will serve them well in deciding more deliberately how to live their adult lives in relation to the consumption-driven world around them.

Holistic Approach

Because consumer education, like most subjects, should not be compartmentalized, the second component of Reagan and Osborne's model, a holistic approach, is fundamental for creating connections between and among subjects. The underlying discipline of each subject has an economic element that can be

CONSUMER EDUCATION: REFRAMING ITS IMPORTANCE TODAY FROM A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

related to the other subjects through interdisciplinary units. This focus serves two purposes: cognitive, in that the connections between areas more accurately represents the nature of knowledge and the subjects' underlying disciplines; and pragmatic, in that the connections with other subjects serves to reinforce the relevance of consumer education within the curriculum. Reagan and Osborne (2002) cite the selection of overarching themes as the key to providing meaningful connections instead of following traditional textbook chapter topics.

Evaluation as an Expression of Awareness

The third component of Reagan and Osborne's framework, evaluation as an expression of awareness, moves students beyond simply giving correct answers on teacher-developed factual tests. Instead, it helps them think critically as they reveal the connections they have made to the content, to other subjects, and to life's bigger questions. This type of authentic assessment seeks to understand the way in which students construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct the world as related to their lives as a consumer.

These three instructional strategies could be

incrementally implemented across the curriculum, as educators and students integrate consumer knowledge within a critical framework, thereby transforming contained consumer education into critical consumer awareness. Movement toward this type of pedagogy requires fundamental changes not only to curriculum development, but also to the way in which curriculum is conceptualized. In order for this model to be effective, teachers and teacher educators must develop a more critical approach to instructional issues as they relate to consumer education and the nature of being a consumer in today's world.

In light of the increasing economic influences on young people today, consumer education is of extreme importance. However, more than simply approaching it as technical instruction, emphasis should be placed on critical examination of the culture of consumption and its validity. Utilizing a critical consumer awareness model that incorporates the factors described above will help students think more critically about their economic future and how they can approach it with a reconceptualized perspective.

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NORMAL, MODEL, AND LABORATORY SCHOOLS: EGALITARIAN EDUCATION

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Introduction

After the Second World War, the GI Bill of Rights brought about a great change in Higher Education. Millions of soldiers returned from wartime service looking for a better life and increased opportunities. They entered colleges and universities in unprecedented numbers. Changing instantly the nature of higher education in America. What had been, in the pre war period, a place of privilege was now open to those men and women returning from military duties who realized what an opportunity they had. Higher learning institutions public and private found it difficult at first, difficult to find space, difficult to find instructors, difficult to cope with men and women who had experienced so much of life and war that other students had not. The large land grant universities and agricultural and mechanical colleges attracted a large number of these students but so did the former state colleges and normal schools. They were required to expand their curricula to meet the needs of students who would probably not have appeared on their campuses a decade previously. It was, I believe these Normal Schools and State Colleges that responded to the right to higher education that was now demanded. It was the Normal Schools and State Colleges that never fell into the elitist trap that was the Universities of the 1920s and 30s.

Over the years Central State Normal School has changed names several times, first to Central State Teachers' College, then Central State College, Central State University, and finally the University of Central Oklahoma. Normal Schools all over the country have undergone the same transformation in response to a widening demand for education. The ideals of the Normal Schools have always focused on the preparation of individuals to work in society. Normal Schools no longer are teacher-training institutions. Now they are State Universities realizing the plans of the Founders, the best education for the greatest number. The name changes represent the changing mission of the schools. This paper is an investigation into the development of those schools and the changes that have occurred.

We all understand, I think, that the United States as a democratic and republican system holds education as one of the fundamental principles of our society. The founding fathers recognized no social hierarchy save the hierarchies of property, wealth, and education. They also believed that educated and enlightened people were necessary to preserve the democratic form of

government and what became the American way of life.

Among the founders who so strongly supported education were Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin. Jefferson's most famous quote on education is, I think, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."¹ He would have made education a federally supported program, placing it "among the articles of public care."² Failing federal support, Jefferson proposed an education plan for the state of Virginia encompassing elementary, secondary, and university levels. Jefferson thought that the elementary school was the most important part of his plan because he believed it "safer to have the whole people respectfully enlightened than a few in a high state of science and many in ignorance"³ To this was added the provision that citizenship and suffrage would depend upon literacy. Ultimately the Virginia legislature only passed Jefferson's plan for a university for which Jefferson took personal responsibility.

Benjamin Franklin is well known as a supporter of self-education and a founder of the American Philosophical Society. Later, Franklin founded the charity school, the academy, and the College of Philadelphia that became the University of Pennsylvania. Franklin's vision for the academy was to be an English-language school with a curriculum that illustrated scientific and practical skills rather than a traditional Latin and Greek grammar school. The school soon reverted to the more classical style due to the influence of its leadership and, perhaps, the expectations of its patrons, Franklin's concept, published in 1749 as *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* shaped our idea of a liberal education⁴ and established another model for the development of a systematic plan of schooling.

Common Schools

Over the next few decades the common school movement greatly increased the number schools serving the children of the United States. The common school grew in response to the pluralism of the society. Instead of the religion-centered schools of the Colonial period, the common schools supported civic over religious virtues and uniform over inconsistent curriculum and limited the consideration of class. The common school became the key institution to educate citizens. By the middle of the nineteenth century school attendance was expected and by 1852 compulsory attendance began to be required by law.

The growth of the Common Schools led to the

consideration of the effectiveness of those schools. To raise the quality of common schools, the quality of teaching had to be raised. Teacher preparation was the key to that improvement. Recognizing that the corps of teachers for the Common Schools was most likely to be women, teaching academies and the early Normal Schools recruited women into the ranks of teachers.

The Common School movement served the needs of rural and agrarian communities. They provided basic literacy and numeracy and served as the extent of formal education for most of their scholars. Secondary education in the form of Latin Grammar Schools and Academies long existed for the college-bound children of the upper classes. With the growth of cities during the Industrial Revolution, the educational needs changed. High Schools slowly began to appear to supply the demands of industrial society for a better-trained workforce. Over time, the practical education of the High School evolved into the comprehensive High School which provided not only vocational but also general and college preparatory classes. By the end of the nineteenth century the American High School was firmly entrenched in American society. If evidence is needed, it is supplied by the perceived need for “reform” and the work of the Committee of Ten and others who sought to standardize secondary education.

Normal Education

In 1823, Samuel Read Hall opened a school in Concord, Vermont, the first of a number of private teacher-preparation academies. Hall’s purpose was to provide teachers with a professional education. He proposed “that institutions should be established for educating teachers, where they should be taught not only the necessary branches of literature, but be made acquainted with the science of teaching and the mode of governing a school with success.”⁵ Included in the curriculum were the Common School subjects and also moral and mental philosophy and general criticism. A preparatory class was attached to the school as a Model or Laboratory school. Hall’s efforts were repeated in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

The school was composed of a three-year program. Requirements for admission included standards governing age, health, morality, and academic attainment. Horace Mann visited Hall’s Andover Seminary to view the work of Samuel Read Hall. The *American Annals of Education* reported on Andover Seminary in its 1832 edition.⁶

Massachusetts became the focus of educational reform in the early national period. The Common School movement and the growing enrollments in Common Schools made the preparation of qualified teachers imperative. Monitorial schools and the use of academy-prepared teachers both proved unsatisfactory.

Leaders like Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Charles Brooks, and Cyrus Peirce, the first principal at the Lexington Normal School, called for the specific training of teachers, especially female teachers who would be more successful with the lower grades. Lexington Normal School opened on July 3, 1839 on the Northeast corner of Lexington Common. The second term commenced on October 16. Like Hall’s schools at Concord and Andover, a model school taught by the Normal School students and administered by the Normal School Principal was inaugurated. The Normal School was moved to West Newton in 1844 and to Framingham in 1853.

Students in the Normal Schools studied Samuel Read Hall’s books, *Lectures on School-Keeping* published in 1829 and *Lectures to Female Teachers* published in 1832 and David Perkins Page’s *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, published 1847 and in later editions to the end of the century.⁷ Other titles from the nineteenth century included: *The school and the schoolmaster: A manual for the use of teachers, employers, trustees, inspectors, &c., &c., of Common Schools* by Alonzo Potter, 1843, *The science of education; and art of teaching* by Ogden, John, 1859, *The teacher: or, Moral influences employed in the instruction and government of the young; intended chiefly to assist young teachers in organizing and conducting their schools* by Jacob Abbott, 1834 *Teaching, a science: the teacher an artist* by Baynard Rush Hall, 1848, *Theory of teaching, with a few practical illustrations* by Anna C. Lowell, 1841, *Essays on the philosophy of instruction, or the nurture of young minds* by Samuel Willard, 1829 and *The teacher’s manual being an exposition of an efficient and economical system of education, suited to the wants of a free people*, by Thomas H. Palmer 1843.

Over the next half-century, the Normal Schools brought various educational ideas to the new teachers of the Republic. Normal School professors often looked to Europe where the science of pedagogy undergoing important changes. Johann Pestalozzi focused on the use of realia or concrete materials in teaching. Friedrich Froebel explored the importance of creativity and the education of the younger child. Johann Herbart described the didactic sequence that aided the development of class instruction. The Oswego Normal School under Edward Sheldon and later Cook County Normal School under Francis W. Parker expounded the ideas of Pestalozzi. Other Normal Schools became interested in the Herbart’s work. Herbart began a pedagogical seminary in Konigsberg with a training school attached that became a much visited model for Normal Schools. The leaders of the Herbartian movement in the United States, Charles De Garmo and

Charles and Frank McMurry, visited Herbart's school of pedagogy and brought Herbart's thought to the United States. De Garmo and the McMurrays were graduates of Illinois State Normal University (ISNU), and all three became Faculty members at ISNU. De Garmo would become Professor of Education at Illinois University, President of Swarthmore College, and Professor of Education at Cornell University, and both Charles and Frank McMurry would become Professors of Education at Columbia Teachers College in New York. All three served as key officers of the National Herbart Society and all three published Herbart-influenced.⁸ Charles McMurry's *Elements of General Method Based on the Principles of Herbart*, published in 1895, quickly became a best seller in the United States.⁹

The Normal School idea caught on and Normal Schools were established in the states and territories. In the Midwest, for example, Normal Schools were opened in Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Iowa, Illinois opened 6 Normal Schools from 1857 to 1895. By 1926, Arthur O. Norton reported that there were 167 state Normal Schools and teachers' colleges in the United States.¹⁰

Oklahoma Normal Schools and Higher Education

Oklahoma was opened to non-Native settlement beginning in 1889 with the Land Run for the Unassigned Lands in Central Oklahoma. The First Territorial Legislature consisting of the Council with thirteen members and a House of Representatives of twenty-six members, established the first three higher-education institutions the next year. The University of Oklahoma was placed in Norman, the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College was established in Stillwater, and the Territorial Normal School was placed in Edmond. In 1897 Northwestern Normal was established at Alva and the Colored Agricultural and Normal School was located at Langston, one of the African-American settled towns of the twin territories. In 1901 Southwestern Normal was approved for the town of Weatherford in western Oklahoma.

Oklahoma entered the Union as the forty-sixth state in November of 1907. The first state legislature was occupied with much important legislation. House Bill Number One and Senate Bill Number One were laws segregating public facilities (schools were already segregated by the Constitution). Nine institutions of higher learning were begun by the state. They included six schools of agriculture, one school of mines and metallurgy, a school for the deaf, and the Industrial Institute and College for Girls "a school for the high literary and industrial education of the white girls of this great and progressive state."¹¹ The school of mines and metallurgy and three of the agricultural schools

were closed in 1917 when funding was denied by Governor Williams and reopened two years later under Governor Robertson.¹²

In 1909 the Second Legislature, recommended laws to the governor which established three new schools, Northeastern State Normal School, at Tahlequah, Southeastern State Normal School at Durant, and East Central State Normal School at Ada. The result was six Normal Schools and Langston, a combined Normal and Agricultural school. These schools provided trained teachers for the schools of Oklahoma and a more educated group of citizens. In 1919 the six state normal schools had their names changed to Teachers College and in 1939 with an expanded Arts and Sciences Curriculum the names were changed again to State College. In 1974 the Normal Schools/Teachers' Colleges/State Colleges became State Universities.

Until at least the First World War, the Normal Schools included preparatory academies for the secondary education of students for whom there was no high school. The teachers in the academies were the professors of the Normal School. This sometimes caused friction between the local high school and the Normal Schools when high school age students enrolled in the Academy. Karen McKellips reports that Weatherford Public Schools complained about Southwestern Normal School skimming off the High School's top students thereby weakening the local high school.¹³

Central State Normal School

In January of 1890, the Edmond Sun suggested that twenty acres be set aside for a University or Normal School. The Territorial Legislature which was not established until the Organic Act was passed in May of 1890, was elected on August 4, 1890 and met on August 27. Edmond had high hopes of being the site of the State University or Agricultural and Mechanical College or a County Seat. By supporting Oklahoma City as the capital, Stillwater as the site of the agricultural and mechanical college, and Norman as the location of the university Dr. J. W. Howard, council member from Edmond introduced Council Bill 106 placing Central State Normal School at Edmond.¹⁴ He had also introduced legislation to make Edmond the County Seat of Ventura County. The proposed Ventura County was eventually combined with Logan County on the North and Oklahoma County on the South.¹⁵ On December 23, 1890, Edmond received the Normal School. The Normal School would probably have been located elsewhere had the local representatives of the First Legislature not bartered their support of the location of the Capitol.

Central State Normal School began operation on November 9, 1891. For two months scholars convened

on the second floor of a business building. The Normal School then moved to the Methodist Church, about three blocks west of the present campus. The minister of the Methodist Church became upset at the frivolous behavior of the students, dancing and playing games, shameful behavior, so in 1892 classes were held in the Odd Fellows Hall building until January of 1893 when they were moved to four rooms of the not yet completed North Hall in January of 1893.¹⁶

Twenty-five students began studies at Central State Normal School, in November 1891, six men and nineteen women with Principal Thatcher as their teacher. Seventeen of these students were Preparatory students working at or about the eighth-grade level. The other students were high school level. By the end of the year the number of students increased to thirty-one. After the first of the year there were twenty-seven additional enrollments but eight students did not return from the holiday break. Two more teachers were hired for the 1892-93 term. During the first two years seventy-five students took Preparatory School classes, seventy-one took first-year classes and fifty-three took second-year classes.¹⁷

Laboratory Schools

Laboratory, Training, Demonstration schools have an interesting place in teacher education institutions. In theory the learning experiences would result from the application of the newest and best approaches available. The faculty would consist of master teachers with proven skills in the art and science of teaching who would demonstrate to student teachers the latest techniques, theory, and practice. They would be supplemented, ideally, by the professors from the college with expertise in their own fields who would share their expertise with the teachers, student-teachers, and students in the campus school.

The students in the early days were assembled from the community. Travel was too difficult for the school to attract students from too great a distance. Over time the Laboratory schools increasingly served the children of the school faculty and local community leaders. The student body of the Laboratory school was, on average, more talented than that of the local public school.

The number of laboratory schools has declined but there are still about one-hundred operating in the United States. One reason for the decline of the laboratory school has to do with the movement away from the on-site student teaching in favor of the placement of student teachers in the local schools. Another is the separation of the laboratory school from the rest of the college or university. Often, even the education faculty distances itself from the laboratory school. This is not a separation in spatial terms but in terms of interest and ownership unless one of the

students is a child of the faculty member.

Southwestern and other Normal Schools also attracted students from the lower grades to participate in the Laboratory or Model School again diminishing the public schools of the community. The Laboratory School was taught by professors, teachers, and Normal School students as part of their preparation in a student teaching situation. Later the student teaching program was moved to the local communities to give the Normal School students an opportunity to work in a setting away from the Normal School itself. Until 1917 the certification of teachers was reserved to graduates of state institutions. Graduates of private, religious schools like Oklahoma Baptist, Phillips (Disciples of Christ), Oklahoma City University (Methodist), etc. were denied certification.¹⁸ Many accepted the certification offered by the County Superintendents which limited their teaching to lower-level schools.

In the period before and shortly after the First World War, Oklahoma was dotted by small dependent school districts with schools serving local communities. Teachers for those schools were paid very poorly and the conditions were appalling. Certification to teach in these schools was obtained by passing an exam at the County Court House. Even then, finding individuals who would work in such conditions was difficult. Normal Schools of the State and some of the larger school districts provided Normal Institutes which developed or reviewed the curriculum of the schools and sometimes provided training in methods and pedagogy.

Central State

The primary and secondary school at Central State Normal School was called at various times the Model, Training, Demonstration, Laboratory, or Campus school. It was started in 1897 teaching the first two grades.¹⁹ College President Murdaugh petitioned the Board of Regents to expand the school but the committee empaneled to consider the idea thought the Normal School not yet prepared for such an undertaking. In the fall of 1899 the model school was organized but did not begin operation until the fall of 1901 when Mr. B. F. Nihart, former Superintendent of Oklahoma City Schools was named vice-president and placed in charge of Pedagogy and the Model School.²⁰ The next year, the school had a director and a corps of teachers working with grades one through eight in North Hall. A kindergarten program was initiated by 1910. High-school age students were included from the Preparatory Academy. At least twenty students graduated at each of the Summer and Spring Commencements from 1922 until 1952 the last year for the High School program in the laboratory school. The Campus School as it was called after the high school

program was discontinued was itself closed in 1961.²¹ The school attracted many of the children of the faculty members at Central State as well as from the neighborhoods near the campus.

The problem with the Central State Normal Laboratory School was one of continuity. In the sixty years of its existence it had sixteen different principals. B. F. Nihart, J. T. Butcher, and R. L. Beck, were principal for eleven years each. The thirteen others served terms of up to five years. But that was not much different than the institution itself whose administration changed often during its early years.²² During the Territorial period, presidency of the School was a political appointment and changed with each change of administration. During early statehood that tradition was carried on with the exception that the pre statehood

governors were appointed Republicans and the statehood governors were elected Democrats until 1963. Political appointments continued up through the 1990s with Presidents like Bill Lillard, former Superintendent of Oklahoma City Public Schools, and former Governor and longtime Lieutenant-Governor George Nigh.

With its various names, Territorial Normal School, Central State Normal School, Central State College, Central State University, now University of Central Oklahoma has served students of Oklahoma and the world. UCO and former normal schools all over the country have been in the lead in providing well-trained teachers for the schools and in making higher education available to widening populations of students.

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JOHN DEWEY TALKS TO TEACHERS

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Introduction

Most education professors are familiar with the work of John Dewey and to suggest otherwise might appear insulting. Most historical practitioners of progressive education during his lifetime were knowledgeable of his work *School and Society*, *The Child and the Curriculum*, *How We Think*, *Democracy and Education* and perhaps *Experience and Education* post 1938. Most of us are familiar with these works. However, I am concerned that far too many of our undergraduates have very little understanding of Dewey and particularly his concerns about teaching. Foundations of Education texts tend to discuss Dewey in the chapter on philosophy either under the subtitles of pragmatism or progressivism. As a historian of progressive education I can assure you these are not necessarily the same.

Teaching Dewey

I give my students a short survey on how to construct their philosophy of education which they eventually place in their portfolio. The survey asks them questions about their beliefs and values and then they score the survey. Overwhelmingly they all tend to come out progressives, but they have little understanding of what this means. As in Dewey's time, students often misinterpreted what the teacher was trying to tell them and he deserves some fault due to his cumbersome prose. My students tend to see Dewey as advocating a hands-on approach to practice and a child-centered pedagogy. Of course this is a naïve assumption and obviously simplifies a complex philosophy, but who has time in an introductory foundations course to discuss Dewey's complex view of labor and work and his theory of experience which denies overemphasis on the child centered? In most cases my students [second semester sophomores] do not have the philosophical background to understand the basic tenets of pragmatism; they have never taken philosophy and if so in most institutions they would get little exposure to Dewey. In a class project last semester some of the brightest students saw Dewey as a clear advocate of *No Child Left Behind*. They simply could not filter through the political discourse of the policy and did not know how Dewey might challenge the tenets of the policy. Is there a remedy to this dilemma so that our students can study the most important American philosopher and one who spoke so much about the relationship between philosophy, democracy and education?

While Dewey's written works and his

correspondence are now available, Dewey's essays on teaching are found in expensive volumes and not very easy to locate even by the experienced Dewey researcher. Many of Dewey's essays were directly written to teachers in specific situations and addressed many of the problems and issues teachers and administrators face today. This paper will address some of those themes found in Dewey's essays on teaching. In these essays we see a Dewey who seems to realize the need to be clear and succinct due to the limitations of oral speaking and writing for publications that limited how much he could write. These short essays are much more accessible due to these characteristics. They also provide a forum for discussion of educational concerns, past, present and future.

Dewey, Teaching, and Teacher Training

What does Dewey through these essays have to say to the classroom teacher and the school curriculum? In the essays we have chosen for the proposed book Dewey discusses the characteristics of the teacher, professionalism and collegiality, the need for adequate preparation grounded in experience and the need of a philosophy of education. Dewey views teaching as a profession, a moral and spiritual calling. It is a stressful calling, with little financial reward. You need to be a caring, sympathetic person, excited about learning and willing to use your summer in professional development.¹

Dewey argued that an efficient classroom teacher is not enough. Teaching was not lock step, or cook book, but in essence an artistic endeavor. Classrooms were not static entities, but social microcosms in a constant state of flux. Traditions and ritual were not enough and far too often become routine and mechanical. Dewey challenged the teacher to be a reflective practitioner, "who is cognizant and sympathetic to the world of the child." He further challenged the teacher to work to create an environment conducive to creativity, imagination, inquiry and problem solving. Yet he seemed to understand that teachers were not always in charge of their work thus making the right environment for learning difficult. Dewey believed teachers needed a collegial spirit, a type of professional identity and community, but he also challenged them to civic responsibility and political astuteness. He constantly reiterates the need for teachers to have control over their work in how and what they teach.²

In terms of the training of teachers, Dewey forecasts what many of us know as the professional development school. He believed that teachers spent too little time in

classroom settings; they needed to learn from experienced teachers who reflected and critiqued the work of novice teachers. He argued for psychology of learning to guide classroom practice, but not a psychology separated from social life and human experience. While [novice-prospective teachers] needed more in-depth preparation for the classroom experience they further needed to become experts in their subject matter. This does not mean for Dewey that one separates theory from practice, or that a major in a specific discipline makes one capable of performing well as a teacher. Dewey also challenged Colleges of Education to rethink constantly what they do in teacher preparation.³

Dewey and the Role of Education

On a visit to South Africa during the era of apartheid, Dewey attacked education that was static, passive and authoritarian. Like society, education was a process of development, something alive and in flux. The problem with the traditional school is that it removed the children from the real world, failing to make a connection with the culture and the community in which the child lived. Arguing for progressive education, Dewey advocated cooperation over competition, competition creating an environment where one attempted to “outwit one another.” Too many reformers today believe that competition is what makes the good school. Dewey challenged the South Africans and their political, economic, and social climate that led to capitalism and fostered materialism. He knew this climate was grounded in racism.⁴

School administrators have an important role in Dewey’s philosophy of education beyond the management mentality that seems so prevalent today. Educational leadership for Dewey was more that mastering principles or techniques, particularly if they are not conducive to a democratic education. A good administrator creates a climate of inquiry, necessary to deal with real world and community problems. The good administrator is attuned to the social, political and economic connections between the school and community. He also sees the administrator creating the climate of experimentation where teachers have the freedom to explore their subject matter, usually described by progressive educators I have studied as accumulated experience. Dewey believed that subject matter should be approached in reference to our understanding of psychology. This encompasses how the mind works coupled with how the subject matter relates to—or better connects to—the experiences of the child. Expecting a child to grasp subject matter out of effort and will alone is naïve at best. It is by far not the mere accumulation of facts or principles, but human experience. Making that connection is grounded in

what Dewey calls interest, our emotional connection to the subject matter.⁵

Dewey and Curriculum

If subject matter is human experience then it naturally has moral connotations. Dewey chastised teachers who used their position to advance their own moral agenda. Subject matter is not just information, but for Dewey should appeal to sympathy and cooperation rather than exclusiveness and competition. The right approach to subject matter attempted to connect the child to his or her community through the larger study of human experience. He saw history not as facts alone, but the study of social progression and social regression. Geography should incorporate cultural understanding.⁶ Because subject matter is viewed as accumulated human experience, lumping it into categories of disciplines creates problems. Progressive educators often taught social studies and English together. For example he sees history as a type of communication with the past. It gives an account of the human experience, how people solved problems, what their lives were like, what they ate, what tools they used to shape their environment. Dewey believed that children not only enjoyed these kinds of studies, but that it helped them better understand how things came to be, ideally how ideas and inquiry come to play out thought human action – like the simple to complex use of tools.⁷

For Dewey the study of science was important not merely for the information attained, but to basically learn to use tools by inquiry. He never saw science instruction as vocational preparation, but to develop, in essence, a scientific attitude of mind—this is fundamentally reflection, analysis, freedom of inquiry, imagination and critique. Science to was human experience not just ready-made facts to be memorized and regurgitated. The experimental character of the lab should be taken into the experimental nature of human existence, an existence within an open universe and in a constant state of flux. Our schools for Dewey should not be “laboratories of knowledge making, not mills fitted out with information hoppers,” but laboratories of experimentation.⁸

Within this openness for experimentation Dewey addressed character, ethics and religion in schools. He was always interested in the relationship between character formation and education. He defined character as “all the desires, purposes and habits that influence conduct,” but was very careful to clarify that it was more than simply accepting moral precepts or rules.⁹ He believed that teaching ethics involved a study of human relationships, how human behavior plays out in the social context, certainly linking the school and the community. He feared in times of confusion and

uncertainly that religion could present a problem if taught in schools, particularly by those who refused to do so in a spirit of inquiry. Dewey tended to see the formal teaching of religion as creating disunity, ignoring his open democratic community which itself seemed to embody a type of communal spirit. Dewey argued more than once that both science and religion needed to embody a spirit of inquiry.¹⁰

Conclusion

Dewey envisioned education as more than the accumulation of information by passing it on in a traditional bits and piece manner. The basic problem for Dewey is this and it is discussed and reiterated in many of his essays on teaching and curriculum. Too often the traditional educator viewed subject matter as fixed; knowledge was to be acquired, not “inquired,” and the teacher should model inquiry. The teacher needed to be part of the community but subject matter should also reflect the culture and experience of the community. Again, foster a cooperative environment rather than a competitive one. Another problem of traditional education is that it ignored the aesthetic

component of education, the imaginative and the creative, so deeply important to human identity and communication and a foundation to democracy. Dewey refused to place boundaries on human experience which is essentially what traditionalists do with subject matter. To deal with the challenges of human existence, boundaries at times needed to be breached.¹¹

I do not want my students to accept Dewey without question, but I do want them to think about the purpose of education beyond simplistic materialism. I do want them to be more politically astute, aware of those forces influencing their lives as teachers and how they prepare their students. I also want them to think globally, to grasp the connection between their decisions and how those decisions have consequences beyond the local or the “me” to the larger community. Finally I think Dewey wanted teachers to understand their place, not in the sense of not challenging authority, but in the sense of awareness, perhaps a kind of being for itself, a conscious awareness of their power and importance in influencing the lives of children.

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WWW SUPERINTENDENTS

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Introduction

This paper is based on research reflecting a historical perspective regarding school superintendents primarily from the 1950's to the present. Some summary history from the early 1900's is included as a background.

The historical evolution of the position of school superintendents includes many issues and challenges. History reports that superintendents have been the change agents for social and economic problems that face our states and our nation. (Norton, Webb, Dlugosh, and Sybouts, p. xv)

A creative board did not think of the position of the superintendent. The position evolved as the schools evolved. R.E. Wilson wrote that the position of school superintendent "was a product of necessity and growth. It was fashioned, not born. It was not conceived ... it unraveled." (Wilson, p. 2)

The superintendent began as a school inspector, and then began to function as a schoolmaster. As the position continued, it gained additional duties and responsibilities and it came to resemble that we know today. The early superintendents served mostly as assistants to the board of education. Most of a superintendent's duties were in the area of instruction and visiting schools. The Boards handled the finances because they were "businessmen." (Norton, Webb, Dlugosh, and Sybouts, p. 4)

Era of scientific management

Beginning in 1911, superintendents gave attention to the application of scientific management to public education. Superintendents began to speak about the scientific movement and how cost accounting had been used to determine the cost of various educational units. They discussed the "educational value" of a subject, and to develop standards for facilitating cost measures. Ellwood P. Cubberly, Dean of the School of Education at Stanford, supported the creation of efficiency departments along the lines of planning departments. (Norton et al, p. 9)

Superintendents welcomed the idea of efficiency departments and efficiency experts. They had hopes of solving problems in education as had been reportedly done in business and industry. They frequently mentioned their efficiency departments to reinforce their identity with the concept and to get a share in the new breed of scientific managers. Education was influenced by scientific management by the emphasis placed on teacher selection and evaluation, supervision, job analysis, cost accounting, and merit pay. The application of scientific management influenced centralized hierarchical bureaucratic

structures which are still in place in some districts. (Drost, p. 69)

Professional Preparation of Superintendents

A 1899 survey of big city superintendents revealed that 58 per cent of big city superintendents held a bachelor's degree, 14 per cent a master's degree, 13 per cent a doctorate, 9 per cent a high school diploma, and 4 per cent held no degree. (Tyack, pp. 257-300) Only twelve out of twenty-five of the major institutions of higher education offered courses dealing primarily with educational administration. (Young, In Pursuit of a Profession) Those courses offered the reminiscences of successful superintendents and philosophical offerings. Textbooks written by early superintendents (e.g., Ellwood Cubberly, George Strayer, and Frank Spaulding) were a compilation of "best practices." (Glass, The 1992 Study of the American School Superintendency). By 1914, the courses began to change. More courses were offered and required and they were more specialized. Training was more focused and extended, as well as their educational attainment.

A 1923 survey of superintendents showed that the median time spent in college was more than four years. The survey attributed this finding to the fact most superintendents entered the profession from a high school principalship. College graduation was a standard prerequisite for the position. The level of educational attainment of the superintendent increased with the size of the city. (National Education Association (NEA), First Yearbook, p. 17.)

By 1932, 32 states required that teachers be certified and fourteen issued certificates for administrators and supervisors. Administrator certification requirements included a teaching certificate, teaching experience, and have completed a minimum of fifteen hours of college work in school administration. (National Education Association (NEA), Eleventh Yearbook, p. 27).

Human Relations Movement

Years leading up to the 1929 crash of the stock market brought a change in the role and image of the superintendent and in the powers and duties they performed. Personnel matters became important. Classroom instruction and supervision became less important. The public was disillusioned with business and the business model. Democracy was being threatened abroad, and the schools were hailed for being the place where democracy should be preserved and modeled. Teacher participation was encouraged and being demanded by teacher organizations.

By the end of World War II, school administration practitioners began to realize that they needed a knowledge of principals and techniques of what had

become known as human relations, by the 1950's human relations was having an impact on educational administration. Research studies documented the importance of human interactions to successful operations in the work place and in the board rooms. Articles were published about human relations in the schools calling for administrators with the ability to work with people. (Norton et al, p. 13.)

By the end of the decade, the term democratic administrator described a superintendent who involved the staff in decision making and practiced good human relations skills. This person was seen as the means to bring about co-operative activity to achieve the purposes of the schools. (American Association of School Administrators (AASA), 1955 Yearbook, p. 10.)

By the 1950's and early 1960's, superintendents became interested in behavioral science theory with employee morale and teacher motivation as primary topics. An application of this theory would enable them to predict how their employers would respond to changes in policy and procedures and to be able to predict certain events. (Norton et al, p. 14.)

Role of the Superintendent in 1954

One of the greatest social changes of the twentieth century was the desegregation of the schools that began with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. For the next quarter century, the concepts of equal opportunity and civil rights were being tested in society and in the schools resulting in social tension in the schools that were unprecedented. (Glass, 1992 Study, p. 3.)

In 1954 the superintendent was viewed as "Mr. Education" in the community. (Goldhammer, p. 157). After 1954, the schools were instruments of social policy. The public was more vocal and the leadership of the schools became controversial. School boards took more leadership in developing policies and citizens demanded more involvement in both policy making and running the schools. The superintendent became the target of criticism. State and federal mandates interfered with the school's authority. Teacher unions grew. The superintendents were in a continuous defensive mode. (Glass, The 1992 Study, p. 4).

Reform in 1980s and 1990s

No end to conflict was in sight. The position of the superintendent was no longer apolitical and the superintendents acknowledged its political nature. Being a superintendent involved the manipulation and exercise of organizational power.

Superintendents in 1970 were asked to rank issues facing the superintendence. Financing schools ranked number one. In 1982, they were asked to rank issues

again, and superintendents again ranked financing schools the number one issue. By 1992, superintendents had not changed their opinions; they again ranked financing schools the number one issue when asked to rank issues. (Norton, et al, pp.17-19).

Issues likely to cause superintendents to leave the field if they intensify in 1971 were attacks on superintendents. In 1982, it was negotiations, strikes, and other forms of militancy. By 1992, it was financial matters. The second issue was lack of community support that would cause them to leave the field if the issue intensified. (Norton et al, p. 20).

When we look at 2006, we find many lasting similarities between contemporary superintendents and their predecessors ... their roles, their issues and their challenges. However, we see many differences in the way superintendents are trained and their educational attainment.

Superintendents now have teaching experience, teacher certification, masters' degrees and principal certification, and many have doctorates. (In Texas, several superintendents have served without the listed qualifications by receiving waivers from Texas Education Agency)

School districts still have reform movements, federal and state mandates, and financing school challenges. Certification issues are changing for teachers and administrators. Ways of certifying school personnel are changing. Alternative certification through agencies is occurring. People no longer have to go to a university and sit in class with professors. Online instruction is booming with the application of technology. Totally online classes and blended programs are offered to students, Online universities have appeared on the educational scene. I am the Director of the totally online certification program right now at Angelo State University in San Angelo, Texas. Superintendent classes in the past have had 5-12 students. Service Center programs or special academies have tried to enroll 12-15 students. Large universities have had twenty-five or so students enrolled in their superintendent programs. My program started last year with six students and within two months grew to fifty-seven students. Some have completed the program, but I have fifty-eight students this year. Things are changing.

Closing

No longer is the superintendent looked up to as the expert on schools in the community. He or she (and we are getting more and more women on the job) is often the target of criticism at the center of controversy, forced to become the defender of policy and the facilitator of federal and state mandates, and the orchestrator of diverse interests seeking to influence the schools. Conflicts with the school board are common.

STEPHENS: WWW SUPERINTENDENTS

There are stiff and hard financial pressures under which superintendents operate. Site-based management, teacher empowerment, parental choice, No Child Left Behind, accountability and testing are additional challenges to the superintendent's authority and leadership. Perhaps the most important are the issues of financing schools facing the superintendents as they enter the twenty-first century. Technology may have to bring us not only online instruction, but it may need to provide us with superintendent HELP lines,

problem solving scenarios, instant help with Google and other search engines using something like:
Asksuperintendents.com
Superintendents911.com
SuperintendentSwatTeam.com
SuperintendentHelp.com
SuperintendentsNeedHelpComeQuick.org
WWW Superintendents sounds simplistic when we view the last 107 years.
Things are changing.

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DEWEY'S ARGUMENT FOR TEACHING HISTORY

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I believe it is fair to say Dewey's argument for the proper approach to teaching history is one of the problems that troubled him throughout his long professorial career. The problem did not exist in a vacuum because it would have to be consistent with his larger concept of the proper role of public schools in the American Republic. To be more specific, it would have to be consistent with an educational philosophy focused in human experience and that is not an easy task. Fortunately, Dewey did have something to say about history and about teaching history within an experiential framework, in particular. Unfortunately, many of those thoughts are scattered throughout his voluminous writings. I have attempted to bring together many of those writings in this paper in an effort to analyze Dewey's thoughts on the proper role of teaching history in American elementary and secondary schools and in higher education.

John Dewey's argument for teaching history is both difficult to explain and difficult to implement. He seemed to know what ought to be done theoretically, but at the same time, he was never certain that he had found the right practical approach. He thought that there was probably not just one practical approach to teaching history, but he did make every effort to put into practice at the University of Chicago Laboratory School what he was arguing theoretically. We do have a record, at least, of what he thought might work as well as some record of his successes.

Dewey's Argument for a Practical Approach to Teaching History in the Public Schools

Dewey argues that the great majority of people are interested in the practical world of life, not in the intellectual world of the mind. Consequently, he comes to the conclusion that if the school would approach adults and children from that practical perspective, then the populace would be made more receptive to education.¹

Some want to make a quantum leap here and argue that Dewey is really talking about a system of vocational schools for the people. He was not arguing for a system of vocational schools, but instead was making an argument that is consistent with another argument he made when he said that the arts and sciences should be introduced to young children through the occupations, but should not be focused on learning an occupation. The difference is important and is fundamental not only to his concept of the proper role of the school in society, but is fundamental to the proper role of teaching history in those schools. He

writes in *School and Society* the following:

If we were to conceive our educational end and aim in a less exclusive way, if we were to introduce into educational processes the activities which appeal to those whose dominant interest is to do and to make, we should find the hold of the school upon its members to be more vital, more prolonged, containing more of culture.²

Dewey is marrying the practical and the intellectual in the above quotation as he does over and over in his writings. One can find that marriage in his philosophy of education as well as in his suggestions for teaching any subject. My intention here is to focus on how he thought history should be taught in a practical fashion. Let me turn first to his concept of history.

Dewey defines history as having a dual meaning in his book, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*. He writes: "History is that which happened in the past and it is the intellectual reconstruction of these happenings at a subsequent time."³ That definition guides and directs his philosophy of history as well as guides and directs his concept of teaching history. We will be concerned here with the latter. To do that, I want to divide his definition of history into the two parts that he gives us, namely, what happened in the past and the intellectual reconstruction of the past at a subsequent time.

The Past

Dewey argues that the past is dead and gone. He says the only things we have of the past are the artifacts that contemporaneously exist as

... records and documents; legends and stories orally transmitted; graves and inscriptions; urns, coins, diplomas, manuscripts, ruins, buildings and works of art; existing physiographical formations, and so on indefinitely.⁴

He tells us that 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 must be used as evidential data by which to infer the happenings of the past.⁵ How do we go about using evidential data by which to infer the happenings of the past? His answer is pure Deweyan. He tells us that we should reconstruct the past in the present through the process of thought. That is to say we think about the past and reconstruct it in the present by using logic. There is no other way to do it because we always live in the present which is another way of saying that all thinking occurs in the present. To that end, it is important to understand how Dewey defined the concept, "present," if we are to make sense of his

argument for teaching history. I turn next to that concept.

The Present

While the data that enter into evidence for any historical judgment are past matters, at the same time, they must exist in the form the form that they are used in the present. For, according to Dewey, "Where the past has left no trace or vestige of any sort that endures into the present its history is irrecoverable. Propositions about the things which can be contemporaneously observed are the ultimate data from which to infer the happenings of the past."⁶ Dewey's point is that verification of thought about the past must exist in the present. Consider the case of a question that is intrinsically unanswerable by any means now at our command. "What did Brutus eat for breakfast the day he assassinated Caesar?" Aside from the fact that the answer would not be of any real importance, no one knows what Brutus had for breakfast that morning. The reason the question cannot be intellectually pondered is because:

The things eaten for breakfast have left no consequences which are now observable. Continuity has been interrupted. Only when the past event which is judged is a going concern having effects still directly observable are judgment and knowledge possible.⁷

The conclusion is that as long as the meaning is entirely in the past, it cannot be recovered for knowledge. This suggests that "the true object of a judgment about a past event may be a past-event-having-a-connection-continuing-into-the-present-and-future."⁸ Dewey posits that the past occurrence is selected relative to some present problem to be solved. It is here that a great deal of misunderstanding of Dewey's philosophy of history occurs. For that reason, it is worthwhile to examine briefly the questions raised, before proceeding to Dewey's explanation.

Many critics, including some historians, have asked Dewey how, with his emphasis on experience and on direct or immediate experience as the outcome of inquiry, is it possible for events that occurred in the past to be explained in terms of immediate experience. The implication is that such events, especially those that occurred before the inquirer or even the entire living race was born, are outside any consideration of immediate experience, and therefore, outside the possibility of a present problem. They also point out that this statement is in direct conflict with another Dewey's well-known conclusions, namely, that any event or occurrence which can be said to be outside or beyond experience is unknown; it cannot be rightly talked about.

The misunderstanding may have occurred as a result

of Dewey's use of the term, "present." His critics, perhaps not familiar with his usage of it, may have interpreted the term in a common sense manner; that is, to mean existential events occurring in the here and now. Dewey gave the word present a much broader meaning. He writes:

. . . 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 the 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 ensuring events.⁹

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. As Thayer so aptly says of Dewey.

The existence of a past and the coming of a future are not denied; but these existences are known only to the extent that the materials of present experience can be worked and wrung of such evidential data at to warrant inference concerning past events and histories, as well as prediction of future events.¹⁰

Temporally, the present is continually moving into a new present, in Dewey's words, "As the new present arises, the past is the past of a different present."¹¹ This can be seen by the effect that current problems have on past events. When current problems seem to be primarily political the political aspects of history are emphasized. When current event problems are economic the same is true of the economic aspects of history. This leads to a double process. On one hand, present changes give a new direction to social problems and thereby move the significance of past events into a new perspective; "they set new issues from the standpoint of which to rewrite the story of the past."¹² On the other hand, as judgments concerning the significance of past events change, new instruments for estimating the force of present conditions as potentialities of the future are gained. This means that an intelligent understanding of past history is to some degree a level for moving the present into a certain kind of future.

The Future

In common sense usage the 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.” John Dewey, however, does not accept such common sense notions of the future as being accurate.

It has already been shown that for Dewey the present situation means much more than merely the temporal present, the here-and-now present. The present situation is of extensive duration covering past, present, and future events. The past and future are bound, perhaps one might more accurately say, fused, to the present situation. Particularly, the future is a part of the present situation that takes into account those events which will likely occur because a particular action is chosen. Let’s look at an example.

A student has just graduated from high school. The present situation centers on what she should now do. Choices must be studied. She might get a job, or go to college, or enter the military service, or become a thief, or, perhaps, be a bum. Regardless of the choice she makes, one thing is clear: life requires her to act. Before she decides upon a particular alternative she might ask the advice of parents, friends, teachers, and counselors; she might also observe the kind of life older people have made for themselves in the various alternatives available to her. She then has some basis for predicting the kinds of events, situations, and problems that are likely to ensue if she makes one choice over another. Thus, when she considers the alternative of the military service it is clear that the ensuing events, situations, and problem will be those faced by soldiers, and not, say those faced by college students. If she decides to enter military service it is because she can predict with some certainty that those kinds of events will ensue.¹³

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.”

Dewey has told us that “History is that which happened in the past and it is the intellectual reconstruction of these happenings at a subsequent time.”¹⁴ He has shown us how the present situation is fused to both the past and future. Next it is time to look at how he believes we should intellectually reconstruct, “. . . these happenings at a subsequent time.” In other words, how do we go about intellectually reconstructing data that occurred in the past, and that exists in the present, into a logical explanation of the past, while at the same time, be useful in sending our future in the direction we choose for it to go?

I begin this examination with his definition and explanation of thinking in social inquiry. It is at the

very center of his concept of the intellectual reconstruction of past data that exists in the present, into knowledge.

Dewey’s Concept of Thinking in Social Inquiry

Dewey does believe that social inquiry and physical inquiry are essentially the same process, although he does propose that social inquiry has three particular elements that need emphasis. It is important to note, however, that he does not mean to imply that each of the three is different from the process of physical inquiry; only that each needs particular emphasis in social inquiry.

Dewey suggests that teachers are involved in social inquiry in their classrooms regardless of what they teach because they are working with students in a social environment. They want students to learn to think in the subject matter being taught. If that is the case, then Dewey’s proposal that social inquiry and physical inquiry are much the same process requires some investigation. I turn to that proposition next, particularly to the first of the three elements that need emphasis.

The first element in social inquiry needing emphasis is that all thinking, and therefore, all inquiry, begins with a genuine problem, a problem that has emerged from some particular troublesome, problematic, existential, every day, practical, situation in life.¹⁵ If thinking begins in that fashion, then learning begins there as well. Notice, too, that he has placed a tremendous amount of emphasis on where a genuine problem emerges. It must, he says, emerge from some particular, troublesome, existential, every day, practical situation in life, a statement entirely consistent with his position taken above that history could be better taught in the public schools, if it dealt with the practical life. If it doesn’t come from there, then thinking will not occur. That statement requires the reader to seriously ponder what he means, and then, once understood, what consequences flow from it. I want to hastily affirm that Dewey is talking about genuine problems in social inquiry, not genuine problems of inquiry in the arts! The latter requires an investigation of Dewey’s concept of thinking in the arts, an investigation that is not the focus of this paper.

It is a fair to suggest that social studies teachers during Dewey’s lifetime did not begin their instructional day with having students investigate genuine social problems or to say it another way, genuine problems in the social studies or social sciences, nor do they do that today. On the contrary, teachers did then and often still equate thinking and learning with memorization of subject matter. Dewey rejected that idea out of hand. While he did say that some basic material needs memorization such as the

multiplication tables, phylum, and the rules of grammar, he emphasizes that memorization of those kinds of subject matters do not constitute thinking. They are, instead, merely static bodies of facts that require no thought. They are data that can be recalled, but are useless until a genuine problem emerging from some particular troublesome, problematic, existential situation in life engages the thought process. For that reason, he suggests instruction in the social studies must begin with a troublesome, practical, problematic situation that will lead to a "genuine" problem because that is how and where thinking begins in the social studies.

Dewey believes that teachers must be skilled enough to create the kinds of classroom situations that will become troublesome, practical, frustrating, problematic situations that cause students, in turn, to become so interested in identifying the genuine problem and then so interested in working their way through data that occurred in the past and that exists in the present that they will lose themselves in it and find themselves in it.

The second element needing emphasis in social inquiry, he says, is for teachers to emphasize that ideas, hypotheses, or plans of action to resolve the problem must be identified or suggested by the students (with the assistance of the teacher) to guide the search for factual evidence that will eventually lay the problem to rest. Where do the students look for the ideas, hypotheses, or plans of action? That question leads to the third element of social inquiry that needs emphasis.¹⁶ Let us move now to the third element needing emphasis in social inquiry.

The third element needing emphasis in social inquiry is for teachers to use conceptual structures to act as standards or "laws" that will, in turn, act as accurate predictors of future events. When that happens, students will be taught to use those standards to produce ideas, hypotheses, plans of action for them to lay the problem to rest. So, from where do those conceptual structures come? According to Dewey, they come from years of scientific research. In medicine, for example, such a conceptual structure might be "pneumonia" while in history a conceptual structure might be "civil war" or perhaps "revolution."¹⁷

The term, "pneumonia," for example, is a well-defined conceptual structure in the health sciences. As result of years of research, we know what kinds of events must come together to create the disease, "pneumonia." Researches in the health sciences have identified those events, and consequently, when physicians diagnose such symptoms in patients, they can predict with a high degree of accuracy that the patient has pneumonia. As a result, a medication can be

ordered and the problem laid to rest.

On the other hand, in history, conceptual structures are not so well defined. Historians, for example, are much more interested in researching a particular revolution (American, Russian, Cuban, Nazi Revolutions) or a particular civil war (U.S. civil war, Spanish civil war, or Soviet civil war) and much less interested in researching such concepts as "revolution" or "civil war." Consequently, since historians have not done that very well, we cannot predict with any given degree of accuracy whether the social conditions in a given troubled country are ripe for a revolution or for a civil war or whether they are simply events that will lead to a peaceful change of government through the democratic processes.

Historians have generally believed that history cannot be used to build reliable conceptual structures as have been done in the natural sciences. Dewey disagrees with historians of that ilk and emphasizes instead that historians ought to research problems that will help clarify their conceptual structures. If they would do that, then when events in some area of today's world are occurring, one could propose that those events are consistent with the events that occur in a civil war or perhaps a revolution. If the concepts, civil war and revolution were much more accurately defined, they could act as "standards" by which we could measure present events occurring as being, say, the events that lead to a civil war or perhaps the events that lead to a revolution. Since historians have not done that well, we do not have sharply defined historical concepts that a social studies teacher can use as standards by which to measure present social events. That is a major difference between conceptual structures in the natural sciences and the social sciences.

If Dewey is correct about the process of thought in the social studies, then clearly he must convince us that historical problems can emerge from an actual, current situation in life. At first glance, one may likely ask how can that happen when the troublesome situation we want students to pursue is a problem that is related in some fashion to the past? Dewey's answer is to remind us that all problems no matter what they are must occur in the present. Even historical problems are present problems. Let me explain.

Thinking, Teaching, and Learning History

Dewey is saying that all problems, including historical problems, must occur in the present because such problems are always our problems about the past. To say it another way, historical problems are always our problems that have arisen out of some present troublesome, frustrating, problematic situation about the past that we wish to lay to rest in the present. We

are troubled and frustrated, for example, by something we have read by or about, say, Lincoln, Jefferson, or Pericles which, in turn, has led to some present troublesome, problematic, existential situation in our lives. We realize that the problem is not Lincoln's, or Jefferson's or Pericles'. They resolved their problems when they were alive. The problem is ours and we must lay it to rest. Thinking, which always occurs in the present, begins with a troublesome situation about some past situation which we wish to lay to rest in the present.

We can establish, then, that John Dewey's argument for teaching history will be centered in his argument that thinking, teaching, and learning are all the same process, a process that includes thinking in history, teaching history, and learning history. We can also establish that all begin at the same place, namely, a genuine problem, a problem that has emerged from some particular troublesome, problematic, existential situation in life.

Let me move next to Dewey's concept of the educational value of history. He writes:

I believe ... that history is of educative value in so far as it presents phases of social life and growth. When taken simply as history it is thrown into the distant past and becomes dead and inert. Taken as the history of man's social life and progress it becomes full of meaning. I believe, however, that it cannot be so taken excepting as the child is also introduced directly into social life.¹⁸

So, here we see him arguing that history has no real educational value unless it presents phases of social life and growth, and further, that it cannot be done unless the child is introduced directly into social life. He explains that more fully in *School in Society* when he writes the following:

The introduction of active occupations, of nature study, of elementary science, of art, of history; the relegation of the merely symbolic and formal to a secondary position; the change in the moral school atmosphere, in the relation of pupils and teachers—of discipline; the introduction of more active, expressive, and self-directing factors---all these are not mere accidents, they are necessities of the larger social evolution. It remains but to organize all these factors, to appreciate them in their fullness of meaning, and to put the ideas and ideals involved into complete, uncompromising possession of our school system. To do this means to make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science. When the school introduces and trains each child of society

into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious.¹⁹

Dewey has taken a rather bold position. He expects history to take on an important functional role, a role, as I said earlier; that almost no historian believes is possible. There are those who might wish students to study the story of the rise of the American republic or perhaps study the glory that was Rome, but for interest sake, not for functional purposes. If Dewey's argument for teaching history is to hold up, he must convince us that the classroom situation, not only can be arranged to introduce the child directly into social life, but that the child will learn the proper concept of history as well.

Now that we know Dewey's argument for teaching history, it is fair to ask, does his suggestion work in practice? The only real evidence we have for that question is how history was taught at his Laboratory School. Let me turn next to the way he actually taught history in that setting. I will approach it as follows: Teaching History in the Elementary School; Teaching History in the Secondary School; Teaching history in Higher Education. I turn first to Teaching History in the Elementary School.²⁰

Teaching History in the Elementary School

Dewey suggested the "genetic method" or what he also called the "historical view," when applied by the teacher, would present phases of social life and growth. He claimed that the "genetic method" "was perhaps the chief scientific achievement of the latter half the nineteenth century." He went on to say:

Its principle is that the way to get insight into any complex product is to trace the process of its making---to follow it through the successive stages of its growth. To apply this method to a story as if it meant only the truism that the present social state cannot be separated from its past, is one-sided. It means equally that past events cannot be separated from the living present and retain meaning. The true starting point of history is always some present situation with its problems.²¹

Dewey put that principle into practice. At his Laboratory School at the University of Chicago, children were placed in one of eleven groups, depending upon their ages. The first group, youngsters of preschool age, was generally involved in the occupations of their contemporary world. There was a great deal of role playing and re-enacting the fundamental occupations of the home. Gradually their perspectives were broadened to include an understanding of the interaction of family and

community. Such games as playing store, or playing mailman, or milkman, as well as playing house, were carried out. Wirth reports that "in these activities relevant questions would be raised which would lead to amplification and refinement in the later school years: Where does it come from? Where does it go? How does it work?"²²

Historical study was not introduced until the child had progressed to Group IV, the seven-year-olds. At that time the study of history centered in the evolutionary development of civilization, beginning with an investigation of the occupational activities from their simplest working with and becoming personally involved in the present occupational and social life of their elders would naturally be interested in the historical evolution of those occupations.²³

One important principle Dewey relied on was that *the curiosity of the child would grow out of some present situation*. Then the question "How did it all come about?" would lead the child back to the study of primitive man. Dewey believed it would be possible, and, for that matter, desirable to go back to primitive man because that was man's simplest stage of development. He wrote:

The value of primitive history is in simply reducing everything to its simplest elements; it gives us the problem of society in its lowest and fewest terms, and therefore in a way most easily grasped, particularly by the imagination of the child.²⁴

An interesting and important reason for having children study the primitive stage, and, for that matter, all the stages between primitive and contemporary, is that it shows the child the situations man faced in that period are in kind like those he faces today; particularly he was referring to the child understanding the great 2nd industrial revolution which was occurring at the time he was writing. To achieve this goal, Dewey, suggested that the child use his imagination to conjure up the primitive environment and attempt to solve the kinds of problems man faced at that time. Particularly he was to

...realize how the fundamental problems of procuring subsistence, shelter, and protection have been met; and by seeing how those were solved in the earlier days of the human race, form some conception of the long road which has had to be traveled, and of the successive inventions by which the race has been brought forward in culture.²⁵

He went on to argue that economic, industrial, and intellectual history lent themselves much more aptly to achieving his goal of having the child understand contemporary social life than did political history. He said, for example, "Economic history deals with the activities, the career, and fortunes of the common man

as does no other branch of history."²⁶ He thought industrial history did much the same thing, and went on to say about intellectual history the following:

We are just beginning to realize that the great heroes who have advanced human destiny are not its politicians, generals, and diplomatists, but the scientific discoverers and inventors who have put into man's hands the instrumentalities of an expanding and controlled experience, and the artists and poets who have celebrated his struggles, triumphs, and defeats in such language, pictorial, plastic, or written, that their meaning is rendered universally acceptable to others.²⁷

Clearly, Dewey is suggesting a very different approach to teaching history than most educators and historians who have been strongly influenced by Aristotle's argument that ultimately all things are political. The idea that children should learn the story of the rise of the American nation through a narrative study of political history is being challenged here. Let me return now to Dewey's approach to teaching history at the Lab School

Arthur G. Wirth reports that groups IV and V, for seven and eight-year-olds, were pivotal years, and were thoroughly and systematically developed. Where Group IV concentrated on the laying of "sociohistorical" foundations, Group V moved to study a world that had been expanded by migration, exploration, and discovery. Psychologically, it was believed that this was the period "in which to shift from direct to 'derived modes of activity.'"²⁸ It was felt that when the child reached the age of eight he had a psychological need to acquire skills in reading, writing, and number tools in order to progress.

Literature with a distinctively historical setting might be used with seven and eight year olds, but with real caution. Writing in *School and Society* Dewey tells us that teachers had to use literature with history very cautiously with seven and eight year olds. While he complimented the Herbartian school for "enriching the elementary curriculum in the direction of history," Dewey argued that often the Herbartians inverted the "true relationship" between history and literature. He said:

In a certain sense the *motif* of American colonial history and of De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* are the same. Both represent a man who has achieved civilization, who has attained a certain maturity of thought; who has developed ideals and means of action, but is suddenly thrown back upon his own resources, having to cope with a raw and often hostile nature, and to regain success by sheer intelligence, energy, and persistence of character. But, when *Robinson Crusoe* supplies the material

for the curriculum of the third-or fourth-grade child, are we not putting the cart before the horse? Why not give the child the reality with its much larger sweep, its intenser forces, its more vivid and lasting value for life, using the *Robinson Crusoe* as an imaginative idealization in a particular case of the same sort of problems and activities?"²⁹

He went on to make a similar statement about the poem, *Hiawatha*, in that same place. He wrote:

Again, whatever may be the worth of the study of savage life in general, and of the North American Indians in particular, why should that be approached circuitously through the medium of *Hiawatha*, instead of at first hand, employing indeed the poem to furnish the idealized and culminating touches to a series of conditions and struggles which the child has previously realized in more specific form? Either the life of the Indian presents some permanent questions and factors in social life, or it has next to no place in a scheme of instruction. If it has such a value, this should be made to stand out on its own account, instead of being lost in the very refinement and beauty of a purely literary presentation.³⁰

The above statements may have caused some to believe that Dewey was hostile toward the arts, particularly the literary arts. That, of course, is not true. On the contrary, he very much valued the arts in education and in fact recommended that children read the Great Books rather than the more mundane pieces of children's literature in vogue at the time.³¹ All he meant to say in the above passage is that history should be taught in the manner he describes with appropriate literature brought in afterwards that would, in turn, allow children to broaden their imagination about life in colonial America.

Group V began the study of history by concentrating on the study of the Phoenicians. Study of the Phoenicians as traders rather than farmers or hunters was emphasized because that led to the study of a new kind of man with new kinds of problems. Later in the year students began the study of great explorers. The voyages of such men as Magellan, Marco Polo, and Columbus were studied in some detail. This led to questions about oceans, meteorology, astronomy, the use of the compass, and astrology. Thus, by the end of the year the child had greatly enlarged his perspective from occupations around the house to the beginning of a civilized human experience.

Groups VI through X, for children aged nine through thirteen, turned their attention to the history of the United States. A real effort was made to introduce the child to American history through an examination

of "the exploration and conquest of the continent, the establishment of the Colonies, and the founding of the republic."³² When colonial history was studied, children in the textile studio actually used spinning wheels and looms. Other children reconstructed typical industries of the colonial period. Children studied the home life of the colonials in some detail whole one group planned, built, and furnished a colonial room. The goal was to "show how occupations and industries grew out of real needs, how individuals and communities became experts in making or growing certain things, and how trade between the colonies began."³³ Gradually the study of history became more specialized; historical accounts were read and written and oral reports were presented.

Group XI, for fourteen and fifteen-year-olds, was in operation only two years. Records are sketchy and it appears that the staff never got beyond a tentative program.

This brief example of the genetic method shows that Dewey intended it to be used only as a means of simplifying contemporary society, thereby making it possible for the child to study phases of social life and growth. The genetic method was useful for identifying the various stages of man's development but was not used to trace the origin of some contemporary problem. However, as pointed out, once the child was studying a particular stage of development, certain problems manifested in that stage were identified and solved.

Dewey pointed out that there are two major problems confronting the history teacher in the elementary school. One is centered on how to secure adequate simplification of the material and yet have it retain its salient points; the second is concerned with the proper amount of historical detail to be studied.

Dewey suggested two methods, both popular at the time he was writing in the early 20th century, to meet the demands of the first problem. The first method is the biographical and story view, the principle of which is that history should be approached in the "form of biographies of great historical characters and heroes and leaders, and through the medium of anecdotes and stories associated with these great characters."³⁴ There is, however, a drawback to this method. Dewey was concerned that some teachers using the biographical method might have a tendency to reduce history to a number of interesting stories of great men, and, thereby, practically eliminate the element of growth, continuity, and development. He wrote:

These social leaders are always representative, each one representing a center, a focusing of a large number of social conditions and problems and forces; and so far as elementary education is concerned, it seems to me that the ideal should be to

remain true to the historical point of view, that is, to that of growth, of development, by discussing the development quite largely as typified and summed up, as represented in individual characters.³⁵

The above passage leads one to believe that Dewey rejected the "great man" philosophy of history. That is to say, great men make history; they are the causes, if you will, of the consequences or effects that send history off in new directions. While Dewey didn't object to students reading biographies of great men, he certainly did not want the history curriculum in the elementary school to focus on that idea. For him, to focus on the biographical approach would threaten his idea that "history is of educative value in so far as it presents phases of social life and growth."

The second method Dewey suggested to simplify the study of historical material is the "institutions approach." The view is that the study of history should center about institutions. "The idea is that by taking the family in various parts of the country, or some other social form, and by having the child become acquainted with it as it existed in different ages and countries, a systematic view of society as a whole can be built up."³⁶ Dewey seemed to have his doubts about the use of the institutional method at the elementary level. He stated that it was in use in a normal school in Michigan, but that it might be too analytic for use in the elementary school.³⁷ Beyond that he mentioned little else about it in any of his writings.

The second major problem confronting the history teacher at the elementary level centers on the proper amount of historical detail and the relationship of historical details to one another. The teacher can create confusion on the one hand by attempting to give practically all the facts, and on the other by dwelling on too few facts. Therefore, the effective history teacher must find a medium between the two extremes.

Unfortunately, the history teacher does not receive much help from textbooks. The typical American history textbook is organized chronologically and riddled with detail. Dewey was generally critical of this approach to history. He wrote:

When it is attempted with the limits of the textbook, it is obvious that there are a great number of particular persons, battles, campaigns, Etc., spoken of. The result of that multiplicity of details is that details of another sort are inevitably crowded out. That is, the circumstances and conditions which really give one of the points discussed its meaning, which drive it home to one, make it capable of translation over into living terms, are almost of necessity left out.³⁸

Furthermore, Dewey suggested that if the child

simply memorizes facts concerning, say the Pilgrims' landing in New England, his mind is left with only a little information. But he believed that,

If a child spends two or three months even on that subject, working out the reason why those people came over, how they lived, and in getting acquainted with the various individuals in such a way that they mean something to him, working out how the town was laid out and how the people managed their affairs, the thing at once becomes a vital whole. It is obvious that you cannot do that and attempt to cover everything from 1492 to 1899 in one year. You must pick out things which are really representative and typical and work them out with a great deal of elaboration.³⁹

This means that Dewey's answer to the two major problems confronting the history teacher in elementary education is one and the same, the representative topic method. Thus, it is now possible to state a basic pedagogical principle of his in the area of history: "In history the pedagogical demand is more and more for typical cases, for representative topics which will be worked out in a great deal of detail, with a great deal of accompanying circumstance."⁴⁰ This proposal is consistent with Dewey's suggestion that historians clarify their conceptual structures, including such concepts as "revolution" and "civil war." Historians, however, would likely balk at that idea. They want to emphasize individual great men, or leaders, or events, not representative topics because historians generally research individual great men, leaders, and events. (Historians, though, might not object to elementary students looking at representative topics, but surely historians would want older students looking at individual great men, leaders, and events.)

It is also important to note that Dewey did focus on teaching history at his Lab School from a practical perspective. He did emphasize thinking in history from the perspective of students identifying present problems emerging from troublesome, practical, frustrating, situations in the classroom. Teachers worked diligently at trying to arrange the classroom situation so such practical, troublesome, frustrating situations would occur.

By way of summary, Dewey would say that it is desirable for history in the elementary school to result in the power to imagine, to sense social relationships, and to have in mind some of the chief historical embodiments of the working out of these forces. He was convinced that,

The child should be left with a sense of these historical embodiments of the social forces in such a way as to feel the momentous continuity and progress, although unable philosophically in any

way to define them. But if the child does not get a sense of momentum, a sense of moving on into a higher state of things at each stage, a sense of advance, he is losing one of the most important points in the study of history.⁴¹

Let me move next to Dewey's suggestions for teaching history in the secondary school.

Teaching History in the Secondary School

Dewey wrote little about teaching history in the secondary schools. One reason may be that he never got beyond the preliminary stages with his secondary programs at the Laboratory School. Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that he believed secondary level problems occur in connection with the ethical and practical value of history. He was interested particularly in the idea that history, in the ethical and practical sense, should be considered in relation to civics. He wrote:

If the knowledge of history does not somehow relate itself to existing problems and conditions, if the student does not get something out of it which makes him more intelligent in dealing with current problems of social life and of politics, he certainly does not get the full benefit of it, and it is the study of civil government, now generally called civics, which has been particularly urged of late as a means of enabling the student to get practical value and application out of his history.⁴²

Dewey suggested that students of secondary school age should begin the study of history with the study of social functions, or civics, rather than government forms. That is, students should learn first what the community must do for its various citizens. Although he did not state it absolutely, he did seem to believe that a sufficient background in civics can be acquired by the end of the first or second year of high school.

Dewey made clear that once a student has learned what the community must do for its various citizens, he or she is ready to begin a more definite study of institutions. This phase begins not so much with the direct study of institutions as it does from the purposes which are meant to be realized. Also, at this point, the teacher can begin instruction in comparative and historical study. Dewey suggested students might deal with such questions as:

What was the institutional organization of Greece, Rome or feudalism? What has been the struggle of modern times to secure what kind of institutions, and why? Why do democratic institutions conserve the public welfare and also individual freedom more fully than those other institutional forms that have previously been studied?⁴³

It is clear that Dewey's plan for the study of history in secondary education included a comparative

institutional study with reference to the ethical value of ends. He explained when he used the term ethical, he meant "the enlargement of the freedoms of the individual and the sphere of common interests and mutual services."⁴⁴ He also acknowledged that history continually presents ethical problems as to why people did certain things, whether they should have done them, and what their motives were. In addition to the general aspects of ethical problems of history, there are the individual aspects of ethics: "the study of character, for which no rules can be laid down in advance, but to which it is desirable to have a great deal of incidental attention paid."⁴⁵

Dewey said little beyond those brief remarks about the teaching of history in secondary education; these writings indicate that he never got beyond the tentative planning stages with his suggestions.

Next, I consider his suggestions for teaching history in higher education.

Teaching History in Higher Education

Dewey suggested that in the transition from secondary school to higher education the student would naturally get a philosophical view of history.⁴⁶ For the most part, his writings on this subject, limited to 1898 – 1899, include only a brief reference to causation—hardly enough to understand fully what he means by a philosophical view of history. In fact, his remarks about causation are so general that knowing what he means by them at that point in his life is difficult. For instance, he stated that causation in the narrow sense can be used in the physical sciences but cannot be applied to history. However, he said, causation in a larger sense, in the sense of philosophy of growth, of movement of historical evolution, should be the culmination of a strictly historical study. It would appear that this is a different concept of causation from that found in later works, notably *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*. However, it is apparent that Dewey believed that if students in higher education would study history from a philosophical view, both extreme conservatism and radicalism would be impossible.⁴⁷

Dewey made a few other general comments about history in higher education, as in his suggestion that the professional man, for instance in science or medicine, ought to know the history of his profession as it relates to the general process of civilization.

If Dewey did not fully develop his views with regard to history studies in secondary and higher education, he nevertheless had a strong sense of their place in a sequential program. As succinct a summary of his contextual perspective as any is his declaration that:

When the curriculum is organized so that the

STONE: DEWEY'S ARGUMENT FOR TEACHING HISTORY

elementary period takes up its proper material and does its due work with it, giving the training of instinctive imagination and insight into the forces, and a certain amount of positive information in regard to the way these forces are crystallized, development of institutions in relation to the fundamental purposes of life, then the ground will be covered leaving room in the higher period for the philosophical view of history, and also for the professional view.⁴⁸

Summary

John Dewey's argument for teaching history is focused in six principles. One, is the need to teach history in a practical way to children who come from the practical world of the working classes. If it is to hold their interest to make any sense at all, then it must have a decidedly practical flavor. Two, as the child matures, then history becomes more and more abstract working its way toward ethical and philosophical approaches as the child enters high school and college. Three, thinking, researching, teaching, and learning history all encompass the historical method or the method of science. As a result, all instruction in history, like all thinking in the social studies, begins in the

elementary school classroom with a genuine problem that has grown out of actual troublesome, frustrating, problematic situations in the social life of the children. Four, the educational value of history is centered in children in children learning the social phases of life in the Republic. Five, history instruction in the secondary school is concerned with a much more abstract subject matter than that of the elementary school. Six, history in higher education should be centered in a philosophical approach. Still, the center of all history instruction begins at the same place where thinking and learning begins, namely, a troublesome, frustrating, problematic, situation that has emerged from an actual, real life social environment of the classroom.

Conclusions

Dewey's argument for teaching history is sound but very difficult to effectively put into practice. If it fails at all, it fails at the place where so many other Dewey suggestions fail, namely, with finding teachers in numbers who know their subject matter so well that they can move freely in it while at the same time being adept at guiding children toward identifying a problem and guiding them to problem resolution.

ENDNOTES

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2. Ibid. Dewey, *School and Society*, in *The Middle Works: The School and Society, 1899 – 1924*, Vol 1: 19.
3. Dewey, John. *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, in *John Dewey: The Later Works: Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, 1938, Vol 12, ed Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press): 235 – 236.
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5. Ibid.
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11. Dewey, *Logic*, in Boydston, *The Later Works*, Vol 12: 1938: 238.
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29. Dewey, John. *School and Society*, in *John Dewey: The Middle Works: The School and Society, 1899 – 1924*, Vol 1, ed Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press): 106 - 107 .
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35. Ibid., 266.
36. Ibid., 265.
37. Ibid., 265-266.
38. Ibid., 268.
39. Ibid., 268-269.
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STONE: DEWEY'S ARGUMENT FOR TEACHING HISTORY

41. Ibid., 270.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., 271-272.
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TECHNOLOGY TALKERS

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Imagine two sisters, Robin and Dana, sitting in the same room. They are seated about four feet apart, with their backs to each other. Both are using cell phones and both are online with their computers. Each has six to eight IM (instant messaging) screens open in both Yahoo and Microsoft networks. Their multiple interactions include Robin and Dana talking and text messaging each other on their cell phones and typing on their computers to each other, and simultaneously with six to eight friends and acquaintances on the Internet. At no time, do they simply turn around and talk to each other.

After observing this for a while I could not resist the urge to ask them why they didn't just turn around and talk to each other. A prolonged and dramatic rolling of eyes upward preceded the sisters making eye contact with me.

Robin: It's just more fun this way.

Me: What do you mean by fun?

Robin: Well, it is a lot less boring than talking to one person. I can tell everyone what one person said and get lots of interesting interaction.

Dana: It's a lot more interesting than being here.

Me: You are not here?

Dana: No, I'm everywhere. I can be anywhere in the world I want to be. Since you are not on the Internet I suppose you're satisfied with just being where you are – what a limited reach you have. All you can do is talk to the two of us. While we talk to eight or ten people at a time.

"Actually," Dana said, "I would much rather live in a world of not. This world is so screwed up. It's so much more interesting to be online and I have the whole world at my fingertips. And, I can talk to people all over the world without starting a war."

This presentation will focus on what it means to be present in a technological age. Do we need to be present at all or can we engage only in electronic communication? Online learning suggests that we can learn a wide variety of subjects without being physically present. What does this mean for humans who have traditionally been social beings? What does this mean for schools? Do we really need school buildings or can we actually socialize and teach better, or as well, online?

According to Richard Rorty (1991), we fashion what we are as groups of people by defining ourselves through action in the world. The question may be, which world is the world? The pull of cyberspace is so strong that many young people, like the "technology

talkers" in the vignette above, prefer it. Indeed, the pull of interactive online games is so strong, such games are not allowed on many college networks, partly because the games use so much bandwidth, but also because users become so engrossed in the game they don't attend classes. Indeed, an online "virtual world," *World of Warcraft*, is so popular there are several hundred thousand websites devoted to it. Steven Rosen (2006) writes about his own ideas on technology:

But the pull of cyberspace, and of modern technology in general, does seem irresistible. The high powered abstractions of this realm relentlessly draw my attention. In imposing themselves on my awareness, the world of concrete life is relegated to the background and overshadowed. I am hardly alone in my tendency to succumb to the lure of technology and other heady possibilities on the contemporary scene, and so become oblivious to the earth in which I dwell. Participating in modern culture renders the lifeworld peripheral. (xi)

Several alternatives to the lifeworld are blogs, instant messaging, virtual worlds, games and serious games, text messaging and talking on cell phones, interactive journals, chat rooms, discussion rooms, interactive web sites, and interactive video/audio conferences just to name a few. Carr (2007) indicates that approximately 57 million Americans read or write blogs. Papcharissi and Rubbin (2000) identify in an article about predictors of internet use cite the internet as a functional alternative to face to face communication for many users. Given this, what does it mean to be present and can we be present on the internet?

Let us assume that Steven Rosen's term lifeworld involves being present. What does it mean to be present? And if being present doesn't mean being physically present, where does that take us?

For Rosen, the lifeworld is at once the physical place where we physically exist and the abstractions that arise from our being there. We must "stand present" to be present. Standing present is a bit complicated. I will try to trace some of Rosen's thinking on the process. This tracing will be glib in terms of the richness of Rosen's work. Ontologically, we can test the presence of ourselves as objects. This can be done in a variety of ways to prove our existence subject *qua* subject, object *qua* object (tests of proprioception). Rosen frequently alludes to Merleau-Ponty's notion of flesh as a permanent condition of experience. In a way, we are what our ego concocts and

we can lay claim to what we create. We can lay claim to writings, recordings, and objects that we bring into the world. This is one way of “standing present.” A second way of “standing present” is to reveal ourselves in the writing, recordings, and objects that we bring to the world. This act reduces the split between subject and object and examines what Rosen terms “singularities of a polymorphous being.” A third way of “standing present” is to test the ontological existence of others and share space, time, and abstractions with others to the point of making words, objects, music, drama, or agreements about ethical or moral behaviors. These procedures verify our ontological existence and possibly give birth to cosmological questions. Perhaps when we attend a symphony we are making music with the orchestra. We have the ability to physically, ontologically, show our presence by our applause which has an ontological, maybe physical presence (sound waves) that influences the behavior of the orchestra (encores, perhaps even more inspired performance).

Where does this leave our two sisters, Robin and Dana? Suppose they never leave the room and never talk to one another? There are fewer ways for them to “stand present.” Although they can engage in proprioception, they can only use that to present themselves in text or voice, or perhaps both. They can lay claim to their text and voice and they can certainly reveal parts of themselves – particularly if they have a blog with photographs. But their options from there are limited. Being co-present means testing the ontological presence of others. It has been said that you do not know the territory that you roam on the internet (Stoll, 1995). There is no way to verify and therefore be present with someone who may not be what they claim or may even be a clever computer program (Gelernter, 1994). Ontological representation is assumed rather than actual. There is a choice to create a social place (virtual place) within a larger technological framework. They willingly give up part of their identity to partake in what they consider to be a more vital environment. As Feenberg (1991) suggests:

But ordinary people do not resemble the efficiency oriented system planners who pepper the pages of technology critique. Rather, they encounter technology as a dimension of their lifeworld. For the most part they merely carry out the plans of others or inhabit technologically constructed spaces and environments. As subordinate actors, they strive to appropriate the technologies with which they are involved and adapt them to the meanings that illuminate their lives. Their relation to technology is thus far more complex than that of dominant actors (which they too may be on occasion.)

The sisters have encountered technology as part of their lifeworld and have chosen to inhabit technology constructed places and environments to extend their social network. What they have given up is “standing present” in the third sense and giving up various parts of proprioceptive ontological existence in the first two senses of standing present.

So what? They are happy with this environment and spend uncounted hours in it. Isn't the internet just another example of a growing matrix of mass communications that the sisters find fascinating?

Social Abrasion

Our response to “so what” is to discuss the idea of social abrasion. It is another way of understanding standing present. I am particularly interested in how social abrasion changes within technological venues. *Social abrasion means the exchanges between people that include the friction of ideas and social exchanges that wear away the social distance between us.* A hoped for outcome of social abrasion is to facilitate the establishment of communities. For community to occur people must unconditionally accept individual uniqueness and diversity, carry out a synthesis of opposing viewpoints with actual members of a community and respect emergent community goals (Newmann and Oliver, 1967). Social abrasion is the action of standing present, which implies proximity and the social abrasion that presence produces (Polanyi, 1966). For this discussion, social abrasion has been broken into the following categories: physical presence, emotional presence, simultaneous two-way verbal and visual access, private communication, virtual place, standing present, and local knowledge. (Appendix 1.)

Ideas that seem antithetical to social abrasion are minimalization and fragmentation of communication. We would like to discuss each part of social abrasion and then focus on minimalization and fragmentation communication.

Physical Presence

Physical presence is an important part of social abrasion. In western civilization each person maintains approximately a three-foot distance between their body and the bodies of other people. This distance is either reduced or expanded based on interactions with others (Goffman, 1974). The expansion and contraction of this physical distance is an example of the abrasion between one person and another. Social abrasion means contact and social exchange – a contact that wears away the social distance between individuals over time and allows us to create useful alliances. Abrasion occurs socially through verbal and nonverbal communications. If people are separated physically as they are in mediated communication (any communication that separates teachers and students by time and space),

social abrasion is reduced or nonexistent because there is little possibility of physical contact. Physical distance also decreases interpretation of nonverbal communication. For example, in a long camera shot facial gestures are lost, hand gestures become smaller, and a coherent sequence of body movements becomes less visible to viewers.

Emotional distance is decreased through the reduction of physical presence. The possibility of full presence, a range of nonverbal cues and the possibility of touch (like shaking hands) is not available. Emotional identification with someone who is simply an image on screen may be more difficult (Altheide, 1976).

Trust, in part, may also be a function of physical distance. According to some researchers (Fleming and Levy, 1992), credibility is a product of appearance and personal identification and is problematic when mediated. Leiter (1980) states that authenticity can be achieved by the handling of real objects and the sharing of those objects in a common space. Personal narratives delivered by instructors or guest speakers may be less realistic when conveyed through a media (e.g., television, film) often associated with fantasy (Altheide, 1976). Simultaneous two-way verbal and visual access are standard in a traditional classroom environment but are not guaranteed in mediated environments especially when visual access is limited to one site at a time in a multi-site communication, or interaction is limited to avatars in gaming environments. Also important to social abrasion is the honoring of local knowledge (Greene, 1986). It is possible that knowledge, like bread, is best made locally (Taylor and Swartz, 1991). For example, the classroom experience and interpretation of the meaning of course content can vary from site to site (Anyon, 1981). Meanings can vary from site to site because different sites may represent clusters of people with similar experiences that are unique to their areas and resources. The combination of these elements: physical distance, emotional distance, simultaneous two-way verbal and visual access, private communication, and the maintenance of distinct knowledge bases (local knowledge), may reduce the social abrasion which seems to be a crucial characteristic of social exchange.

The problem of physical distance from another person is a case in point. It is difficult to edit physical presence. We cannot change the physical aspects of time, space, and context so easily. It might even be harmful to our understanding of the world. Richard Rorty (1991) in his volume of philosophical papers titled *Objectivity, Relativism and Truth* stated that our beliefs are not obstacles between us and meaning, they are what makes meaning possible. When we describe

the physical world, the issue is what language we shall use to tell the story. The key term here is language. The weaving and reweaving of language is local. It occurs within a meaning-making group which Rorty refers to as a solidarity or ethnocentrism. Meaning is what is done in terms of action, and language about action. He describes a text and lumps as artifacts that can help us to cope with the world through the meaning we make of it. A lump is something that you would bring for analysis to a scientist, while Rorty's text is something that might be a phonetic or graphic feature of an inscription. Text and lumps can be known physically but only given meaning through the weaving and reweaving of stories about them. One example that comes to mind is the comet, Shoemaker-Levi 9. Its impact on theories about the composition of that lump were as explosive as its impact on the surface of Jupiter. Much reweaving of the stories about Jupiter in the language of Astronomy has taken place since the collision of comet with planet. The physical properties revealed by the collision indicated that previous ideas and theories about Jupiter were wrong. A new context for understanding Jupiter needs to be generated. Rorty made a relevant observation on meaning and physical objects: "We pragmatists must object to, or reinterpret, two traditional methodological questions: 'What is appropriate to this object?' and 'What is it that we are putting in context?'" (p. 97). Meaning, it would seem, is defined by actions and stories within an ethnocentrism. The stories, language, and interpretations of the lump known as Jupiter have changed. Someone not a part of the ethnocentrism / solidarity of Astronomers would not be aware of the exact nature of that recontextualization. It is a product of that context and its language. Rorty, in an essay on non-reductive physicalism, extends this argument of an extant context for understanding texts and lumps. A context that is generated by a solidarity of common language and action and gives meaning to the world, also defines our physical (lump) and mental (textual interpretations) existence.

. . . that to have a belief or a desire is to have one strand in a large web. The "I" which is presupposed by any given representation is just the rest of the representations which are associated with the first – associated not by being "synthesized" but by being parts of the same network, the network of beliefs and desires which must be postulated as inner causes of the linguistic behavior of a single organism. (p. 123)

For Rorty, physical texts and lumps are contextual. To separate the physical from the interpretive realm of its solidarity of origin, is to remove the physical from

understanding. We weave and reweave meaning from networks or webs of beliefs and desires which are contained in our language or stories. The farther we remove the physical and mental from its solidarity, the farther we are from understanding them.

George Herbert Mead and John Dewey had similar ideas. Mead talked about stimulus, response and manipulation of stimuli through past experience and present circumstances, in order to rehearse an appropriate response from others. In this view, every act is a socially defined and motivated act. We consult our network of past ideas to address a possibly novel set of present circumstances in order to rehearse actions that will be acceptable to a web of meaning and beliefs held by those within our solidarity. Dewey (1984) does something similar. His observation, inference, and action bear a strong resemblance to Mead's stimulus, manipulation, and response. "Inference is possible only when we have had past experience comparable to the present situation, since it is a comparison to similar past experience and the present situation" (p. 122). What Rorty has done is to extend the tradition of pragmatism to the milieu of current discussion.

While it may be advantageous for film makers and video producers to manipulate physical presence, it has the potential to decontextualize what is being viewed and obscure meaning.

Andre Bazin, the enormously influential French film critic and philosopher, who inspired Jean Luc Godard, Francois Truffaut and Alin Resnais to produce the New Wave films which combined criticism and art on the screen, addressed the concept of presence in an essay (Bazin, 1967), where he raised the following issues: In theater, the stage welcomes every illusion except that of presence. Film on the other hand, accommodates every reality save on the presence of the actor. Bazin asked:

Can the photographic image, especially the cinematographic image, be likened to other images and in common with them be regarded as having an existence distinct from the object? Presence naturally, is defined in terms of time and space. "To be in the presence of someone" is to recognize him as existing contemporaneously with us and to note that he comes within the actual range of our senses – in the case of cinema of our sight and in radio of our hearing. Before the arrival of photography and later of cinema, the plastic arts (especially portraiture) were the only intermediaries between actual physical presence and absence. Their justification was their resemblance which stirs the imagination and helps the memory. But photography is something else again. In no sense is it the image of an object or person, more correctly it

is its tracing. (p. 96)

In a footnote, Bazin also noted that the actor spectator relationship is incomplete in television and film. The viewer is a voyeur who can see but not been seen. There is no return flow of discourse.

Physical disconnection is complete on both sides of the screen. In the case of a computer, there is at least the possibility of an algorithmic imitation of a human response as long as the viewer's input stays within the program's parameters.

John Berger (1973), in *Ways of Seeing*, stated that we never see just one thing. We are always looking at images through the lens of our relationship to it and ourselves. In early art, paintings, statues, and murals, were part of the building in which they were seen. You had to go there to see them. There were a few contextual clues as to their meanings. Reproductions, whether by photographic, video, or digital imagery, lose their context and are changed by what one sees in sequences before or after it.

What does it mean to be physically present? We gain the meaning of what we see and hear. By degree, when we are physically separated from the ethnocentrism / solidarity that through action and language created meaning for a picture or sound, we lose the original meaning of the text or lump. In mediated communication, the new meaning is ours or the person who is borrowing the tracing of the original object or text. Mediated communication may be an experience but it is a communication separated by time and space if it can be said to be communication at all. Communication separated by technological time and space gives power to a producer removed from immediate accountability to the viewer. C. S. Lewis (1947, p. 143), in an essay titled "The Abolition of Man," warned that "What we call man's power is, in reality, a power possessed by some men which they may, or may not, allow other men to profit by." A message which cannot be understood can be, it would seem, easily manipulated.

Emotional Distance

Emotional distance can be the result of physical separation between those who are engaged in mediated communication. The physical separation can take place when participants are separated by time. A presentation is produced at one point in time and presented a later date. Most films, videos, computer programs, or CDs are produced with a later dissemination date in mind. Physical separation can also take place in space, as in the case of two-way interactive video. In this type of distance education, people are separated by a very small amount of time, but they are usually separated by a large measure of space. Emotional distance seems to be increased greatly in cases were there is no

interaction between participants. Emotional distance seems decreased in interactive games when players are “live.” Limited physical availability reduces the threat or delight of physically managing objects or people. It removes us from the immediacy of human interaction and the social abrasion that wears down the emotional space between individuals so that meaningful alliances can be made. There is a great deal of literature about classroom climate and long term association between teachers and students. Research by Brown et al. (1982), about the British Open University, suggested that emotional bonds between students were facilitated when they could be in personal contact, and that a great many students preferred being present to distance education strategies that imposed physical separation.

Even when distance education means two-way interactive video communication, most literature recommends that distance education instructors make personal physical contact with their students at “remote sites,” at least two or three times a semester.

What may be more important is that this separation in time and space forces us into accepting the limitations of the mechanical environment, to the extent that we must use the logic of machine protocol to access information. We even talk of virtual communities. Richard Stoll (1994) responds to the idea of virtual community:

But what an impoverished community! One without a church, cafe, art gallery, theater, or tavern. Plenty of human contact, but no humanity. And no birds sing.

Even ignoring everything palpable – children’s laughter, plum jam, my sister Rosalie’s green sports car – what’s missing from this ersatz neighborhood? A feeling of permanence and belonging, a sense of location, a warmth from the local history. Gone is the very essence of a neighborhood: friendly relations and a sense of being in it together.

Oh – I hear you: It’s only a metaphorical community. Much of what happens over the networks is a metaphor – we chat without speaking, smile without grinning, and hug without touching.

On my screen, I see several icons – a mailbox, a theater, a newspaper. These represent incoming

messages, an entertainment video, and a news wire. But they’re not the real thing. The mailbox doesn’t clunk, the movie theater doesn’t serve popcorn, and the newspaper doesn’t come with a cup of coffee at the corner cafe.

How sad – to dwell in a metaphor without living the experience. (p. 43)

Virtual Place

Virtual place is a meaningful exchange between talkers that may be the remnant of physical and emotional presence. The language is dependent upon the place where communication takes place (e.g. chat room, instant message, blog, voice conference, interactive game). Social abrasion may or may not take place depending on the purpose of the exchange or social abrasion may be high although I would argue not as complete as in the lifeworld. Physical presence is sometimes represented by web cam and voice or on other occasions simply by text. Emotional presence is a product of who are we when we are online (Jones, 2002). Simultaneous two way verbal and visual interaction is available through any number of interactive environments such as AOL, Yahoo, and other sites. The presentation of simultaneous two way visual and voice would seem to have the greatest opportunity for social abrasion to occur. We can stand present by revealing our voice, sending pictures, and stating our views in, at least, a simulated environment, if in fact that is our intention at all. Standing present in this way draws on local knowledge and community alliances. As standing present becomes less of a goal in all three senses, social abrasion seems less likely. In the end, establishment of virtual place through an honest representation of physical and emotional presence is dependent upon how much social abrasion is established and maintained.

If we return to our two technology talkers, their fragmentation (multiple interactions) is minimized through using instant messaging screens consisting of text unless those people are simultaneously being reached by cell phone. The cost to the talkers would seem to be less social abrasion (depth of interaction) while the benefit would seem to be shallowness of the discussion as discussed by Stoll earlier.

Figure 1.

Social Abrasion

Physical Presence _____ Virtual Place _____ Emotional Presence
Simultaneous two way verbal and visual access
Standing Present
Local knowledge
Community

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GEORGE I. SANCHEZ: “THE” PIONEER IN MEXICAN AMERICAN EQUITY

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Introduction

What are the beginnings of a man who became “the” pioneer in Mexican American rights? Even today the name George I. Sanchez is not well known and even many Mexican Americans have only a vague idea of his importance, assuming more recent civil rights leaders were the first to battle discriminatory practices. However, in 1984 a retrospective honoring him at the University of California at Berkley School of Law cited him as the single most influential individual in securing equal rights through law for Mexican Americans. Then, in 1995 the University of Texas at Austin named the College of Education the George I. Sanchez College of Education. He is as important to equity for Mexican Americans as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois were to equity for African Americans. Where he came from, how he progressed through his career, what contributions he made and their significance are worth reviewing in order to gain an appreciation of his legacy.

The Family

George I. Sanchez states that he was born into a family where both parents descended from colonial settlers. However, that did not translate into an easy life for Telesfor Sanchez and Juliana Sanchez y Sanchez. Rudy Sanchez, his nephew, and Mary Miera, Rudy Sanchez’s aunt, said that Telesfor was a sheepherder when young.¹ They both said that Telesfor would tell stories about raiding Indians and how the parents would hide the children under the mattress because they were afraid that the Indians would steal the children. The family was living in Albuquerque, New Mexico Territory, in the neighborhood of Los Barelitas when Sanchez was born and Albuquerque had a population of 11,020.² When Sanchez was seven,³ his father moved the family to Jerome, Arizona where he worked as a miner. Jerome was a typical mining town and the depictions in the movies of rowdy, wild west mining towns is not far off the mark. On one occasion the downtown burned to the ground, including several houses of ill repute.⁴ There was great pride taken in the speed with which those particular houses were replaced!

Sanchez’s education, with the exception of his last year in high school, was spent in Jerome schools. Jerome had a population in 1910 of 4,874⁵ and the mines were making money; two facts which probably contributed to the availability of public schooling through high school. Therefore, Sanchez was more fortunate in his location and in his time period than most of the children in the U.S. and its territories, who mainly lived in rural areas under served by education.

He always praised his teachers and his schools. With the mines booming and the owners and their wives supporting public education Sanchez’s school experience in Jerome was a happy one, and he frequently referred to the schools as “A-One.”⁶ His classmates were from varying backgrounds. They followed the pattern of most mining towns, with many immigrants and many different languages among his schoolmates. More than twenty different nationalities were represented.⁷ He stated in class that none of them were ever reprimanded for speaking their own language, and, therefore, they all looked forward to learning English when they went to school in the same way that they looked forward to learning their ABC’s. When he was older, he and his brother, Juan, enjoyed playing in the band. Although some times were better than others in a mining town, money for the band instruments was hard to find. In a letter Sanchez describes the hard life there and their creative means of staying a little ahead:

Dad moonlighted running a poker game in a saloon. We children got our spending money by gathering and selling discarded (some not very discarded!) copper and brass from trash dumps and abandoned mines. We also, on Sunday mornings would fish coins and even bills through the cracks of those boardwalks with a piece of gum on a yardstick. We loved those drunks! With that bonanza and what I earned at a grocery store sorting out rotten potatoes, eggs, fruit, and vegetables I bought a cornet to take the free music instruction offered at school.

We lived the good life until the bottom fell out with the advent of the Depression. Then, my older brother and I organized a jazz orchestra and began promoting dances, playing at weddings and fiestas. That kept the family in beans and tortillas through high school, with an assist from my boxing as ‘Kid Feliz’ at 112 pounds.⁸

According to his nephew, Sanchez’s brother Juan started the band, and his niece said that it was named either the *Wild Cats* or the *Tigers*. Sanchez kept up the boxing for a while even though there were definite drawbacks because of his small size. When he taught his brother Juan to box, Juan immediately gave him a black eye. However, much later he finally turned in his gloves after working as an assistant coach at the University of New Mexico one summer. He and the 220 pound coach decided to give a demonstration and, as Sanchez said, “I zipped when I should have zagged and he knocked me halfway across the gym. I decided then that boxing was a bit rough for me.”⁹

At home in Jerome life was hard. George and Juan now had a little brother. Their mother was very sick—so sick she could not get out of bed. The father would go to work and the two elder sons to school with the toddler Teles tied or chained to the bed so that he could move around some. She had a bedpan under the bed because she was too weak to go outside to the privy. The houses were up on stilts on the mountainside making it too dangerous to leave the baby without some kind of restraint.¹⁰ Her date of death is uncertain. Her nephew says that she died young from TB, but Sanchez says that his mother made him biscuits to take with him on his long ride to his teaching position in his first year of two of teaching.¹¹ Both could be right because of his young age when he began teaching.

Sanchez's father did well in the mines. He had started as a mucker and worked his way up to a kind of foreman. He was very proud of his position because very few minorities ever rose that high. Unfortunately, he was injured in a cave-in and had to move the family back to Albuquerque. He did not have any money but, ever resourceful, he did own five acres at Dead Man's Corner which he traded it for a horse and wagon. He then became a trader. He would go around and chop wood, sell it and deliver it.¹²

Teacher and Principal at Sixteen

Upon the family's return to Albuquerque, Sanchez enrolled in high school. He graduated at age 16 and began his career as an educator as a principal/teacher at a small rancheria named Yrrisarri shortly before his 17th birthday. He traveled back and forth on weekends to see his family and went to school in the summers. The roads were almost nonexistent and could not be driven in the frequent bad weather. At those times, horseback was the answer. Once the horse was crossing a bridge over railroad tracks when a train passed under it and he had to prove expert horsemanship. Another time he lost the engine in his Model A and chained it back in and away he went. After a dispute with the County School Superintendent, he was assigned to an even more remote spot fifty miles from Albuquerque. San Ignacio, known as El Ojo Hediondo, literally "Stinking Springs," a trading post, in western Bernalillo County. The road was a "primitive wagon trail." While in Yrrisarri he rented a room at a ranch house, at El Ojo Hediondo, he lived in a deserted ranch house. The flavor of his personality can be seen in his comments on this time in his professional life:

At Ojo Hediondo I made friends with the local trader, with the three or four other families of the village, and with the Navajos who came to trade. They, and the children, were my community. The Navajos believed in their ponies, I in my trusty mare. Many is the race, straight-away and cross-

country that we had -- with betting and silver, the next I would lose that and cash besides. My home was an abandoned ranch house. I shot my meat supply from the numerous rabbits, jackrabbits, and doves that abounded there -- supplemented by the biscuits and other delicacies that my mother had prepared for me back home - usually tinged with a gasoline flavor, for I had to transport them in the "rumble seat" part of the car -- and exhaust and gas tank fumes seemed to like that area.

I traded my old jalopy for another mess of bolts, a mess of bolts for which I was destined to be grateful. One time, half way to my school, in the middle of the desert, a rear wheel hub crystallized and the entire hub sheared away from its flange. The axle and hub would revolve, but the wheel would not. I did not even give a thought to the possibility of hiking back to Albuquerque, and passersby were conspicuous by their absence. Among my tools I had a hammer and a cold chisel. With these I laboriously cut matching notches in the flange and the hub. Then I robbed the frame and body of the car of enough bolts to put through the notches. One set of bolts would last me about five miles, and then I would rob the frame or body of more bolts. By the time I arrived at San Ignacio that Model-T was a floating wonder! And my hands were masses of blisters. Fortunately, at El Ojo I was able to borrow a wheel for my weekend return journey to Albuquerque where I had my own wheel-rehabilitated.

He talked about the people of that out-of-the-way place:

The people liked me, and I liked the people. They didn't bother me, and I did not bother them -- we minded our own business, and my business was that of schoolteacher, nothing more, nothing less. If they drank white mule, or even manufactured it, it was their (highly illegal) business. I remember the time that a local fellow asked if he could ride with me into Albuquerque. Of course, I was happy to invite him. After school on Friday, I went to my room in the abandoned hacienda to gather my belongings that were to go to Albuquerque. My friend was already there, ready to go. He had placed his gear, a bulky outfit under a blanket, in the rear seat of my poor man's Rolls Royce. On the way into town, he asked me if I would join him in a drink. I said the usual, "Don't mind if I do," expecting a flask or bottle. To my immense surprise and consternation, to say nothing of my horror, he lifted the blanket and there, big as all get out, was a thirty-five gallon keg of white mule—from which he drew out "one-for-the-road." I needed that drink! Prohibition laws

could have landed me in jail, my car confiscated, my job lost—and all Calamity could have been my lot. However, that drink (maybe it was plural!) was powerful medicine—and we made it into town without incident. I unloaded my cargo on the edge of Albuquerque, and went home to sleep it off.

Community relations can be quite strenuous. As evidenced by the following:

At Yrrisarri I had rented a room at a ranch house owned by a well-known bootlegger (Don Cayetano Alderete). He distilled "white lightening" in the hills, and peddled it here and there, consuming a goodly percentage of his product. He liked me, and, of course, I had to share his elixir from time to time. And, to my mental discomfort, he found it to be a good "cover" to use my jalopy to transport his very illegal "mountain dew," But, he was an influential man -- of course! How can you perform as a one-room school teacher in a community where the power structure manufactures and consumes "white mule" without regard to the law or to their intestinal linings? The community power structure is bootleg-based. What does one do? I'll tell you what I did.

When I went rabbit hunting after school, and I happened to run into a "cooker" (a still in operation), I would whistle loudly some tuneless song as I approached and then, graciously, I accepted a taste of the warm distillate. The afternoon hunt was always rosier after that, rabbits or no rabbits! Community relations in action. Curriculum then, as now, could be problematic.

School reform is not a new concept. Sanchez reported:

It was a week or so after I took on the Yrrisarri position (job, that is) that a small committee of parents (fathers) waited on me after school. They were distressed over the fact that I was not teaching the A, B, C's. My predecessor had been a bear for the A, B, C's—and here I was in the third week of school and no A, B, C's. "*Maestrito. Hay que tener razo'n.*" ("Little teacher, let us be reasonable.") Well, somewhere I had heard of teaching reading by the "whole" method— words, phrases, sentences (a radical innovation, probably started by Marx, or Lenin, or Trotsky!). The yokels at Yrrisarri had not, of course, heard of the socialist-communists, but ding my dingies, they knew that reading had to be based on the A, B, C's. How can you argue against that logic? The alphabet was duly inscribed, in capital and small letters, across the top of the blackboard, for all the world to see. I continued, nonetheless, to try to teach by the "whole" method (I still do not know what that method is!).¹³

Marriage

After his assignment in San Ignacio, he married "the granddaughter of a very wealthy and powerful (behind the scenes) man . . ."¹⁴ [He stated] This automatically made me ineligible for the 'left field' assignments that I had drawn earlier. By a remarkable series of fortuitous circumstances, the principalship of Los Padillas, near Albuquerque, became open—and, of course, I was rewarded for my patently undistinguished career by being given the plum." He said that this was a community of nonconformers, meaning that they often took whatever they wished. One day he arrived at the school to find that the home economics equipment was missing. The teachers wanted to call the sheriff. Sanchez said no, and he began a series of social calls to various parents. Sometime during the conversation he would bemoan "the loss to their children represented by the absent equipment. . . . [and] let it be known that, were the stuff to be returned, no questions would be asked."¹⁵ The next weekend the sewing machine, pots and pans and kitchen towels were all back in their places. Until his graduation in 1930 he served as a principal or County School Supervisor in Bernalillo County, a total of eight years as teacher, and administrator.

His personal life at this time sounds like the beginning of a romance novel. Once there was a radio program that began "Can a poor young girl from the coal mines find happiness with England's richest, most handsome lord?" In this case the roles were reversed. While George I. Sanchez was viewed as an up and coming young man with good prospects, he was also viewed as one from the barrio. His bride, Virginia Romero, on the other hand, was the granddaughter of a very wealthy and powerful man. Although her mother had died after the birth of her youngest son and Virginia (Virgie) helped raise her brothers and sisters, she did so in the proverbial lap of luxury. Virgie's father was characterized as being weak and a spend thrift. He and his children lived with her grandfather, his father. Her father also was not enchanted with the idea of his daughter marrying a poor man and he strongly opposed the marriage. Virgie's grandfather sided with her, however. Possibly he was impressed with Sanchez's potential and with the fact that Sanchez's father and grandfather had shown him the respect of coming to him to ask for her hand in marriage. Between her mother's sister and the grandfather the wedding was planned but no father showed up to walk her down the aisle. This same father would squander most of her inheritance and would remarry twice, the last time to the maid.¹⁶ [A fact mentioned by most of those interviewed on both sides of the family.]

In 1930 when Sanchez completed his undergraduate

degree at the University of New Mexico, he was awarded, in succession, two [Rockefeller] General Education Board Grants, one for his masters at the University of Texas at Austin and the other for his doctorate at the University of California at Berkeley. Loyd [sic] Tireman, a pioneer in community education, and President Zimmerman of the University of New Mexico were instrumental in his receiving the fellowship. He completed his residency in the summers of 1933 and 1934 and the long term of 1933-34.¹⁷ As a result of research done for the Carnegie Foundation he wrote *The Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans* which was published in 1940. During part of the 1930's Sanchez's position as Director of Information and Statistics of the New Mexico Education Agency and his position teaching at the university of New Mexico were funded by the General Education Board. He served as Director of Information and Statistics in the early years of the 1930s before working with the Julius Rosenwald Fund on a project concerning education in Mexico from which his long definitive work on education in Mexico resulted.

Sanchez and School Finance: His First Battle for Equity

Sanchez began his teaching career during the great influx of Mexicans to the southwestern United States. In an area where education did not have a high priority with those in power, Sanchez analyzed the situation and decided that a major failing was the lack of guaranteed and equitable funding for all districts—rural and urban. Taking on the special interest groups, entrenched over time, was no small task for Sanchez and those other leaders in the reform movement. Through law, policy, and the will of a power structure not concerned with education, public education in New Mexico in the 1930s was a blatant example of inequity in education. Tom Wiley, an authority on New Mexico education, states that although territorial New Mexico did have some laws concerning education, in effect “there was no system of education in territorial New Mexico.”¹⁸ This statement is reinforced by the fact that in 1930, eighteen years after New Mexico attained statehood, “it ranked third from the lowest among the states in literacy.”¹⁹

As one president of the New Mexico Teachers Association and one of the leaders in the fight for equalization of funding Sanchez made many enemies. Just when he thought the battle was won, he was invited to spend a year in Venezuela organizing a secondary normal school. On his return to New Mexico, he found that his enemies had tried to discredit him and reverse the decisions made for equalization.

According to Frank Angel, Sanchez had a strong personal stake in this legislation because he had been

one of its sponsors and champions, and so he was most anxious to resolve the dispute. Angel said that Sanchez not only expended his time but also his money in this cause. Sanchez had made “lots of money in Venezuela,”²⁰ and he spent all of that “money to prove his point.”²¹ Angel's comment was that “Sanchez was so farsighted in giving equality to *all* kids.”²²

Looking back from a vantage point decades into the future, this may not seem to have been a particularly important issue. However, it must be noted that the concept of equalization at that time was a very foreign one in most state public school funding. In fact Frank Angel states that the equalization plan “moved New Mexico out of a prehistoric rural era and that New Mexico's equalization plan was the first in the United States.”²³ If not the first, it is certainly one of the first; and therefore, would have served as a model to other states.

Certainly New Mexico did not conclude its concerns with school finance after this time in its history, but George Sanchez no longer played a role because he left the state in 1940, never to return to live or work. Sanchez quite probably would have spent the rest of his life in New Mexico had it not been for the enemies that he made during this battle for equalization. He had been promised a tenured position at the University of New Mexico, but he realized that the position was no longer available because of his writings on the “handling of the School Equalization Fund in New Mexico.”²⁴ He states,

As a consequence of my writings on this score, a promised job at the University of New Mexico began to dim. The President of the University, a very good friend of mine, labored to drop me very gently. . . . I took him off the hook by displaying a contract that, that very day, I had signed with the University of Texas. I had read the smoke signals that the braves of the power structure were billowing off of the Sandia Mountains. What is that wise old saying?--‘Forewarned is forearmed.’ Know the power structure of your community and learn to read its signals. . . . [At the University of Texas they offered] a full professorship yet! In New Mexico, the best that the University had offered me was a non-tenure job as ‘Research Associate’ (whatever that is) or as an Instructor. A bit unflattering. No? So, Texas here we come.”²⁵

The Texas Years

By December 7, 1941 Sanchez was just beginning his second year at UT. In class he spoke about wanting to serve in the military. Why he did not is not clear. In a February 1943 letter he mentions his hopes of going into the Navy.²⁶ At the time he was thirty-five, married with two children so that may have given him an

exemption. However, he had contracted malaria when, at the request of the U. S. and Venezuelan governments, he served as chief technical consultant for the Venezuelan ministry of Education 1937-38 developing a normal school.²⁷ Later he would have tuberculosis but could not have had it at that time period without being sent to a sanatorium. In the summer of 1942 he served as the Director of the Laredo Field School.²⁸ His previous association with the Rockefellers resulted in him serving part-time from November 1942 to October 1943 as Latin American Consultant for the U.S. Office of Civil Defense, Eighth Region [New Mexico, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas] "for a special work dealing with the problem of Spanish-speaking people. [He hoped] that work [would] involve some activities in connection with vocational education in New Mexico."²⁹ Although he continued part of the time with the university, he went on field trips throughout the region. His pay was \$12.77 per day while on Civil Defense business with a travel allowance of \$6.00 per day. In a January 1942 letter he reported: "As you know there has always been a barrier between English-speaking and Spanish-speaking people in [Del Rio, Texas]. I was very pleased to learn that the war effort, insofar as civilian activities are concerned, has tended to reduce that barrier and there is a growing spirit of cooperation and understanding among the two population groups."³⁰ As a past president of LULAC, he sent a list of Latin American leaders in Texas to his superior when he requested assistance from the Latin American community. In letters he also frequently pointed out the discrimination against Mexican American soldiers by the military and civilians.³¹

In February 1943 Sanchez wrote to his Regional Director R. E. Smith about his belief that Civil Defense personnel on the border "ought to devise some means of collaborating more closely with Mexico."³² In the same letter he states that UT has set up a Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Southwest and that he is Director with a grant of \$17,000 from the U.S. Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. The grant specifically dealt with "promoting closer collaboration and understanding between the Spanish and English-speaking people."³³

During the 1940s Sanchez continued his scholarly pursuits. He received a Carnegie Endowment for Peace grant to research a book on higher education in Mexico in June 1942. *The Development of Higher Education in Mexico* was published in 1943. After the war he continued his research. He conducted a "Socio-Economic Survey of Spanish-speaking People in Texas, 1947-51 for the General Education Board and a survey, "The Education of Spanish-speaking Children in Ten

Texas School Systems, 1947-48." A survey of Navajo education for the U.S. Department of the interior resulted in the book *The People – A Study of the Navajos* in 1948.

During this busy and creative time Sanchez's university and personal life was not so successful. He was punished by the university for views perceived as radical with no or very small raises. Personally he had continuing bouts with malaria, tuberculosis and general bad health. In his letter to Disney he states that he had not continued with the wartime project on Latin America because he had "landed in the hospital for a stay of a year and a half." His hospital stays were in Washington, D.C. During these absences and his earlier absences with Civil Defense work his wife would return with their two children, Consuelo and George, to New Mexico, where she had deep roots. Their twenty-one-year marriage ended in November of 1946. On August 30, 1947, he remarried. There was over a nineteen-year age difference, and many of his old friends, such as Carlos Castaneda and Ralph Yarborough, disapproved. Nettie Lee Benson stated that Casteñeda disapproved because of his Catholic beliefs;³⁴ Yarborough offered no specific reason other than that he had a lovely family and that he had left them.³⁵ However, they were married until his death, by all accounts quite happily. They were considered a close and effective team. She had a Ph.D. and worked in the schools, eventually as Director of Visiting Teachers, and she kept her husband informed about abuses in the schools. So the 1940s era may have been one of highs and lows for Sanchez—but it was certainly never a dull one!

University of Texas

Perhaps the most compelling story that we graduate students heard from our professors at UT was the story that they had punished Dr. Sanchez for his views for many years through either no or very small salary increases.

When Sanchez began his long tenure at the University of Texas in the fall of 1940, he was hired by a president and a moderate to liberal board (the latter were soon to be replaced by successive conservative boards). Within a few years their actions in firing tenured faculty whom they deemed "radicals" would lead to the blacklisting of The University of Texas by the American Association of University Professors. However, in the beginning, academic life was good for Sanchez. Sanchez joined the department where his former thesis professor was assigned. With funding from the Rockefeller grant from the General Education Board Sanchez had pursued the masters at UT before receiving the doctorate from the University of California at Berkeley. The thesis he wrote under the

direction of Hershel Manuel became the most cited, if not the only cited, published authority in all early cases involving Mexican American rights. Until his death in 1972, he was called as expert witness in numerous cases based on this work concerning the use of IQ tests with Spanish speaking children. Shortly before he died, his salary was \$18,000³⁶ while the average for a full professor was \$21,000.³⁷ During the time that I was a graduate student at UT, colleagues of Sanchez, Professors William E. Drake, J. G. Umpstedt, and A. C. Murphy, stated during their classes that he had been discriminated against and that a salary adjustment had recently occurred for Sanchez after years of salaries sometimes as low as that of an instructor.³⁸ So even with the adjustment, his salary fell below average at the end of his career. Sanchez, about five and a half years before he died, wrote about the salary situation as follows:

“I came here as a full professor in 1940. I remained the lowest paid professor in the college of education for years, though I’ve had minor salary raises from time to time. I think I am still low man. Others, even associates, who have written little and have little or no national and international recognition, have had and have higher salaries. Why? About four years ago the dean on up through the chancellor recommended a \$2,000 raise for me to begin to close the gap (our departmental budget committee does not initiate salary recommendations for full professors). The unanimous recommendation went to the regents. There, the grapevine tells me, one regent (guess who!) objected: ‘Two thousand dollars for that Sanchez guy! Give him two hundred. I don’t like his politics!’”

“Well, I could have left for higher rank and much higher salary. A few years ago I could have had the vice-presidency of a famous private university. Earlier I could have had an editorship for our largest U. S. publishing firm. Why have I stayed? I don’t like to be pushed, that is why. I’ll play politics outside the university, but I’ll not brown-nose anywhere. I have been eligible for full retirement at full benefits for years (taught 47 years, 30 here). Now that I am 65 I believe that I would be better off financially in retirement. I could take on more consultantships, more writing, IRS deduction, etc. But it is more fun to teach (full load, until a mandatory one-third load at age 70) and thumb my nose at the bastards.”

“What has it cost me in money? Since 1950, I estimate a conservative \$120,000. Cheap at the price, though that would buy a lot of Jack Daniel’s and Falstaff.”³⁹

A Renaissance Man

In addition to serving as an expert witness in

numerous discrimination cases, his work as a professor, his work with many student groups, and his work with foundations in the 1940s he was editor and coauthor of the *Inter-American Series* published by McMillan where his editor was James A. Michener who was to write *Tales of the South Pacific*.

His most futuristic activity was his interest in using technology in teaching foreign language. In 1946 he gave a lecture in which he noted the problems associated with correct pronunciation. He and Peter G. Crawford, an audio-visual specialist, developed a method [Cranford-Sanchez Animated and live Action Sound Motion Pictures Method for Teaching Languages] which provided,

simultaneous presentation, through pictures (in black-white or in color) of written material and its pronunciation together with the appropriate facial expressions and/or positions of the organs of speech. This [was] to be done through live action and/or animated diagrams and figures which are synchronized with a visual correlation of the bouncing ball, or similar animated device, and/or the animation of the printed material, [would] indicate where the attention of the audience is desired. . . . [He stated] Mr. Cranford and I are well aware of the applicability of this method in the field of television and we have planned for it for that device as well as through movies.⁴⁰

On February 6, 1947, Cranford and Sanchez applied for a Copyright for “Cranford-Sanchez Animated and live Action Sound Motion Pictures Method for Teaching Languages.”⁴¹ On February 10, 1947, Sanchez wrote Walt Disney, mentioning that Sanchez had done most of the planning for the Disney produced “films on health and on literacy for use in Latin America” for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Sanchez had previously talked with Disney about having films developed as companions to text books. The reply stated that they were considering educational films but had not yet developed a plan. However, encouragement was offered. On July 15, 1948, Coronet Instructional Films’ president, Dr. Ellsworth C. Dent received a letter from the president of Visual Education Inc. recommending the Cranford-Sanchez proposal. Coronet was the Disney educational films unit. Then on February 24, 1949, Sanchez was asked to develop films on Latin America. The next day Sanchez replied that he was interested and wrote again March 15, 1949. Finally in 1950 he was listed as Film Editor and Editor of Teacher’s Guide for Coronet’s film “Age of Discovery: Spanish and Portuguese Explorations.” Always innovative Sanchez later developed a design for a computer---but that is a story for another time period as is his interest in Mayan

Arithmetic which resulted in his book *Arithmetic in Maya*.

Legal Contributions

Delgado v. Bastrop ISD

During the 1940s Roger Baldwin, head of the ACLU, suggested that Sanchez contact A.L. Wirin who had won a famous California discrimination case, *Mendez v. Westminster*. Sanchez and Wirin collaborated on many other legal concerns and the Westminster case influenced his development of his "class apart" theory. In 1948 the Delgado suit, which Sanchez helped orchestrate and finance through grants, resulted in the State Board of Education in Texas adopting a policy against discrimination on the basis of surname.

Delgado v. Bastrop ISD in 1948 provides an example of blatant discriminatory practices which today seem to have happened in a time long in the past, not during a time within the memory of still living generations. Minerva Delgado, the first defendant alphabetically, was only six years old in 1948. Many of the parents would be in their seventies today.

Prior to the Delgado case two other court cases had failed to provide equity for Mexican Americans in public education. Then in 1947 the school board of Cuero asked the State Attorney General if they could build a separate Latin American school. After reviewing a recent Supreme Court case, *Westminster School District v. Mendez*, 161F 2nd 774 (9th Cir. 1947), the Attorney General said they could not build a separate school if their segregation was based solely on ethnicity. With that ruling established, on George I. Sanchez's recommendation, Gus Garcia filed suit against Bastrop ISD [Elgin ISD, Martindale ISD, Colorado Common School District, their trustees and superintendents, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Board of Education] on behalf of twenty Mexican American students. George I. Sanchez and Gus Garcia wrote the brief which charged segregation and asked for a permanent injunction against the defendants enjoining them from segregating Mexican American children.

In an agreed judgment on June 15, 1948 Federal District Judge Ben Rice stated that the school districts had violated the plaintiffs Constitutional rights under the 14th Amendment and permanently enjoined the superintendents and trustees from segregating Mexican American students in separate schools or classrooms or treating them inequitably. The only exception was a provision for a separate first grade for children who were proven to need special instruction in English. They were given until September 1949 to comply. Also, the State Superintendent of Schools was enjoined from permitting segregation of Mexican Americans.

The members of the State Board of Education were dropped from the suit.⁴²

On May 8, 1950 the Texas Education Agency issued a formal statement against segregation of Mexican American children and stating that the policy was a result of the Delgado case and giving formal credit to George I. Sanchez and Gustavo Garcia.⁴³ Over the years the Delgado case was cited in cases involving discrimination against Mexican Americans in the schools. Finally, discrimination was declared illegal and contrary to policy. It was a beginning in the long fight for equity.

Hernandez v. Texas

On August 4, 1951 Pete Hernandez, a migrant farm field worker⁴⁴ became involved in an altercation which resulted in the death of Joe Espinoza. Espinoza was a cotton farmer, and cotton pickers knew that he used a particular bar in Edna, Texas as a gathering place for the selection of field hands. For reasons which are not quite clear, on that August day tempers flared and Hernandez, one Henry Cruz, and Espinoza argued with the result that Hernandez shot and killed Espinoza with a gun, thus setting in motion events which would bring together an interesting assortment of men, each of whom would contribute in his own way to gaining rights for all future generations of Mexican Americans when Hernandez's case resulted in the "first Civil Rights case to come before the Supreme Court."⁴⁵

In 1940, a twenty-two-year-old Mexican American from San Antonio, Texas became one of the few Mexican Americans to graduate from the University of Texas School of Law. Almost before he could properly begin his practice, World War II began. Carlos Cadena enlisted and served in the Army Air Corps, with part of his duty time being spent on Okinawa. After the war he returned to San Antonio to practice law. However, the expense of a practice was great so he joined forces with Gus Garcia, who had returned from serving "two years in the U.S. Infantry in Japan as a first lieutenant."⁴⁶ Garcia had also graduated from the University of Texas School of Law four years before Cadena and was looking for someone with whom he could share the expenses of a practice. Before the war Garcia had been "assistant District Attorney, Assistant Criminal District Attorney of Bexar County, [and] first assistant city attorney."⁴⁷ So upon their return to San Antonio after the war the two veterans shared an office.⁴⁸ They also shared a belief in the right of Mexican Americans to equal opportunities. To Cadena's chagrin, the one thing that they did not share was expenses. Somehow Cadena was always the one paying the secretary, the bill collectors, and their apartment and offices rents. Soon his small savings, carefully set aside during his military service for the purpose of starting his own law practice,

dwindled. The G. I. Bill was now available, and he decided to return to the Austin campus and take post-graduate work. When asked what he was studying, he replied, "Oh, I was just 'piddlin'. I had to get away from Gus. This was the easiest way, and I had always thought that I would like to go back to school and take courses that interested me."⁴⁹ Perhaps there is a lesson here for the task oriented, test oriented educators of today---sometimes learning just for the sake of learning can produce remarkable results. If Cadena had not decided to go back to school, he would not have had those late night discussions with George I. Sanchez, the person who would become known as "the" pioneer in the fight for Mexican American rights, nor would he have been motivated to take courses which related to those conversations and used them for the research needed to pursue the development of Sanchez's "class apart" theory.

Because of the very few Mexican Americans who held faculty positions at the University of Texas, it was probably inevitable that these two men would meet. According to Cadena, he and Sanchez spent several long hours several nights a week discussing Sanchez's "class apart" theory. Sanchez reasoned that, if they could establish that persons who are treated as a "class apart" because of their national origins are discriminated against, then any discrimination against Mexican Americans as a "class apart" would be illegal. Especially, discrimination in the schools of Texas could be proven if "class apart" became accepted. As Cadena took various courses, he began to pursue research which would prove the validity of Sanchez's "class apart" theory. His graduate research papers were discussed and reviewed in his discussions with Sanchez. As they became more and more satisfied with the formal argument for the theory and the research which supported it, the next step was "trying it out"; in other words, they needed a court case. So when Cadena returned to San Antonio, the search began for a viable court case and the definition of the necessary ingredients.

Cadena and Garcia began to discuss the "class apart" theory. They determined that a jury selection case would be the simplest type of case upon which to base a court battle for equal rights for Mexican Americans. Jury selection could be proven by court records. Since 1935 Negro males had had the right to serve on juries in Texas, but the usual interpretation was that the only two classes with that right were whites and Negroes. Mexican Americans were considered white with regard to jury selection, with the result that they could "legally" be omitted from jury lists. In Texas there were between fifty⁵⁰ and seventy counties prior to *Hernandez v. Texas* where no

Mexican American had ever served on a jury.⁵¹ When Garcia became defense counsel for Pete Hernandez, he researched the records of the county and found that for the past twenty-five years no Mexican American had ever served on a jury of any kind, not on the jury commission which selected the names from which the grand juries and petit (or regular trial) juries were selected, nor on the grand or petit juries themselves, a finding with which the state of Texas was never to disagree.⁵² Garcia sought a hearing to establish that Pete Hernandez could not receive a fair trial in Jackson County, not because there were no Mexican Americans on his particular jury but because no Mexican Americans had ever been considered for jury selection in the county. During the "Question and Answer Statement of Facts in Connection with the Hearing on Defense Motion to Quash Jury Panel and Defendant's Motion to Quash the Indictment" Garcia established a long standing and pervasive discrimination against persons of Mexican American Heritage through the following testimony:

- 1) The sheriff stated that up until two or three weeks before the trial a restaurant in town had displayed a "No Mexicans Served" sign.⁵³
- 2) The superintendent of schools testified that until three or four years before the Mexican American children went to a separate school from other white children for the first four grades.⁵⁴ The Mexican American school was a frame building while the two other white schools were stone buildings.⁵⁵
- 3) John J. Herrera, an attorney who was assisting Garcia with the case, testified that when he went behind the Jackson County courthouse in Edna, Texas, to find the public privy, he had in fact found two for men. One was unmarked, and the other "had the lettering 'Colored Men'" and right under "Colored Men" it had the Spanish words "Hombres Aqui" meaning "Men Here."⁵⁶
- 4) The County Tax Assessor and Collector estimated that the population of Jackson County consisted of about 15% Mexican Americans and that about 6 or 7% of the population were Mexican American males eligible to be considered for jury selection.⁵⁷ [The Supreme Court brief for the defendant later estimated 14% of the population was Mexican American.]

Through this testimony Garcia hoped to convince the court that discrimination existed in the community and that included the systematic exclusion of persons of Mexican descent from jury service. He did not ask that Mexican Americans be on the jury trying Hernandez nor did he seek proportional representation of persons of Mexican American descent on juries; he did not state that the procedure for jury selection in Texas was unfair. He did seek equal treatment of Mexican

Americans with regard to due process rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. However, the court remained unconvinced. Perhaps that is not too surprising considering the sign on the courthouse privy and the fact that Garcia and assisting attorneys Herrera and James De Anda "commuted 200 miles *each day* to and from Houston rather than stay in Edna."⁵⁸

So, Pete Hernandez was tried, found guilty of murder and sentenced to a minimum of two years and a maximum of life imprisonment. However, the sentence was suspended until an appeal was decided.⁵⁹

Interestingly enough, if Pete Hernandez had been a Negro, he would not have had a case. In 1935 the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled in *Norris v. Alabama* (294 US 587) that Negroes could not be excluded from jury service. The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals upheld the lower court ruling on October 22, 1952, by recognizing that only two classes, white and Negro, were guaranteed representation in jury selection. Since Mexican Americans were regarded by the court as white, then they had representation on juries. Carlos Cadena and Gus Garcia had joined forces in arguing the appeal. They argued that support for their position could be found in a statement from the Supreme Court itself in *Strauder v. West Virginia* (100 US 303, 1879) when the Supreme Court said: "Nor if a law be passed excluding all naturalized Celtic Irishmen, would there be any doubt of its inconsistency with the spirit of the [14th] Amendment." Also, the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals in *Juarez v. State*, 102 Tex Cr. r. 297, 277 SW 1091 (1925) ruled "systematic exclusion of Roman Catholics from juries is proscribed by the Fourteenth Amendment."⁶⁰

In 1952 the Appeals Court responded by saying that 1) No Supreme Court case had ever addressed nationality as a "class apart," 2) no discrimination was present, 3) only two classes are guaranteed representation on juries, Negro and white, and 4) to allow such representation would treat Mexican Americans as a special class and this would destroy the jury system and require equal proportional representation on all individual juries.⁶¹

When the appeal was denied, Cadena and Garcia appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. When the case was accepted, preparation was no problem, for Cadena had polished all the major points during his evenings with George Sanchez. However, financing the continuation of the case was a problem. Once accepted "the Supreme Court requested an immediate \$900 for costs. . . [which] the LULAC Counsel provided from its scholarship fund."⁶² Then the American G.I. Forum collected moneys for "court costs and traveling expenses to Washington, D.C."⁶³ Cadena remembers how many very poor Mexican Americans responded

with crumpled one dollar bills and little sacks of coins. Money was constantly needed.⁶⁴

The legal reasoning that fell on deaf ears in Texas finally found a forum in the U.S. Supreme Court. Two weeks before *Brown v. the Board* was argued the "class apart" theory was argued before the court, and two weeks before the decision in Brown was handed down, the "class apart" theory proved its strength and inherent justness. In eloquent language the Court reversed the findings of the Texas courts in a unanimous decision. Chief Justice Earl Warren, writing the opinion, said:

Circumstances or chance may well dictate that no persons in a certain class will serve on a particular jury or during some particular period. But it taxes our credulity to say that mere chance resulted in their being no members of this class among the over six thousand jurors called in the past 25 years. The result bespeaks discrimination, whether or not it was a conscious decision on the part of any individual jury commissioner. . . .

To say that this decision revives the rejected contention that the Fourteenth Amendment requires proportional representation of all the component groups of the community on every jury ignores the facts. The petitioner did not seek representational representation, nor did he claim a right to have persons of Mexican descent on the particular juries which he faced. His only claim is the right to be indicted and tried by juries from which all members of his class are not systematically excluded--juries selected from among all qualified persons regardless of national origin or descent. To this much he is entitled by the Constitution.⁶⁵

Even with the decision in Brown reinforcing the decision in Hernandez, equity did not come over night or even next year. However, a body of law was being built which would continue to provide precedents in the fight for equal educational opportunity for many years to come.

AASSP

In Texas Sanchez began his crusade to effect changes in the educational opportunities for Mexican-American children through the courts. However, the first and greatest obstacle was funding. Where was the money going to come from? The amounts that would be needed would be more than an impoverished minority group could raise. Through his work with the Julius Rosenwald and Carnegie Foundations, he had come to understand the power of foundations in supporting causes involving human rights. Since foundations would be more likely to fund an organization rather than an individual, he decided to organize such a group through the funding of a foundation. He corresponded with Roger Baldwin, chairman of the ACLU and also

Director of the Marshall Trust,⁶⁶ about this idea and soon Baldwin notified him that he had talked to the Marshall Trust and that they would donate \$3,000 for an organizational meeting “to set up a national organization to concern itself with the civil liberties of Spanish-Speaking people [American Council of Spanish-Speaking People].”⁶⁷ They met in El Paso in 1951 and the articles of incorporation were drawn up by Sanchez and Gus Garcia.⁶⁸ Representatives were selected from Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado.⁶⁹ The first year the Marshall Trust underwrote expenses of \$15,000⁷⁰ and the American G.I. Forum gave \$2,000.⁷¹ Funding continued for several years during which time Sanchez also was involved with Alianza Hispano-Americana, LULAC, and American GI Forum, all of which contributed to law suits for equal rights.

MALDEF

Years later in letters to Mario Obledo and Pete Tijerina of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) he explains his strategy when replying to their requests for advise on other law suits:

[To Pete Tijerina]: Amend to ask for damages. We did in the *Delgado* case and scared the stuffing out of the defendants. We traded on it. . . . School district lines are arbitrary and capricious, per se. The S.A. [San Antonio] school district is a creation of the State. . . . Sue the State Board of Education, the State Commissioner of Education.⁷²
 [To Mario Obledo]: If you sue New Braunfels and others, include the State Board of Education and the State Commissioner of Education as defendants, After all, the schools are *State* schools. We did this in the *Delgado* case, to good advantage. Price Daniel, then Attorney General, was forced to make a “deal” with us--for he saw he couldn’t win. . . . If you put the Attorney General on the spot, he will back down (politics) if it will make him look bad. And, you know, the AG can’t appear to be anti-Mexican. The *Delgado* case took 15 minutes in Rice’s court! . . . P.S. Ask for \$1.00 damage against each defendant. Good trading point. Scares hell out of them. If you can get \$1.00 you can amend, if they appeal, and ask for \$100,000 or any figure. This worked in the *Delgado* case. Sue individually and collectively. P.S.S. . . . If your outfit wants to go whole hog, we have the guns and the ammunition--nearly all free.⁷³

Driscoll, Mathis and Odem Equity Cases

Three of the cases with which Sanchez was involved and to which he frequently referred in his correspondence were *Herminio Hernandez et al v. Driscoll Consolidated Independent School District*,

Trinidad Villareal et al v. Mathis Independent School District, and *Diego Chapa, a minor, et al v. Odem Independent School District*.⁷⁴ In writing to Simon Gross of the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust Sanchez informs him that two similar suits involving segregation, in Driscoll and Mathis I.S.D.s, had been resolved. Sanchez had replaced the original lawyers with James De Anda and Gus C. Garcia because he was “afraid that the original lawyers were going to lose for lack of preparation.”⁷⁵ These new lawyers proceeded to win the Driscoll case and “negotiate an out of court settlement that gave plaintiffs all they had asked for in the complaint”⁷⁶ in the Mathis case with Sanchez cited as an authority in the pre-trial memorandum.⁷⁷ Both George I. Sanchez and James De Anda visited the Driscoll and Mathis school districts. In Driscoll they found that all “Latin” children had to spend at least two years in the first grade and were placed there solely on the basis of their inability to understand English.⁷⁸ Also, “all children of Latin American or Mexican descent [were segregated] in the first and second grades and for a period of three or four years for alleged language deficiency.”⁷⁹ Tempers evidently were high as a story in the *Austin-American* reports. The school district responded to the suit by filing “a counter suit for an injunction requiring the plaintiff parents to speak only English in the presence of their children.”⁸¹

In the Mathis case Sanchez found that there were in the district two schools referred to as the “New Elementary” and the “Old Elementary” schools. “All first grades [were] 100% Anglo, [and] there [were] 100% ‘Latin’ sections of all other grades except Eighth in the ‘New Elementary.’”⁸¹ The “Old Elementary” was 100% Latin. The “New Elementary” had a full day session while the “Old Elementary” had half day sessions for all except the third grade. ⁸² When he asked how the sectionalizing was determined, he was told that it was based on achievement tests, but school authorities admitted that there was no “cutting score . . . that ‘various other factors’ were taken into account.”⁸³ The practice of segregation was especially blatant since the two schools shared the same campus and the same geographical attendance area.⁸⁴ The Mathis suit was a risky one to try in court because the school board based its separation of children on test scores, and Sanchez was afraid that “a court might side with the school board in the exercise of its discretion in the assignment of children on the basis of tests. . . . [and, as he said, by negotiation of an out of court settlement, they] won as much as [they] could have won in court without the risk or cost.”⁸⁵ The negotiated settlement included a resolution by the school board affirming its commitment to serving all students without regard for “national origin or native language.”⁸⁶ The resolution

stated that there would be no more separate schools for "children of Mexican or Latin descent,"⁸⁷ home language would not serve as a criterion for first year school placement, there would be no more segregated sections within schools, a normal first grade curriculum would be provided for first graders of Mexican or Latin descent, placement would be on a "first come, first serve basis" for all children, and those enrolling late would be placed in various sections, not segregated in one.

The third school discrimination case takes place twenty years later and illustrates how, while many changes may have occurred since the previous cases and *Brown v. the Board [Topeka]*, for some Mexican American children the fight for equality continued. In July of 1967 Dr. Sanchez wrote to James De Anda, with whom he had worked on the two previous cases, in response to De Anda's request that he review the pre-trial brief in *Diego Chapa, et al vs. Odem Independent School District*. Sanchez's reply is illustrative of the types of arguments he used in testifying as an expert witness and advising lawyers through the years concerning grouping, language, testing, and retention:

In Defendant's motion . . . a most damaging admission is made; that 35 out of 105 children who will be in the First Grade in the Fall are repeating that grade (presumably some for more than the first time). There is something radically wrong with a school system wherein one-third of the First Grade children are repeaters, migrancy to the contrary notwithstanding. This would suggest that the school; makes virtually no effort, or no effort at all, at remedial teaching for children--or that those efforts are highly misguided and indefensible. It would suggest, further, that the criteria used in determining promotions are unrealistic and inapplicable. All of this should be heavily underscored if the repeaters are predominately children whose home language is Spanish. The proposed testing and classification program is, as you have pointed out, just another way at arriving at segregation. In the past I have referred to such practices as "genteel segregation." The proposal to sectionalize the children, at first, on the basis of chronologic age is farcical on its face. (1) If they are kept two or more years in the First Grade, or if they are not brought into the school at age 6, they will be of course older than the children who enroll at 6!

The testing program proposed to remedy this disastrous mode of initial classification is equally farcical. To apply the Gates Reading Test to children who are not proficient in English, and who do not know and *are not expected to know how to read*, is a brutal perversion of pedagogy. This travesty is compounded by giving the children a test in oral English. As the saying goes, these poor kids can't win for losing! . . . Further, these tests were standardized on children who are not representative of the Spanish-speaking children of Odem.

Therefore, the norms of these tests do not apply for the children of Odem. Sectionalizing children in the elementary school is hazardous at best, and easily challenged--unless the groupings are heterogeneous (random) ones. It is only *intra*-class that we are justified in "homogeneous" groupings in the elementary school. The stress placed on tests, and the percentages of children to be assigned to grade sections is a pseudo-scientific way of assigning children arbitrarily and capriciously. . . . These people in Odem are clinging desperately to the idea that English and education are synonymous, and are overlooking the obvious fact that these Spanish-speaking children are normal children and that their knowledge of Spanish is a natural cultural resource that should be cultivated. It is not a handicap.⁸⁸

The court order came quickly, on July 28, 1967. Previous court cases had paved the way for the speedy execution of justice in this situation. The court found that segregation did indeed exist and ruled that the school district was "permanently enjoined from maintaining separate classes and/or sections of classes on the basis of ethnic or national origin, and from discrimination . . . against students of Mexican extraction . . ."⁸⁹

"These court cases illustrate how the educational opportunities for all persons of Mexican heritage have been greatly enhanced through the life long contributions of George I. Sanchez. For over four decades he devoted himself, frequently at great personal sacrifice, to ensuring that future generations would have equal rights. Even in ill health he never gave up the fight, for in his correspondence there are letters right up until his death April 7, 1972 in which he instructs, advises, outlines his philosophy and his strategy; always looking ahead, always planning the next battle, and always believing that right would prevail."⁹⁰

ENDNOTES

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TEVIS: GEORGE I. SANCHEZ: "THE" PIONEER IN MEXICAN AMERICAN EQUITY

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NOT “MERELY TOLD”: TEACHING DEWEY THROUGH A COLLABORATIVELY CREATED WEB SITE

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“That education is not an affair of ‘telling’ and being told, but an active and constructive process, is a principle almost as generally violated in practice as conceded in theory. Is not this deplorable situation due to the fact that the doctrine is itself merely told?” (Dewey, 1916/1997, p. 38).

This paper explores the thesis that a collaboratively created Web site is one way to make educational foundations an “active and constructive process,” helping preservice teachers learn Dewey’s ideas about education in a manner consistent with those ideas. This study took place over three semesters of teaching an undergraduate course in educational foundations and multicultural education in a public, Midwestern university. The course is required for all undergraduate teacher-education students, and is intended to provide a theoretical base for their teaching practice. There are typically thirty students in a class, which presents a challenge for those who want to engage students in discussion with each other and have a student-centered, rather than a lecturer-centered, classroom. This challenge had been addressed by dividing students into small discussion groups within the classroom, and by setting up an ongoing computer-mediated bulletin board discussion that enabled discussion among students between class meetings. The collaboratively created Web site that is the focus of this study represents an additional effort to involve students in a substantive way in their own education.

Dewey and communications technology

John Dewey saw the central importance of communication to education, stating that “education consists primarily in transmission through communication” (Dewey, 1916-1997, p. 9). Furthermore, Dewey recognized the special importance for human advancement inherent in new communications media.

Every step from savagery to civilization is dependent upon the invention of media which enlarge the range of purely immediate experience and give it deepened as well as wider meaning by connecting it with things which can only be signified or symbolized. (Dewey, 1916-1997, p. 232)

Dewey also understood the essence of communication to be in the quality of the communication itself, and would not be put off by the physical distances that can separate people utilizing new communications technologies.

Persons do not become a society by living in physical proximity, any more than a man ceases to

be socially influenced by being so many feet or miles removed from others. A book or a letter may institute a more intimate association between human beings separated thousands of miles from each other than exists between dwellers under the same roof. (Dewey, 1916-1997, pp. 4-5)

Several scholars have explored the relationship of Dewey’s philosophy to new developments in communications technology. Hickman (1992) noted the relevance of Dewey’s writing to current technology discussions. Nordkvelle (2004) cited contemporary philosophers of technology who view Dewey as an important seminal thinker for their discipline. Shaffer (2004) discussed how computer technology can bring new life to Dewey’s idea of a connection between the school and the society. Bruce (1998) argued that Dewey would have valued technologies that enhance students’ communication skills and enable them to be more effective citizens. Roschelle (1994) suggested that the writings of John Dewey gave teachers “ways to think about how and why they might use technology to support collaborative inquiry learning in their classrooms” (p. 6).

Pedagogical origins of the project

One of the required texts for the course being discussed in this paper is John Dewey’s *The School and Society* (Dewey, 1900/1990). Undergraduate students typically have some difficulty making sense of what Dewey has to say, and several activities have been utilized in this class with the aim of helping the students gain a clearer understanding of his work. One activity that seemed particularly helpful for students was creating a concept map involving various aspects of Dewey’s philosophy, such as the relationship between the school and the home, the relationship between the school and the community, the idea of the school functioning as a community, and Dewey’s notion of discipline. Students seemed to gain a more substantial understanding of what Dewey said by seeing his philosophy as made up of distinct, yet interrelated, components.

Two aspects of this concept map activity were important as origins of what became The Foundations of Education Web. One was the fact that students were working together to construct an understanding of

THEODORE AND SEARCY: NOT “MERELY TOLD”: TEACHING DEWEY THROUGH A COLLABORATIVELY CREATED WEB SITE

Dewey, and the other was that they were doing this construction in the form of a network of connected ideas. The establishment of the collaboratively created hypertext Web site was little more, at first, than moving this in-class activity onto the Web. It was hoped that students’ learning would be facilitated through their contributions to the Web site, and that the developing site would serve as a learning resource.

The making of the Web site

A central question that arose with the creation of the Web site was what the respective roles of the teacher and the students would be. In particular, it was a question of how content would be added to or deleted from the Web site, and whether and how it would be modified while it was there. Dewey is clear that the teacher has an important role in directing student learning, and that his philosophy is not about simply letting students do what they will (Dewey, 1900/1990, pp. 38-40; 1916/1997, p. 160). The instructor determined that an appropriate metaphor for the teacher’s role in The Foundations of Education Web project was that of an editor. Potential content was submitted by students, and the teacher-as-editor made decisions as to which contributions would be included on the site, and whether or not certain contributions required revision. Even this editing, however, was done in continual consultation with students, either individually or the entire class.

Technically, the site was relatively simple to create. There were no graphic elements, and a simple organizational structure was employed with the text that would accommodate the growth of the site as student contributions were added. The organizational hierarchy of pages was made apparent by varying the size and color of text in the headings, as well as by moving headings from the center to the left margin as one moved lower in the hierarchy. Each lower-level page had a link to the page or pages above it.

Following Dewey’s idea that “[t]he educator’s part in the enterprise of education is to furnish the environment which stimulates responses and directs the learner’s course” (Dewey, 1916/1997, p. 180), together with Dewey’s insistence on the importance of a contribution from the student (Dewey, 1916/1997, p. 180), the instructor decided it would be helpful to put something up on the Web to get the site started, and to use what students had already been contributing to the class bulletin board discussion as a basis. The theme that stood out in early student posts to the bulletin board discussion was the relationship between the school and the home, and as this is a key idea in Dewey’s philosophy, it was decided to begin there. The instructor created a home page called “The Foundations

of Education Web,” then a page for “John Dewey’s Philosophy of Education,” and finally a page for “The relationship between the school and the home.” A bit of introductory content was written for the home page and the John Dewey page, and three student posts from the bulletin board discussion were put onto the “The relationship between the school and the home” page for initial content there. The instructor posted a link to the site on the bulletin board discussion, prefaced by a bit of introduction.

Student involvement in the ongoing growth of the Web site was facilitated in several ways. First, students were informed that contributions to the Web site would be counted toward their final grade in the course. There were also discussions in class, both as a whole class and in small groups, about what sorts of things might add to the value of the Web site. The instructor also involved students in structured, small-group activities aimed at helping students develop content for the site. In addition to communication in class, there was electronic communication that helped to build the site. The instructor would respond to student posts in the bulletin board discussion, suggesting some of these as possible additions to the Web site. Students would also make suggestions for the Web site via the bulletin board discussion, as well as sending in potential contributions by email.

Probably the most effective activity to encourage student contributions to the Web site involved a combination of face-to-face and electronic communication. The class met in a computer lab where students were able to work together in pairs or small groups at individual computers connected to the Web. Students were also able to look at the existing Web site as they discussed potential new additions to the site and possible links between existing pages of content on the site. This activity resulted in many emails from students with suggested contributions to the Web site.

The Foundations of Education Web

The current Web site, The Foundations of Education Web, is the result of three semesters of student contributions. The site has grown to include sixty separate Web pages, which contain about 14,360 words of student-produced content. Most of the site is in a section titled “John Dewey’s Philosophy of Education,” which links to nine separate sections, such as “school and home,” “school and community,” “discipline,” and “curriculum.” Some of these sections branch down farther. The “curriculum” page, for example, has ten pages linked from it; one of these pages, “history,” links to three separate pages. The organization of the pages, as well as the content on the pages, is the result of input from students. Most of the

content on the pages consists of activities that are examples of how to put Dewey's ideas into practice in schools.

While there are many ways that this Web site embodies aspects of Dewey's philosophy, two in particular stand out. First, by creating content that can be useful to other students, students are acting as a learning community, acting on behalf of others and not just themselves (Dewey, 1900/1990, p. 16, p. 29; Dewey, 1916/1997, pp. 5-7). Second, the hypertext nature of the site encourages students to see various ideas as an interconnected network (Dewey, 1916/1997, pp. 76-77).

The student-contributed content on the Web site also provides some evidence that working on the site has helped students better understand some of the concepts in Dewey that are typically difficult for them. For example, students generally struggle with Dewey's concept of discipline, having difficulty moving from the idea of discipline as control of students by the teacher to Dewey's idea of discipline as a trait that is developed by persisting through difficulties to achieve a goal (Dewey, 1900/1990, pp. 37-38). The page on the current Web site on "discipline" contains 855 words contributed by students which provide an accurate, thorough, and well-referenced discussion of what Dewey means, including original student ideas for activities that would help to develop discipline (<http://www.siue.edu/~ptheodo/foundations/discipline.html>).

Student feedback on the Web site

The instructor solicited feedback from students about the Web site via email at the end of each semester. After three semesters of receiving and analyzing this feedback, four points were salient in terms of the student's perceptions of how the Web site was beneficial to them. First, students noted that the Web site helped them to better understand difficult ideas, such as Dewey's concept of discipline. In the words of one student,

I also found that when I was stuck on a subject such as Dewey's form of "discipline," I would read the Foundations of Education site that referred to Dewey and his philosophy. By reading this site I gained a deeper understanding of what Dewey really meant when he talked about discipline. This site expanded the ideas of Dewey and clarified them for me so I could then more fully understand his philosophy.

Second, students found that the Web site was valuable as a resource that helped them study. As one student put it, "I found the Web site useful while preparing for our final exam. It was helpful to have a site to help clarify my understanding of certain issues."

A third point that stood out in the student feedback was that students found it helpful to learn from other students, saying such things as "it gives solid examples to students from students." The fourth point that stood out was that the Web site helped students to make connections. One student put it this way: "This laid out all the concepts for me and I could make new connections between those concepts."

There were two ideas expressed by students that were not widely shared, but that seem to have important implications for future work with the Web site. One of these is that students learn through the process of writing material for the site. One student wrote, "I have learned mostly by putting together the two contributions for the website." Another student provided more specific information about the educational value of having to contribute to the site, stating that "by encouraging contributions to the website, I was forced to dig deeper into the material that I probably would have without the assignment." The second of these ideas is that the Web site is valuable because it provides multiple perspectives on issues. One student observed,

I think it is a good resource because there are many different explanations of difficult topics (like Dewey). Different people are able to explain things in different ways and some of the sections I was able to comprehend immediately while other posts I had to think about and change my view of thinking.

A few students expressed the view that the Web site was not especially valuable to them as a learning resource, and that they did not use it very much. Some students seemed to go to the Web site only to make posts to earn points toward a grade. One student wrote, "I did not use the website as part of my learning this semester. I only went to the website twice, once for each of my posts." There were also a few students who said that they had difficulty figuring out what to contribute to the Web site. One student said, "I was very stressed about what to post."

Conclusions and Recommendations

While any conclusions from a single study of this size must be tentative, there does seem to be evidence both from the content of The Foundations of Education Web itself and from student feedback that the use of a collaboratively created Web site is a way to engage students in learning as "an active and constructive process." Specifically teacher education students who use the web site attain a better understanding of the philosophy of John Dewey and how it can be applied to their own practice. With the instructor acting as an editor, activities that students created for the Web site to illustrate Dewey's ideas had to involve an accurate understanding of those ideas. Since the activities were

THEODORE AND SEARCY: NOT “MERELY TOLD”: TEACHING DEWEY THROUGH A COLLABORATIVELY CREATED WEB SITE

original constructions on the part of the students, the content that now exists on the Web site is evidence that students actively constructed a good deal of learning about Dewey.

There appear to be at least three ways that the Web site helped students learn about Dewey. First, the content that students created for the Web site became an important learning resource for other students. Two of the key points in student feedback were that the Web site was a valuable reference and that reading material framed in the words of their fellow students was helpful. Second, the structure of the Web site as a network of connected ideas is a paradigm of Dewey’s conception of knowledge, in which the idea of connections is central (Dewey, 1916/1997, p. 340). Finally, contributing to the Web site involved students directly in the sort of active, social process that Dewey thinks education should be.

With regard to future projects of this type, two recommendations in particular are suggested by three

semesters of work with The Foundations of Education Web. First, providing class time for students to work together on the Web site, especially in pairs or small groups with Web-connected computers, is recommended. This was very successful the one semester it was done, and feedback from students indicates that doing this every semester would be valuable, doing it early in the semester, doing it more than once if possible. In particular, more activity of this sort would be more likely to get students using the site and help them understand how they could contribute, addressing the main concerns that were raised in negative student feedback. Second, it is recommended that feedback be solicited from students before the end of the semester, as well as at the end. Getting feedback from students during the semester would enable the instructor to respond to student concerns and make it more likely that the Web site would be effective for more students.

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CULTURAL WARS AND THE NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT

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The No Child Left Behind Act supported by a bipartisan Congressional vote in 2001, and signed into law by President Bush in 2002, was an effort to close the educational achievement gap in our schools. The major effort in closing the achievement gap was for Title I at risk students, minorities and English Language Learners. The Federal Government provides funds for NCLB implementation. At our last years meeting, Steve Jenkins, Gay Jenkins and Elaine Smith discussed the important contribution of NCLB to inclusion of all students including special education students in efforts to achieve high standards in our schools. Joseph Nwoye (2005) presented a model for educational reform to reach all children. He traced recent efforts to improve education including Goals 2000 which laid the base for a more extensive program in No Child Left Behind. The idea to leave no child behind has widespread support but has proven difficult to implement in theory and practice.

With the reauthorization for continuance of NCLB dependent on the composition of the new 110th Congress, it may face some major changes. The Florida governor's race includes debate about the Florida Comprehensive Assessment Test (FCAT) which is a major component of school effectiveness. In a poll driven society, policy makers respond to opinion surveys. Kleindienst (2006) notes two out of three voters or 59 percent oppose using FCAT to grade public schools and financially rewarding the best performing schools. Florida's survey reflects the 38th annual PDK/Gallup poll. The PDK poll finds the public approves of the NCLB goals for closing the achievement gap but rejects its methods. Major concerns are the Average Yearly Progress goals, the penalties imposed on schools for failing to meet the goals, and adequate funding for implementation of the act (Rose, and Gallup, 2006). Some critics believe the federal government NCLB act impinges on the constitutional education state rights based on the tenth amendment. That amendment leaves items not specifically reserved for the federal government to the states. Others suggest a trend toward nationalization of American education. Critics of high stakes testing abound. Murray (2006) finds the act pushes teachers to drill, train, and rehearse students for the standardized examinations. Murray finds statistical analyses of test score results are manipulative, uninformative and deceptive. The Harvard Civil Rights Project personnel made a detailed study of test score results and

concluded that the NCLB has not had a significant impact on overall test scores and has not narrowed the racial and sociological economic achievement gap. The U.S. Department of Education has statistical analysis that shows effectiveness is closing the educational achievement gap for minorities, English as a second language, disadvantaged and at risk students. Thus, divergent reports leave the public to determine the effectiveness of NCLB.

Secretary of Education, Margaret Spellings, is responding to criticism of the act by extending Safe Harbor provisions allowing more time for schools to meet requirements especially with English as a Second Language and at risk students. Those analysts interpreting the act, find so many changes, modifications, and adjustments that keeping abreast of emerging developments is an effort.

A Challenge

The NCLB Act focuses on educational improvement for minorities, at risk, low income, disadvantaged and English Language Learners. Breaking statistics down to reach sub groups and sub cultures requires racial, language identification. The U.S. Department of Education, responding to criticisms about identifying individuals through one race, now allows students to identify themselves by more than one racial category. The federal government proposed using racial classifications in 1997. However, in the 2000 U.S. Census 6.8 million people including 2.8 million under age eighteen identified themselves of multiracial, by checking more than one box. In response the U.S. Education office guidelines will be modified to have students respond to two questions involving six racial and ethnic backgrounds. First, students will be asked if they are of Hispanic origin, regardless of race. Secondly, they will be asked to choose among five other designations—American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian; black or African-American; native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander; and white. Students who check off more than one of those five boxes will be separated into two or more racial categories. A major problem for assessment of specific subgroups according to Alfredo J. Padilla, education manager of the Mavin Foundation, advocates of mixed racial background, emerges. Padilla finds individuals might be mislabeled and the end result would be a distortion of aggregate statistics about race as well. He finds that if a half black, half white person who has always identified himself as Black would not be pushed into a

different category, making it seem as if one black person disappeared (Kean, 2006). Ward Connerly, former University of California regent, believes we should eliminate racial categories, but if they are used, they should reflect even greater degrees of difference among students (Kean, 2006).

Challenge of Failing Schools

Bolick (2006) notes that Los Angeles School District is resisting, like many other districts, the No Child Left Behind demand that no child should be forced to attend a failing school. Some 300,000 children in Los Angeles are in failing schools under the NCLB's adequate yearly progress requirement. The act provides for transferring students to better performing public schools, but there is not enough room to accommodate them. The act requires a district to provide students enrolled in a low-performing school with the opportunity to transfer to another public school. Districts are required to offer such choice to students in the following categories. 1. Schools that are in their first year of improvement. 2. Schools that have been identified for corrective action. 3. Schools that are in restructuring. 4. School districts must inform parents that their child is eligible to attend another public school due to identification of the current school as in need of improvement. 5. The district is obligated to pay for choice related transportation and supplemental educational services that a district may use. 6. Students with disabilities must be assured a free appropriate public education consistent with IDEA and Section 504 requirements (Your School and the Law, 2006). Parents often prefer to send their children to schools near their homes, schools they like, regardless of whether they are labeled failing. To deal with the nationwide challenge of failing schools and failing children, United States Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings is issuing massive numbers of waivers. Spellings can withhold federal funds for failing schools, but political implications are complicating her efforts to encourage school progress and improvement. She is allowing certain districts with failing schools to offer supplemental support services before offering transfers. Many parents would like to send their children to private schools, but as yet that is not allowed in NCLB. States are exploring option out of the federal act due to the large number of failing schools and students under provisions of the act.

Funding Lawsuits

Connecticut was one of the first states to bring a lawsuit against the U.S. Office of Education for unfunded mandates. Some 2/3rds of Connecticut's school boards were supportive of the lawsuit brought by Attorney General Blumenthal. However, the NAACP filed a motion, January 30, 2006 to intervene

on the side of the U.S. Department of Education. NAACP officials believe Connecticut's lawsuit could harm low income and minority school children, waste money and threaten to undermine other civil rights laws. Researchers have cited Connecticut as having one of the lowest minority and low-income student-achievement test levels in the country. Minority organizations have increasingly spoken for maintaining the NCLB act since it is an effort to reach subgroups of students to improve achievement levels and provide a series of options to meet their unique and special needs.

English Language Learners

There is a need to expand the time needed for Limited English Proficient students to meet NCATE standards. School districts across the nation are funding Academies and Teacher Training Workshops for English Language Learners. Mario Benitez, has served as a consultant, and presenter, in many of the programs in Arkansas and other states. Florida mandates English Language Training for University Faculty whose courses are infused with ESOL. With an estimated twelve million illegal aliens and 51,934,850 or 34 percent of the population speaking a language of other than English at home, ESL programs are vital. Title III of the NCLB act requires that all English Language Learners have quality instruction in both English and grade level content. Some flexibility is allowed for programs of instruction with greater accountability for English Language Learners and academic progress. Three federal court decisions support the effort to teach English language skills to children from other countries and nationalities. *Lau v. Nichols* (1973), *Castaneda v. Pickard* (1981) and *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) provide a legal background for ESL programs. In *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court ruled the San Francisco School district violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by denying non-English speaking Chinese students a meaningful opportunity to participate in the education program. When English is the mainstream language for instruction, then efforts must be made to ensure English is taught to limited English proficient students. In the Fifth Circuit Court case *Castaneda v. Pickard* (1981) a three part test was identified to determine if a school district provides acceptable programs for English Language Learners. First, a program must be based on educational theory that is recognized by experts for ELS programs. Second, the programs or practices used are reasonably calculated to effectively implement the adopted theory 3) the program successfully produces results that indicate language barriers are being overcome. Third, the Supreme Court in *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) ruled that public schools are prohibited from denying immigrant students access to a public education. Undocumented children have the same

rights to a free public education as U.S. Citizens and permanent residents. Public schools and school personnel are prohibited under Plyler from adopting policies or taking actions that would deny students access to education based on their immigrant status.

The Future

Most educators support the conceptual framework of the NCLB act but criticize implementation policies. Citizens have benefitted by the act since it has created an arena for dialogue about education. More importantly the public including Congress has been exposed to the complexities of the educational system, the challenges of developing and implementing effective policies and the massive efforts that are being undertaken every day by more than two and a half million teachers and some fifty-one million students. Whatever the future holds, the public will push for school improvement and closing the educational achievement gap for poor, minorities, ESL, and disadvantaged. Our demographics have been changing due to population influx. Projections are that by 2050 we will have a majority-minority population. A multiracial, multicultural society is fast becoming a

reality in the United States. This enriches our culture, our environment and will provide the human energy for our democratic nation's growth and development. The cultural wars reflected in NCLB's implementation and the nation's changing demographics will continue. Vouchers, charter schools, total English immersion, the role of religion in schools, and rites and rituals are all issues of debate and dialogue both reasoned and emotional. Affirmative action, total English immersion, the role of religion in education, and immigration will all be hotly debated issues in the future as in the past. As John Dewey once noted, schools reflect issues in the larger society and in turn schools affect the society. The NCLB act is based both on idealism or the belief that we can reach all children and realism, the effort, however controversial, to find some concrete way of measuring achievement levels through various standardized assessment measures. Margaret Spellings efforts to respond to criticisms of the act by modifying, adjusting, extending and safe harbor provisions reflect a philosophy of pragmatism. Meanwhile, philosophers of education have an opportunity to weight in on the pros and cons of efforts to leave no child behind.

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AMERICAN EDUCATION BEFORE 1600: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INQUIRIES

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The general aim of this essay is to encourage uncertainty about long-trusted ways and topics relied on by historians of American education to define their field, select sources, and anchor narratives. The goal sounds presumptuous, but the specific intention is modest: merely to add educational history to a somewhat rancorous discussion underway in the parent discipline. Thomas Bender argues that the organizations and interpretations of United States history change dramatically when outsider perspectives come into play. The stories become starkly different in cross-cultural or global contexts.¹ His aims have been nothing less than to illustrate new, perhaps truer, American histories that emerge when the vantage points have been multiplied. Historians of education have much to contribute to this debate, in large measure because of the kinds of questions we pursue. Joining it, however, requires us to expand our field, entertain new narrative frameworks, and consult unusual sources and methods. These challenges surface unavoidably when we venture into the histories of interactions among American Indians, the early Spanish explorers of the southern and western regions of what became the United States, and any learnings traceable to the encounters.

The more historians explore these pre-1600 eras, the murkier and more unfinished the picture becomes. Definitions and predispositions can block inquiry at the outset and along the way. Who were the residents of these “discovered” lands? How numerous were they? Were they settled or mobile, urban or transient hunters and gatherers? Most provocative of all, what effects, if any, link them to the American narrative that European invaders are typically credited with beginning? Should U.S. historians study Indians in other formats than the familiar specialized and cloistered investigations? Such are the questions being addressed by a growing array of social scientists and their cross-disciplinary collaborators. Their answers, which many of the contributors freely characterize as tentative and debatable, nonetheless hint that accepted historical accounts of the formative years of the United States warrant reexamination. On the last point, one long-recognized, but still not fully corrected, deficiency emerges from an east coast bias that has left gaps and distortions in the history of Spanish and French colonial influences and, in general, the pre colonial history of the indigenous peoples who lived in the south and southwest.²

Historians of education face similar conceptual labor in designing American Indian studies. Armed only with assumed characteristics of an educational

institution defined by European experience, we may find few examples to reconstruct. Looking for deposits of New England influence on the rest of the country, we are likely to miss indigenous developments and draw erroneous or at best narrow conclusions, leaving uncorrected the southern and southwestern gaps in the literature. They could amount to a gaping hole. After all, permanent European settlements in these regions predated those in the northeast. Even more damaging to inquiry would be the failure to act on anthropological knowledge, which anthropologists and archaeologists themselves apply unevenly, namely that all cultures take shape and survive through education, whether defined as institutions, processes, or both. We find its traces by searching inductively for where and how people learned. But what halts investigation in its tracks, archaeologist Gordon R. Willey has cautioned, is “not being able to find what you are not looking for.”³

The brief discussion that follows employs more of a circular chronology than a linear one, looping back and forth across time from various points in the past to the present to consider valuable new research and any lingering consequences of old policies and attitudes. It refers to specific indigenous tribes and nations by current names, which may have changed during the past five centuries, or more generally to American Indians. Admittedly anachronistic, the latter term has the benefit of familiarity and seems to be the name preferred (over “Native Americans,” for example) by the peoples whose educational history we propose to reconstruct.⁴ To ease communication further and avoid convoluted references, the essay situates the discussion in the Americas despite the obvious historical fact that the geographical terminology designating regions of the Western Hemisphere had not been invented before the sixteenth century. Referring to what is now South America, Amerigo Vespucci wrote in 1502, “I have found a continent more densely populated and abounding in animals than our Europe, Asia, and Africa. We may rightly call this continent The New World.”⁵ The term stuck and still drives a key narrative arc of world history. Thus began the sleight of bias that has clouded European vision of the unfamiliar territories ever since. As Vespucci acknowledged, these lands were inhabited. They constituted a “new world” only to the Europeans, whose recorded delight and amazement cannot soften the fact that they very nearly destroyed it. Imagine, Charles Mann observes sadly, the benefits to humankind had a post-1492 colloquy been possible among the cultural achievements of the “old” and “new” worlds.⁶ The words fail us. In the

twenty-first century we know Vespucci got it wrong: Recent archaeology proposes that what he discovered was another old world, peopled at the time by arguably more advanced civilizations than Europeans enjoyed.

The de Soto Expedition as Cultural Reformation

Taken as an adventure, the de Soto expedition can be compared to the experiences of Odysseus or El Cid, and to those described in the *Song of Roland*. What Garcilaso is describing here is a great exploration, not only of a continent, but also of the strengths of the human spirit in the face of tribulations of a magnitude that occur rarely in human history.⁷

The authors of this quotation are referring not merely to the expedition itself but specifically to a highly literary narrative completed in the late sixteenth century by a nonparticipant, Garcilaso de la Vega, also known as El Inca because of his mixed Spanish and native parentage. Only four roughly contemporary documents written during the decades following the expedition's dismal conclusion in 1543 are known to exist. They provide the basic evidence for histories of the North American incursion begun by the Spanish adventurer Hernando de Soto in 1539.⁸ The four chronicles constitute the sole written record of the expedition, the first sustained encounter (as far as we know) between Europeans and the indigenous peoples living across the southern regions of the United States. Of these, one possibly qualifies as a primary source, although scholars have long debated the point.

Drawing clues from details provided in these documents, historians and archaeologists seem to agree on the ten states traversed, from Florida and the Carolinas to East Texas, but they have been unable so far to determine de Soto's exact route. The expedition began with a landing in what is now known as Tampa Bay on May 30, 1539, and moved on to a winter encampment near present-day Tallahassee.⁹ The entourage included more than 600 soldiers, 200 horses, and fatefully, some epidemiologists agree, 300 pigs. De Soto, who had profited richly from his exploits in Peru, was on the hunt for another gold strike. He found instead, not the primeval forests and pristine wildernesses favored in subsequent European myths, but more of a controlled natural environment. This point can be exaggerated. There were forests, to be sure, tangles of swamps and underbrush, but also cleared lands, modulated, often terraced, farms, and well-trod paths. Some of the inhabitants lived in large, carefully designed settlements described by the chroniclers as cities, others in small outlying villages. In Arkansas and the broader Mississippi Valley the numerous population centers, many in close proximity to each other, amazed the Spaniards as much by their

diversity as their number. Many of the indigenous peoples were masters in the production of maize, an agricultural invention that had migrated north from Mexico centuries before.¹⁰

Without this Indian scientific achievement, de Soto and his minions might well have died of malnutrition. The chroniclers reported that within three years, the search for riches detoured into desperate hunts for storehouses of maize to be appropriated. At the end, the ragtag remnants of the expedition had survived in large measure because the Indians encountered from Florida to Texas were aggressive, intentional experts in horticulture and in managing the land.

The next recorded extended visit by Europeans to the Mississippi Valley occurred more than a century later. This time a Frenchman – La Salle – led an expedition across the region. He found a different world, overpopulated by wild game, yet with many fewer human beings than expected. The Caddo societies, once dominant in the Missouri-Arkansas-Louisiana-Texas region, had declined steeply in number.¹¹ Other cultures had vanished, and without people to hunt them the animal population multiplied. Archaeologists have located the sudden appearance of mass cemeteries in the area and sharp declines in agricultural production.¹²

Between the de Soto and La Salle expeditions, a landscape of pre-existing civilizations had been radically altered. Driven by climate changes or natural disasters, did the Caddo and others relocate, were they felled by disease, or did some combination of catastrophes intervene? Archaeologists dispute the varied explanations, sometimes heatedly, but tend to agree that fundamental reversals of fortune occurred.¹³ By several estimates, the population declined by over 90 percent. Some researchers trace the problem to fatal diseases spread from de Soto's pigs.¹⁴ His chroniclers reported no thundering herds of buffalo, a curious omission if these unknown, frightening beasts had been sighted; later, buffalo and other game roamed undeterred across the ranges and around newly dense forests.

Through de Soto's chroniclers and recovered artifacts, we have significant, if incomplete, knowledge of the peoples his expedition encountered. Also, we can chart key differences between the southern and northern American Indian cultures. Diversity characterized the former, whereas the latter tended to have similar if not common languages, traditions, myths, and social organizations.¹⁵ On his trek, de Soto found the distinctions untoward and confusing. His troops might master the rudiments of one language, only to be confounded by the tongue spoken a short distance away. Practical and decorative art forms also

differed (the Caddo were master potters, for example), as did social organization, housing construction, tool technology, and farming techniques. Some people had no maize for the Spaniards to steal, but they had other crops that did not travel as well.¹⁶ In some areas Indian settlements lived in relative peace with each other; others achieved what the chroniclers likened to empires. All relied heavily on storytelling and myth to communicate; none had a written language, or at least none that archaeologists have deciphered.¹⁷ Yet they managed to deliver information to each other, in some cases by signal fires.

As the expedition progressed, the various settlements seemed to know of its impending arrival. Word got around. In some instances, the strangers received hostile greetings; in others they were met warmly, if warily. The Indians apparently learned quickly what the Spaniards wanted, initially gold, later maize and salt, and misdirected them to locations where the treasures reportedly existed in abundance.¹⁸ The chroniclers took note of one welcoming tradition that dumbfounded the intruders. This was the practice of greeting visitors with effusive displays of weeping. De Soto's group interpreted the ritual as evidence of weakness and fear, a misreading, anthropologists have learned, of what was intended as a joyous reception of unknown brothers.¹⁹

That the Indians resorted to deception in dealing with de Soto was evidently a survival strategy. The horses, an animal they had never seen, the clanking armor—some of the natives favored war shields decorated with vivid plumage—and most of all the fire-spitting weapons terrified them, initially at any rate. De Soto used the equipment savagely, yet often found his troops effectively stymied by the Indians' expert archers. Stunned and frustrated by their marksmanship, he puzzled over how a seemingly unsophisticated people could have acquired such advanced skill and the technology needed to sustain it. Moving west, the accounts recorded, his expedition nonetheless slaughtered its way across the south. Sometimes they only stole food before departing; on other occasions they razed entire settlements, murdering everyone except for men and women enslaved as burden bearers.²⁰ From the Indian perspective, de Soto's death from a fever in May 1542 came as unqualified good news, but a tradition of carnage lived on at the hands of Luis de Moscoso, his increasingly desperate successor.

For their part, the Spaniards learned from their encounters about multiple religions, which they routinely classified as pagan and inferior. They refined the use of horses, armor, and guns to intimidate, strategies de Soto had employed with deadly force in Peru, and they learned from Indians how to mine and

distill salt, an urgent need on which their health and stamina came to depend.²¹ They had learned about the nutritional value of maize in Mexico and Peru, and their appreciation for its benefits (for one, it was easy to transport) deepened significantly as the expedition moved west. We can only guess the details of what Indians thought they had learned from the intruders.

The Expedition as an Educational Process

What has any of this to do with the history of education? Archaeologists may consider the question a distraction from their primary purposes. They want to complete the discovery of de Soto's route; identify more precisely the peoples encountered, their living conditions, and habits; and continue research on the survival strategies devised by the outsiders.²² It is possible that still more documentary evidence will be found in Spain or elsewhere. For now, the narrative is incomplete and lacking new archaeological discoveries, promises to remain so. It is necessary for historians working on the topic of pre-1600 American education, especially with regard to societies lacking a discernible system of written language, to practice truth in advertising. Derived primarily from archaeological investigations and documents produced by European reporters, findings can only be labeled safely as tentative or hypothetical.

Although educational research on the de Soto expedition may be premature, preparing to frame useful questions is not. For one thing, hypothesizing the expedition as an educational process changes what we look for, lengthens the traces of any consequences of these early cross-cultural encounters, and helps clarify the settings in which learning on both sides of the cultural divide occurred. The conceptual work alone will be complex and time-consuming, but research on other topics suggests approaches and designs we could adapt. They can be detected in the work of historian John Bodnar, for example, on enduring civics lessons derived from the Depression, the cultural disintegration of a working class town when the local oil refinery closed, and the meanings of patriotism promulgated and reinforced by such national monuments as the Statue of Liberty and the Lincoln Memorial.²³ Using oral history techniques in concert with other methods, Bodnar has been particularly interested in tracking the formation of public memory and its effects (positive and negative) on individual perceptions and social cohesion. His inquiries recall and push beyond Bernard Bailyn's hypothetical histories of education in American social formation.²⁴

Nowhere has this archaeological approach to historical investigation been more systematically employed than in recent research on the history of slavery in the United States.²⁵ The results have been

stunning, a field turned inside out. We now have evidence of slaves acting as authors of their own history, not as mere victims. Against horrendous odds, many more than previously claimed made lives for themselves, exerting agency in unexpected and subversive ways. These new histories require us to reframe questions about what slaves learned from slavery and to begin designing pointed inquiries on what owners and whites in general learned from it as well. When slavery is reconceptualized as an educational institution, a different narrative emerges, one that does not end in 1863 but through the persistence of cross-generational memory, continues at least hypothetically into the present.

Similar approaches have been adapted in the histories of teachers and may explain the recent productivity of scholars working on the topic.²⁶ As most of us know, searching for teachers in the past can be likened to an archaeological quest for a lost tribe. The trail is cold or nonexistent, cleared sporadically by serendipitous discoveries of letters, diaries, or other personal history records. For the most part, we are left to assume teachers' presence in a school or community, often locating not named actors but more commonly anonymous participants in a local policy environment. We find evidence of their work, rarely of the people themselves, through a method of triangulation, which is the way archaeologists have recovered the artistic, political, and economic achievements, and in some instances the original tribal names, of the now vanished peoples whom de Soto encountered.²⁷

If communal or personal memory, whether unearthed at archaeological digs or perpetuated through native mythology and oral traditions, shapes individual and social perceptions, individual and social capabilities, and the ethos of a people, as these studies suggest, it reminds us that the past is never resurrected but at best reconstructed with a slant. Whose history is being proffered? Not a rhetorical device but rather a clue for the search for evidence to pursue, that question is particularly necessary in trying to enter a past of people whose history is in danger of being distorted or lost. Pre-Columbian American Indians belong on the list.

What damage follows when the de Soto expedition

is omitted from the history of education?

Archaeologists and historians do not know enough yet to reconstruct full accounts, so perhaps educational historians should wait until the gaps are filled. But if we do, an otherwise provocative theme in United States history may be missed or diluted—or etched wrong-headedly in memory. Are we confident that the essential threads of the American story can be gathered absent attention to these early, perhaps first, Americans who encountered the expedition? Who were these peoples, to themselves and then to later generations of others? What can we learn from them about farming, flood control, soil conservation, and other interactions with the natural environment? Does memory of their education linger in tribal traditions and stories, shaping perceptions, stimulating actions, and informing policy down through the years? The state of relevant knowledge does not permit definitive answers, but on the off-chance that pre-Columbian American Indians left footprints to be tracked across time, we need to become skilled in deciphering non documentary oral and mythic sources. We can hypothesize that they transmitted knowledge, skills, and sensibilities to each other and their young, but can we recover any intentional organization of educational processes, remaining ever alert for spaces they may have fashioned for formal teaching and learning? Not if we do not or cannot look for them.

This is a preliminary range of essential educational investigations related to the de Soto expedition. Who better to frame and refine them than historians of education? That can be seen as a rhetorical question, begging for a negative answer. Other historians are far ahead of us in pursuing such lines of inquiry in other specialized fields. And in truth educational historians have been less than diligent or rigorous in asking tough questions—about slavery, public memory, even teachers, and American education before 1600. The exciting news is that for the pre-Columbian period, our projects have at hand expanding sources to mine, and methods to adapt from anthropology, archaeology, ethnohistory, and other fields of inquiry that are leading the march of discovery. But they may not be asking all the important questions.

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GETTING STARTED IN SCHOOL – UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS

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Background

Partnerships between and among K-12 schools and the teacher education programs of higher education institutions are not a new concept; they are, however, an underutilized model of enriching teaching and learning. One of the reasons there are not more school-university partnerships is simply because those who are directly involved in their development and implementation are unsure of where and how to start. They may not know exactly what will be required in the way of resources, including financial, personnel, and time. This paper offers a rationale for school-university partnerships for teacher education and some practical steps for creating and developing partnerships.

As early as 1991, professional teacher education organizations such as the Association of Teacher Educators were calling for a major overhaul in the way we prepare teachers. In *Restructuring the Education of Teachers* (1991), the commission charged with preparing this report states, “it is time for those within teacher education to establish priorities for improving the education of teachers” (5). The report goes on to suggest that a great deal of the dialogue and actual work towards this end could best be accomplished through partnerships. More explicitly, the report calls for school-based teacher educators to begin collaborating with college-based teacher educators as preservice teacher preparation programs are redesigned. In this same year, Goodlad (1991) reported on the work of the National Network for Educational Renewal and the establishment of school-university partnerships, stating that “a shared belief that nothing short of fundamental renewal of educational programs for both children and youth, on one hand, and those who teach in and administer schools, on the other is now required” (1). Furthermore, Goodlad suggests that any such partnership must, at a minimum, include a concept or plan, definite purposes for all involved, an agenda for dealing with tough issues, and a carefully planned structure for governance.

In response to calls to reinvent teacher education programs that are more closely linked to actual work in schools, a variety of partnerships have been established. Perhaps one of the most common types of partnerships is the professional development school, a term found in *Tomorrow's Teachers* (1986) published by the Holmes Group. This report calls for a number of necessary components including mutual deliberation of problems, shared teaching in both university and school, and collaborative research. Larson & Benson (1999)

suggest that, regardless of the exact structure, successful professional development schools include efforts that “bring professionals together in a school setting to share responsibility for the preparation of new teachers, the professional development of experienced classroom teachers, the professional development of university faculty serving as teacher educators, the support of research directed at improvement of practice, and enhanced student learning” (71-72). Whether a PDS or a less formal partnership, one overarching goal is the creation of a supportive and nurturing environment in which both university and school educators can work collaboratively and grow professionally.

A Practical Rationale for School-University Teacher Education

Prior to the creation of partnerships between K-12 schools and teacher education programs, the participants must discuss their rationale. Why should either schools or universities want to participate in a partnership with the other? The question could be rephrased as: “What are the benefits of school-university partnerships?” A critical and fair approach to this question means that all perspectives must be considered. A partnership between a K-12 school and a teacher education program includes students and teachers, the administration of the school, the preservice teachers, and university personnel.

Research has shown that student achievement increases when there is a lower teacher to student ratio (Krueger, Greenwald, Hedges, and Laine). When preservice teachers and possibly university personnel work side-by-side in K-12 classrooms, students will invariably benefit from more individual attention as well as a larger pool of knowledge and perspectives. More adults in the room also typically reduces classroom management problems, which allows more focus on learning rather than behavior intervention. Teachers also benefit from having preservice teachers in their classrooms. With fewer classroom management problems, they can focus on instruction with fewer interruptions. Depending on the partnership configuration, classroom teachers may have the opportunity to experience teaching or co-teaching at another level (university level methods courses). Working with preservice teachers and university level teacher educators provides professional development as preservice teachers often bring new ideas and practices into working classrooms. On a more intrinsic level, these teachers can contribute to the future of schools as

they incorporate new perspectives along with innovative practices. Working with preservice teachers and teacher educators can also be a source of pride and an opportunity to become more reflective about teaching and learning in general. University faculty benefit from being in the schools because it gives them the opportunity to stay up to date with the contextual demands of contemporary classrooms. The university may also benefit indirectly: by increasing teachers' interest in pursuing advanced degrees, they also increase enrollment and tuition revenues.

One of the most serious problems in U.S. education today is teacher attrition, resulting in costly rehiring and training processes. Almost half of the nation's new teachers leave teaching within the first five years (Ingersoll and Smith). One way to avoid high attrition rates and the resulting costs of rehiring and retraining is to hire the right person in the first place. By inviting future teachers into their schools, administrators can preview preservice teachers who will soon be in the market for a job. Administrators also benefit when they put themselves and their teachers in a position to use the university as a ready resource for professional development. While universities cannot always provide funds (unless provided by a grant), professors can provide expertise and exposure to some of the latest research on teaching and learning. Involvement with higher education may provide a shot in the arm for faculty, inspiring some to seek advanced degrees or action research.

Perhaps those who benefit most are the preservice teachers themselves. Partnerships can provide an opportunity for inservice teachers to see themselves as a significant participants in the teacher education process. Many partnerships involving teacher education programs and K-12 schools provide extended periods of time for preservice teachers to observe and participate actively in classrooms, which creates a more realistic picture of a school context. They learn to collaborate with professionals in an authentic learning experience, while developing their own teacher persona through a contextualized application of procedural, communication, and management skills. Preservice teachers also often have the support of a cohort. Partnerships that are constructed around a year-long program allow preservice teachers to experience all the critical phases of the school year, such as those first few weeks in the fall when teachers are establishing classroom rules and routines. The combined effect of these benefits helps preservice teachers determine whether or not they are committed to teaching as a profession. Studies by Worthy and Patterson (2001), Fuller and Bown (1975), and Wilson (2000) indicate that gaining self-confidence in teaching abilities

coincides with working through a survival stage of teaching development. As preservice teachers are able to meet their personal security needs and therefore reduce their anxieties about teaching, they are more able to concentrate on the needs of their students. Taken together, all these benefits give preservice teachers an edge during the hiring process.

Getting Started

Most partnerships between K-12 schools and university teacher education programs are initiated by the college or university in order to improve teacher preparation with an authentic classroom experience. These partnerships may or may not be pursuing specific programmatic or standards-driven goals. For example, in Teitel's book on Professional Development Schools, a group called the Urban Teacher Training Collaborative sought to "attract a talented and diverse pool of interns to work in the Boston Arts Academy and Fenway Pilot High School" (31).

Logistically speaking, partner schools should be located within reasonable commuting distance, taking into consideration those individuals who will do most of the commuting because of their direct involvement in either the school or the university, or both. Web sites, program reports, and governmental reports can provide pertinent statistical information, and focus groups involving local citizens, faculty, administration, staff, and students can provide qualitative insights into the nature of communities and P-12 school environments.

In addition, it is important to consider the current status of each institution in terms of other initiatives, including other partnerships that might already be in place (with the same partner or another) and how they could affect the outcomes of the initiative under consideration. It is also wise at this point to investigate other institutions that may have partnerships that might provide a template for a new partnership.

One of the possible limitations could be, and often is, financial support. Depending on the desired goals and outcomes, and necessary procedural requirements, partnerships can be very expensive to initiate. Many human resources are involved, and people must be compensated for their time and efforts. The financial burden can be somewhat alleviated by grants and other funding opportunities; however, more often than not, financial support presents the most difficult obstacle to surmount to those administrators and policy makers who are otherwise fully invested in the benefits of partnerships.

The information gathering that typically takes place during any planning phase will provide a beginning structure and a direction for implementation. For example, during the planning stages, a needs analysis

on behalf of both partners will indicate the expectations and specific goals each holds as most important. Then, an honest institutional self-analysis will help determine possible limitations in terms of material or human resources, scheduling, or other obstacles that might limit one or the other partner's ability to work toward reaching goals or expectations.

Human relationships are also problematic. Teacher education and the education of P-12 students by definition will involve a range of personnel and a variety of teaching styles, communication preferences, and opinions about best practices, among other differences. The following list provides questions that each institution needs to ask and address honestly:

1. What are our goals or intended outcomes for the partnership?
2. What will we do to “nurture a relationship of trust and cooperating?” (Goleman, 210)
3. How can we help strengthen mutual understanding between the institutions?
4. What resources can we bring to the table?
5. What is the best means of communication for members of your institution?
6. What are the strengths of our institution?
7. What do we know about the other institution – their history, goals, past successes and failures, similarities and dissimilarities with our institution?
8. What indication do we have right now of the competence of the other institution and whether or not we can trust it?
9. Under what assumptions about the other institution, both positive and negative, does our institution operate?
10. How can we take care of negative baggage?
11. What expectations do we have right now about the other institution's part in our partnership?
12. What previous training do people at our institution have in cooperation, collaboration, and team and relationship building?
13. What other organizations might be beneficial partners with us, in addition to the K-12 school and the university?

Potential Configurations

Most partnerships will involve university courses, and there are several details to consider when deciding how these courses will unfold. First of all, where will the course meet? Traditionally, college courses meet on campus or, more recently, on line. However, if facilities and technology needs permit, it might also be feasible for the course to meet on site at the P-12 school setting. Another possibility is the hybrid model, which would include some combination of meeting on campus, on line, and on site.

Another consideration is the instructor. The professor who typically teaches the course is often still

the instructor, no matter where it is taught. However, some partnerships utilize a classroom teacher (or a small group of classroom teachers, coordinated by the professor) as instructors. As with the location of the course, a hybrid is always possible, with one person being the instructor of record and others serving in adjunct or support roles. In some instances, it might be beneficial to have an adjunct faculty member (a retired teacher, but not a professor) in the position of instructor of record. This may inspire more trust from P-12 teachers who often do not hold professors of education in high esteem.

When teacher candidates participate in P-12 classrooms, questions about scheduling inevitably arise. Partners much consider accreditation and university requirements, such as how many hours preservice teachers are required to spend in the classrooms and the types of lessons and activities in which they are required to participate. In turn, great care should be taken not to disrupt the routine of the students with whom they will be working. Teachers should not be expected to juggle and rearrange their schedules; such demands can deter a positive working relationship that partnership constituents have worked hard to develop. On the other hand, preservice teachers have scheduling considerations as well. Many of them need to work part-time, especially nontraditional students and parents who are returning to school to become teachers. In addition to these scheduling problems, there are other questions: should there be only one preservice teacher per classroom, which means less adjustment for the students, or should there be at least two preservice teachers in a classroom so that they can discuss their work and observations? Should the classroom participation time occur in a concentrated period (i.e., every morning for two weeks) so as to disrupt the preservice teachers' and cooperating teachers' work schedules as little as possible? Or should it occur over a longer period of time so that preservice teachers might be able to see growth and learning? Will just one modus operandi work for all participants involved? If the partnership wants to develop a hybrid model of classroom participation, what steps will be taken to ensure fairness and consistency among stakeholders? Scheduling often creates the most potential problems in any endeavor, especially when there are so many stakeholders to consider.

Nurturing and Maintaining Professional Partnerships

Professional school-university partnerships, like any other collaborative relationships, require conscious efforts to sustain quality. Concerns about collaborative relationships concerns can be divided into two major categories: organizational and

communication–personnel. First of all, both parties need to agree on the basic organization - whether the partnership is a formal or informal one. An informal partnership will operate on a ‘handshake’ basis. A more formal partnership should be guided by a governance system that guides the decision-making process and provides a *modus operandi*, specific procedures that guide everyday implementation; this system should be carried out equally by both partners. It is also important to identify factors that might be outside the realm of control of either institution, and to put in place standard operating procedures for handling potential conflicts. Both institutions need to be equally represented and respected in the planning stages, although the impetus for building the partnership more often lies with the college or university’s teacher education program.

Certain points must be taken into consideration concerning communicating with and among all partners. First of all, training in communication and relationships can provide participants with the caveat to focus on strengths to promote confidence and trust. Individuals in the partnership should make a concerted effort to get to know each other so that they buy into each other’s involvement; this will be more easily accomplished if specific efforts are built into the program design to promote shared aims and standard operating procedures. “(A) company-to-company relationship is nothing more than the times between the people from each....” (Goleman, 211), and “... (I)t’s not enough just to get the job done if you destroy the relationships within the working group.” (212) For instance, newcomers will feel more welcome if they are provided with building keys, mailboxes, and a working space. It is also important to control the volume of information (237) so that people do not feel bombarded, while still balancing the communication in an effort to keep them

‘in the loop.’ Agendas and other communication should be sent out before meetings allowing plenty of time for consideration prior to discussions and meetings. In all communication, people should be asked to do their best to clarify without being condescending, on the one hand, or assuming too much on the other. Find the best way to keep the lines of communication open and flowing among stakeholders. Periodic scheduled sharing sessions or retreats could be utilized to provide training in communication skills and reflection.

Planning a collaborative relationship of any magnitude requires meetings; in terms of scheduling, both institutions need to consider when people may be overwhelmed by other demands. Ideally, both entities should feel valued, empowered, trusted, and respected. Each institution needs to understand the needs of the other: for K-12 schools, that is student learning and achievement; for the college or university, it is preservice teacher learning and achievement.

Conclusion

Designing a program that can meet the needs of such a varied collection of individuals is a worthwhile challenge. Successful professional development schools “bring professionals together in a school setting to share responsibility for the preparation of new teachers, the professional development of experienced classroom teachers, the professional development of university faculty serving as teacher educators, the support of research directed at improvement of practice, and enhanced student learning” (71-72). Learning is the main goal of education, and so it should be at the core of school – university partnerships. At the heart of all efforts are shared goals and a vision that makes student learning and preservice teacher development the primary purpose.

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WILSON AND KAHN: GETTING STARTED IN SCHOOL – UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS

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