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MARTHA TEVIS, VOLUME 59 DEDICATION

Dean Joan Smith, University of Oklahoma, Jeannine Rainbolt College of Education

This issue is dedicated to one of the true pioneers when it comes to scholarship and service in the fields of educational philosophy, history and biography. Professor Martha Tevis began presenting scholarly papers at the Southwest Philosophy of Education Society (SWPES) when she was a doctoral student of William Drake at the University of Texas, Austin. This was a time when the field had yet to realize the important contributions that women faculty could make to educational philosophy, but one could not deny the qualifications that Martha was bringing to the study. She was a Latin scholar during the era when Greek, Latin and other European languages were prerequisites for conducting scholarly research in academe. She continued to remain active in SWPES after she joined the faculty of the University of Texas—Pan American, and she was instrumental in its transformation to SOPHE, thereby making it a national, instead of a regional scholarly society. At the same time she became active in the Philosophy of Education Society—eventually being elected as one of its fellows.

I first met Martha in the mid-1970s when I presented a paper at SWPES. She was its incoming president, and I was struck by the quality of her presidential address that dealt with LBJ and education. Being a scholar of biography, I was eager to talk with her, and at that point we developed a collegial relationship that has become a strong friendship. Knowing of her scholarly prowess and her interest in biography, Glenn Smith and I asked her to author several article chapters for a book we were editing, entitled *Lives in Education*. She wrote the article on educator, George I. Sanchez as well as those on Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Aquinas. Once again, I was impressed by the fact she used documents written in Latin to craft the latter three contributions.

In the early 1980s, when the International Society of Educational Biography was founded by Glenn Smith, Martha was one of the people asked to help organize the new association, and she has been an officer in the association since that time, first serving as its secretary/treasurer, as its president and currently as its secretary. It has been her persistent dedication to ISEB that has steered it through some rough waters to its present place as a respected international society for the study of biography.

Her own research on the educator, George I. Sanchez has promulgated her into the national media scene. Many of us who watched her 2009 interview on PBS's *American Experience—A Class Apart* can attest to her meticulous scholarship that contributed to the U. S. Supreme Court Case concerning Mexican American rights.

Martha Tevis has been an important foundational scholar providing service as a member of various editorial advisory boards including AESA's *Educational Studies* journal, ISEB's *Vitae Scholasticae*, and JOPHE. Recognizing her contributions to the field and to her university, UTPA recently honored her by endowing a graduate scholarship in her name. In similar fashion this issue of JOPHE is dedicated to Professor Tevis as a tribute to her scholarship and service to educational history, philosophy and biography.

MARTHA TEVIS, AN APPRECIATION

Mary Lou Aylor, Central Michigan University

Although there were very few women members of Southwest Philosophy of Education Society when I met Martha Tevis in 1982, it was clear to see that she was a valued and respected member of the organization. Martha has style and grace beyond compare. She gets things done and gets people involved, even when they may be, shall we say, hesitant. For example, I once had the experience of explaining to my provost why I live and teach in Michigan yet am a member of the Texas Educational Foundations Society.

Martha has made so many contributions to Society of Philosophy and History of Education that it would be impossible to list them all. She has served in virtually all positions within the organization and has been site chair for more annual meetings than I can count. Her skill, thoughtful planning, and attention to even the smallest details have resulted in outstanding opportunities for the sharing of scholarly and informative papers as well as opportunities for social interaction. Martha has contributed to the growth of the organization by encouraging people to join and to become active members of the association. Her warmth and graciousness makes even the newest members immediately feel welcome and a part of the group. She keeps in contact with people, even when they may be poor correspondents. She remembers peoples' birthdays, their interests, and their concerns. She gives freely of her time and energy in a thousand ways, not just to SOPHE, but also to its individual members.

There are two things about Martha that consistently amaze me. One is that I have never heard her raise her voice, but she is always heard and she always makes her point. I must admit, however, that I have occasionally heard her quietly, and in her beautiful Texas accent, explain to someone who deserves it exactly how the cow ate the cabbage! The second is that she never seems to change yet somehow the rest of us grow older! While I truly don't know how SOPHE would be the organization it is without Martha's commitment and dedication, I do know that all of us would be poorer without Martha in our lives.

JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF EDUCATION
VOLUME 59, 2009
TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1 ... Mary Bevel, Webster University, "The Postmodern Musings of a Twenty First Century Yogi: Discrimination Against Children with Disabilities, Ahimsa and Advocacy"
- 7 ... Don Hufford, Newman University, "A Hidden Outcome: The Who of the Teacher"
- 14 ... Ralph Olliges, Webster, "Wikis and Podcasts, Oh My! Effective Uses in the Classroom"
- 20 ... Chuck Fazzaro, University of Missouri St. Louis, "Numbers Rule: Turning Students Into Objects in the Age of Objectification"
- 25 ... Thomas Deering, Augusta State University, "Reconsidering Allan Bloom's The Closing of the American Mind"
- 29 ... Sam F. Stack Jr., West Virginia University, "Alice Chipman Dewey: Still a Mystery?"
- 39 ... Linda Morice, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, "Flora White Reconsidered: The Transformative Quality of Place"
- 46 ... Brian K. Leavell, Texas Woman's University, An Approach to Writing a Philosophy of Education
- 51 ... Lu Stephens, San Angelo State, "Barbed Wire, Bumpy Roads, and Begonias"
- 67 ... Vivian Hopp Gordon, Loyola of Chicago, "Early Twentieth Century Management Theories and Models That Shaped 21st Century School Leadership"
- 71 ... Virginia Cook Altrogge, Webster University, "A Leadership Lesson Learned: You Can't Go Home Again"
- 76 ... Joseph Nwoye, Montgomery College, "A Snapshot for Effective Curriculum Based Teaching and Learning in a Diverse Classroom"
- 81 ... Mike Boone, Texas State University, San Marcos, "Funding Schools Adequately: Philosophical, Technical, and Political Issues"
- 88 ... Carolyn Althoff Fridley, Southeastern Oklahoma State University, "The 'Wants and the Gimmes': Social Implications of Entitlement, a Cautionary Tale"
- 92 ... Lucy E. Bailey, Oklahoma State University, "Keeping Men from Barstools: Activism in 9th Century Temperance Schoolbooks"
- 98 ... Sarah E. Watkins, University of Arkansas, "A Historical Perspective: The Women's Liberation Movement and Family Dynamics Education"
- 102 ... John Hunt, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, "How the Bulldogs Got Their Groove Back: The Transition of the University Schools from Laboratory School to Charter School"
- 108 ... Marsha Little Matthews, University of Texas, Tyler, "Habits of Expectation: Seeing the Invisible, Re Participation"
- 114 ... Melissa Thomeczek, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, "Teacher Philosophy, Technology, and Field Experience: Factors Affecting Learning Gains for Students in a Social Studies Class"
- 118 ... Peter Theodore, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, "Real Education in Virtual Space: Looking at a Multi-User Virtual Environment Through a Deweyan Lens"
- 122 ... Jim Van Patten, Florida Atlantic University and Jerry Siegrist, Valdosta State University, "The Law and Education: The Fourteenth Amendment at One-Hundred Forty"
- 126 ... Adam David Roth, University of Rhode Island, "Following Plato's Advice: Pedagogy and Technology for the Facebook Generation"
- 130 ... Martha Tevis and John McBride, University of Texas. Pan American, "A Curriculum Concern: Professional Standards and Special Interest Groups"

JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF EDUCATION
VOLUME 59, 2009
TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 137 ... Neil Houser, University of Oklahoma, "Greek Philosophy and the Crisis of Perception: Deconstructing the Tyranny of Institutionalized Thinking"
- 141 ... David Snelgrove, University of Central Oklahoma "Personalism in Education: Some Thoughts on the Philosophy of Nikolai Berdyaev"
- 151 ... James Swartz, Miami University of Ohio, "Sexual Harassment: a History and Implications for Higher Education"
- 157 ... William Lloyd Fridley, Southeastern Oklahoma State University, "Does Stanley Fish's Call to Academicize College Teaching Apply to Foundations of Education?"
- 164 ... Lee S. Duemer and Amira Zebidi, Texas Tech Univeristy, "The Pragmatic Paradigm: Philosophical Framework for Mixed-Methods Research"
- 170 ... Douglas J. Simpson, Texas Tech Univeristy, and Paul A. Wagner, University of Houston, Clear Lake, "A Multitheoretical and Multicultural Approach to Ethical Analyses: A Heuristic Tool for Beginning Responsible Moral Analyses"
- 175 ... Jerry Siegrist, Charles Weeks, Leon Pate, David Monetti, Valdosta State University, "Principals' Experience, Educational Level, and Leadership Practices as Predictors of Academic Achievement"
- 181 ... John Covalleskie, University of Oklahoma, "Religion in the Public Square: Accommodation or Respectful Inclusion?"
- 187 ... Nance Cunningham, University of Oklahoma, "Power, the Meaning of Subjectivity, and Public Education about Fibromyalgia"
- 192 ... Robin Mitchell Stroud, University of Oklahoma, "Socialization to Obedience: Levels of Adherence as Determined by 'Broad' and 'Narrow' Parenting Styles, and Implications for Children Reared within Stricter Branches of Protestant Christianity"
- 200 ... Jill Cabrera, University of Mississippi, "The Right "Man" for the Job: Stories of an Elected Female School Superintendent in Rural Tennessee in the 1970s"
- 204 ... Frances Karanovich, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, "The Evolution of Charter Schools: From Concept to Public Schools of Choice"
- 210 ... Maria Laubach, University of Oklahoma, "Parental Citizenship"
- 214 ... Joseph Meinhart, University of Oklahoma, "Scouting for Miseducation: Education and the Masculinization Process"

**THE POSTMODERN MUSINGS OF A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY YOGI:
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES, *AHIMSA* AND ADVOCACY**

Mary Bevel, Webster University

Introduction

Albert Einstein once said, “The only life worth living is a life in the service of others.”

This essay addresses the need for action to change subtle practices in American public education that obscure actions of discrimination and ‘political violence’ against children with disabilities. Many may find it difficult to believe that schools and educators discriminate against children with disabilities. More specifically stated, this essay will deconstruct the apparent lack of care that many educators implicitly and explicitly exhibit concerning children-with-disabilities and special-education law. The path of this essay winds through a combination of theory, application, and personal reflection.

Postmodern Enquiry

For several years, my discourse, my thoughts, words, and actions emanated from the single perspective of postmodern enquiry, which is not a discipline or method of research that is commonly studied in this country making informed discussion with colleagues extremely difficult. Traditional statistical analysis on the other hand is much more popular. It appears to be more direct and precise in a country where numbers and efficiency are in fact king. From my perspective, at least, A number is a number, is a number, with a single designation stipulate by placement and base. Words, on the other hand may mean many things dependent on tone, definition, sign, signifier and place in the abyss. According to Jean François Lyotard, even the spaces within the print and the spaces between the letters carry meaning. But I will save that discussion of the texture and grid for a future time and place.

Viewed through the simplest lens, the postmodern perspective is fairly straightforward. Language is king, controlling everything in this world, including all humanity, whether in the past, the present or in the future. Despite the extensive work of Kant, scientists, mathematicians, clerics and all those other endless experts throughout history who have sought to define and stipulate what counts as knowledge, beauty and truth, there are no absolutes, no Meta narratives, no certainties. In Postmodern enquiry everything is possible. There are infinite possibilities with many players playing and speaking in endless simultaneous language games. It is that which will have been presented and that which is never really is—never really

finished, always in process, always yet to come, much like the tantric tradition in yoga in which the yogi is constantly in the process of writing her path to her truth and peace.

Once I began to understand the basics of postmodern enquiry, I erroneously thought that I was set and would continue in this single perspective for the rest of my life. It had been a difficult journey and an enormous mental effort to reach this understanding. To be honest I was relieved that I would no longer feel the pressure to stretch for the sublime. But, of course, I was not correct, this was not to be. Even this line of thinking was to give way to even more reading, listening, and thinking about how things relate one to another and my endless journey to understand life.

Yoga

About five or so years ago, the voices of the ancient yogis beckoned to me. I had heard their whisper many times over the years and managed to ignore their call with inaction. Yet, this time I found that I had a very small piece of unscheduled time in which I could begin the study of yoga. I was fairly sure that I could be successful since for years I did aerobics and even stepper classes several times a week. There had been a rather large amount of time in which I became more and more inactive, always with an excellent reason to just sit and think. Nevertheless, I am flexible, so I could handle yoga. And so on a foggy Friday morning I took my first class with much enthusiasm, high hopes of success and honestly some fear, for I am very competitive and really did not want to be embarrassed. I had not accurately anticipated the depth of the physical and mental challenges involved in this decision. Flexible or not, during that first class I had extreme difficulty assuming the poses. I could not even do ‘child’s pose’ the most basic of all the poses. By the end of class, I was sweaty, exhausted, and pretty much a yoga dud, unable to do any of the *assunas*, except for *shavassana* ‘the corpse pose’ which was a grateful relief. Strangely, despite the discomfort and failure of my overly mature and squishy body, to assume the correct positioning in the *assunas*, I persevered, and found myself doing the same class the next week. Child’s pose was less difficult that time. Soon I was practicing yogi, one very small step at a time. The number of classes grew from one a week to an average of three and on a very good week four. Surprisingly, a desire to fully understand the teachings,

**BEVEL: THE POSTMODERN MUSINGS OF A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY YOGI:
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES, *AHIMSA* AND ADVOCACY**

history and meaning of these ancient practices began to grow in my mind and heart. And perhaps more important, a desire to know, to learn to comprehend the philosophy, message and peace that I glimpsed grew in my soul. As a result, yoga gradually began to enter and permeate the language games of my life. The philosophy and strict moral code inherent in yoga are a comfortable yet challenging fit in my specific belief system and influence my daily life. Sometimes I am able to hit the mark and sometimes I do not. My path continues. Yoga is changing me, not taking me away from postmodern enquiry, rather entreating me to view life from an additional deeper perspective.

My own personal value system has now evolved into a composition of Yoga, Christianity, Postmodern Enquiry, a dash of Buddhism and of course, liberal thought. This combination makes an interestingly unique philosophical cocktail, with which I am currently quite comfortable. In my mind at least it fits together quite nicely. Yoga is a spiritual journey that encourages me to develop a clearer vision of my nature, the world and find peace. My natural mind is very much like a pinball machine, never stopping or silent. It is in constant fluctuation. Yogis call this *chit*, noise and 'monkey mind'. The great sage, Patanjali says, "Yoga is the cessation of the fluctuations of the mind."¹ Yoga allows me to shake the *chit* (noise) out of my mind and view the universe with fresh eyes and a renewed spirit.² Simply put, yoga keeps me sane, peaceful and as balanced as possible in this world of contradictions and chaos.

Yama and Ahimsa

The teachings of yoga have existed for centuries, past down from Hindu monks to their students through the oral tradition. The goal of yoga is to find peace and knowledge of your true self, thus peace without distraction or suffering. Two centuries before the birth of Christ, Maharishi Patanjali recorded the beliefs of yoga in the *Yoga Sutra*. He listed guidelines for living and described the Eightfold Path of Yoga as a structure that involves "shift(ing) your internal reference point from restriction to expansion."³ On the first path of yoga, Pantanjali suggested five things to avoid (the *yamas*) and five things to embrace (the *hisyamas*) if one desires to purify the mind and the body and thus end suffering.

The first *yama*, *ahimsa*, translates as 'nonviolence' or, to put it another way, 'Do no harm.' *Ahimsa* is part of the three fold objective of this lecture. On the surface it may seem that *ahimsa* is a simple concept, for few of us purposely harm others. But *ahimsa* is in fact a deep

precept, extremely difficult and very complex. It encompasses all violence and unkindness including but not limited to: actions (including aggressive gestures, postures, or actions such as assault, murder, suicide, fighting or mutilation of self or others), words (including threats, gossip, sarcasm, looks, put downs or verbal abuse) and negative thoughts, about anyone including ourselves or any other creature.

It seems to me, that the most difficult part of living *ahimsa* is embedded in thought part, that is stopping those nasty little judgmental, angry, or fantasy get-even thoughts that creep silently into our minds and happily take hold spreading negative energy evolving into a putrid, poisonous joy, easily evolving into negative attitudes, words and actions.

In order to follow *ahimsa*, we must not only, 'do no harm' which is difficult enough in itself, but additionally we must step past neutral, over into the positive side of *ahimsa*, that is helping others, undoing harm, and alleviating their pain of distraction or in yogic terms suffering. Patanjali writes that suffering is the sorrow of distractions yet to come. Suffering consists of all things that interfere with or block our search for our true nature and peace. If we lessen that distraction, we can lessen negativity. Our thoughts, words and actions can change, and allow for the possibility for positive energy and compassion to develop.⁴ Anger and hate can be replaced with peace, not only in our selves, but also in others. Mahatma Gandhi expresses it well, when he writes:

If you express your love in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your enemy, he must return that love ... and that requires far greater courage than delivering of blows.⁵

Postmoderns do not write about compassion, directly but rather they address discourse that binds and suppresses individuals and groups. If postmoderns made statements of the absolute, it is likely that postmoderns would say that freedom and autonomy are basic to human and happiness. Postmoderns write about truth and reality in a different manner than does Patanjali. For Postmoderns, truth is relative and determined by culture, for Patanjali truth lies within each individual. Are these perspective really different, or do they each examine a similar belief from a different view? Postmoderns believe that discourse, especially the overpowering discourse of a meta narrative, can keep humanity from individual truths or the little narratives that comprise a truth, while Patanjali believes that suffering clouds our true nature. Thus from a postmodern perspective, one could say, suffering is a form of discourse or a meta narrative that interferes with or clouds truth and peace

and our true nature.

Truth and values

Lyotard writes that truth is established and maintained in a community by declaring it to be so.⁶ People establish truth through their right to speak, to be heard, and to have influence upon the outcome of any situation. Simply their right to participate in any of the endless language games that are being played by each individual at any moment in time allows them to determine their future. Thus there are many, many simultaneous realities and truths, as many as the endless players in the universe. The many possibilities of postmodern discourse are commensurate with each person's possession of an individual true nature. The multiple simultaneous postmodern truths are in flux, changing as the players change, as all things change and flow in the universe. Yogis say that permanence an illusion that masks the true reality of impermanence and the inevitability of change. Like justice, change is an idea, intangible and individualized. Change can occur as quickly as death or as slowly as rust. Change is impermanence. Impermanence is reality.

Change and the Technical Game

In education, things move rather slowly. We are accustomed to encountering impermanence through a new policy or a sweeping systems mandate usually attached to governmental funding. For example, one such change is the No Child Left Behind Act. Making sure all children are on a steady path of learning, improving student achievement and the notion of educational accountability are all wonderful goals. The reality is that the original policies of No Child Left Behind have morphed into a monster meta narrative, whose discourse is grounded in high stakes testing and goals of excellence that appear to be impossible to achieve. It is clear that the discourse of NCLB is firmly grounded in the technical language game, which is contrary to its stated goal of justice. Thus in the language games genera, NCLB is incommensurable within its own discursive practices. Jean Francois Lyotard describes the technical language game as one that strives to:

Achieve optimal performance by maximizing output (the information or modifications obtained) and minimizing input (the energy expended in the process)... The true goal of the system, (that is) the reason it programs itself like a computer, is the optimization of the global relationship between input and output—in other words, performativity... (Thus), (t)he game of scientific language, becomes the game of the rich, in which whoever is the wealthiest has the best chance of being right.⁷

The unspoken but absolutely clear message of the performativity principle is, 'those who cannot perform are not important to the system'. They will be silenced and cease to exist. The performativity principle is a form of terror.

Unfortunately, schools seem to be one of the natural habitats where the technical game of scientific language thrives. In this competitive game of funding and accreditation, often output value weighted mechanisms such as high stakes testing are more in control than pedagogy or knowledge or thinking. Of course, those schools with the most money have the highest chance of being right and winning the high stakes testing language game. Speaking from the power position of addressor, our government, has identified 'what counts as the correct knowledge' for all the school children and has imposed these ideals on all students in public schools.⁸

Reality of schooling

The reality of schooling in modernity is that not all children are learning as predicted because all children do not learn in the same manner and at the same rate. Often children with disabilities are not making 'Adequate Yearly Progress.' Some of the children with disabilities are easily identified, just by a quick visual scan. Some have physical disabilities, or perhaps they have developmental disabilities associated with any of numerous syndromes. There are other disabilities that are not immediately evident to the causal observer and may be invisible to the naked eye. Children with disabilities, whether the disability is immediately identifiable or invisible, desperately want to be like everyone else. They have the same hopes, fears and civil rights as every other child. They want to belong and be accepted for who they are. Instead they operate on the outside of the tightly woven social and academic circle.

Political Violence

The school day for most children with disabilities is much more than just unpleasant, or difficult, or empty. School can be a terrifying experience from the beginning of the morning bus ride until the long awaited arrival home each evening. Many endure teasing, failure, unkindness, inadequate education, and shunning. Most playgrounds are not accessible. Often instruction is not adapted, modified, or differentiated to suit their specific needs. Michelle Foucault identifies all these actions and attitudes as 'hidden political violence' exercised against children with disabilities and challenges educators to take action against any institution in which children are treated in an unjust manner. He writes:

It seems to me that the real political task in a society ... is to criticize the working of institutions which

**BEVEL: THE POSTMODERN MUSINGS OF A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY YOGI:
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES, *AHIMSA* AND ADVOCACY**

appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so one can fight them.⁹

Most educators are at least peripherally aware of injustices that exist in schools, yet few speak out against them. Lack of action, does much harm to children with disabilities, reinforcing injustice, it tacitly projects a message that these children are worthless in the system of schooling.¹⁰ Cleo Cherryholmes, a contemporary scholarly author, comments on how power precedes and establishes itself through omission:

When the origin of discourse-practices are ignored, the material basis of discourse is ignored, the way in which power precedes and invades speech is ignored, and ethical and ideological dimensions of speech are ignored; the result is that discourse-practices are determined, often invisibly, by rules, interests, commitments, and power structures of time and place.¹¹

Employing power structures of time and place instead of ethics and justice perpetuates the language game of efficiency.

When graduate students in my classes, remind me of the continued problems faced by children with disabilities every day in schools, I am saddened that there is so little tolerance of unalterable differences. I think of the first *yama*, *ahimsa* and its message of ‘Do no harm’. Clearly children are harmed when teachers refuse to individualize curriculum, or make unrealistic demands on the children, or send the child to the special education teacher instead of providing inclusive instruction as stipulated in the IEP, or punish and shame the child because of unalterable conditions, or send the child out of classroom. Administrators who write children out of programs because of the high cost of special education are doing much harm and condemning those children to lives of struggle and suffering.

Tolerance for Differences

The Southern Poverty Law Center “fights prejudice (of all kinds), and supports equitable school experiences for our nation’s children.” The SPLC demonstrates the ethic of tolerance which is sorely needed in our schools. Often the child with a disability requires the services of an advocate to access those fundamental educational rights guaranteed in legislation and regulations of IDEA. The role of the advocate is to solve problems and help all sides arrive at a solution that is in the best interest of the child.

Advocacy requires crossing the lines of

‘unanimously-agreed-upon protocol’ to address the needs of others and specifically in this case children with disabilities. It is a very tricky business, for often schools, teachers and administrators do not welcome the presence or interference of an advocate. In fact one can see the displeasure on the faces of school officials and feel the tension mount when someone is introduced as an advocate. From the perspective of the school, the presence of an advocate says to the school, ‘The parents are not in agreement with the school which translates into the school is wrong, untrustworthy, incompetent and must change.’

I serve as an advocate for children with disabilities. With as much calm and professional attitude as I can muster and often it is very difficult, I quietly and calmly question the actions, interpretation and implementation of policy within the school. Sometimes this is a smooth process with conversations that result in positive changes for the child and sometimes it is not. I will very briefly describe one example that resulted in positive change and one that did not. September 2007, I accompanied a parent to the initial IEP meeting for her fourth grade daughter, who had been diagnosed as learning disabled in the areas of written language and reading comprehension. The parent had been informed that her child could only have services to address a reading disability for a minimal amount of time each week. The diagnostic summary clearly demonstrated a significant disability is the area of written language but that area was to be ignored because of a scheduling issue. When we arrived, I was pleased to discover that the teacher in question was a former Webster student which proved to be an advantage. Suddenly the scheduling issue evaporated. The IEP was written, all needs addressed beyond my initial expectations.

In November of 2007, I began to advocate for another child with different issues and needs. He has severe ADHD and all the accompanying characteristics that most individuals with severe ADHD demonstrate. He is on medication which does offer some relief. This has been documented for the last eight years by his physicians. He is gifted as documented by the school. He has an established history of minor behavior difficulties. With all the history and documentation, this should have been a very quick and easy conversation with all issues immediately resolved. The entire issue is covered by the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. The parent requested that a 504-intervention plan be written with modest accommodations for the child. This process should have been very simple. But this advocacy process was complex and drawn out over eight months

with five meetings with the superintendent, one meeting with the school board, two meetings with the diagnostic team and the district attorney and one meeting with the entire evaluation team. After all of these meetings, the superintendent refused to allow a 504 to be written. He was sure that he could just work with the parent. It is not clear whether the superintendent purposely decided to deny the child his civil rights or whether he was convinced that the child did not need or deserve the 504 plan. What is clear is that this child qualified for the accommodation plan and the plan was denied. There was no chance for meaningful change for the child in this school. This superintendent and many of teachers engaged in causing harm to the child. There was a clear pattern of discrimination against the child by the teachers, administrators and school board.

Advocacy, Detachment and Perception

Advocacy is a complex multi leveled “self-transcending action” in which “we engage in a deep connection to others and [thus] to life itself.”¹² One cannot predict how deep the connection will be or of the outcome of the advocacy. Whether advocacy results in positive change or no change, advocacy is not about the advocate. Advocacy is always about the child. The advocate must detach herself from the results in order to seek what is true about the situation to determine the next steps if any. Judith Lasater a noted yogi, physical therapist and expert in East/ West Psychology, explains this process like this:

Truth is a matter of perspective ... the way you think things are. When you do, (let go of you preconceived ideas), you get out of your own way and can experience another perspective. All spiritual traditions talk about enlightenment or realization. One way to view enlightenment is as a radical shift in perspective. Nothing outside you has changed: you have changed. And yet, paradoxically, you have not changed, but rather you have become what you already are. You have removed the smoke screen of ignorance so that what was always present has become apparent.¹³

When we let go of our perceptions of the way we think things are, such as someone else will take care of the problem, or the principal or superintendent knows best and will act in an ethical manner, or even that the superintendent and board are unjust, we may then be able to begin to see reality in a different way. We may

question our previous assumptions and may be able to seek a new and different language game to solve the disagreement. We may be successful and we may not be successful. But once again we will have tried to undo the damage of violence against a child with a disability in this world of impermanence.

Quantum physics explains that the universe is ephemeral. Nothing remains the same at cellular or sub cellular level. The distinction between matter and energy is nebulous and waves and particles blur as each behaves like the other. With each inhale and exhale our bodies change. Every thought makes an impression on our neural circuitry. As glucose is use to support electro chemical reactions in our brains, thoughts occur in our minds sending electrical impulse energy through our bodies and into the universe. Our energy connects with and influences other energies and beings, connecting us one to another (whether human or nonhuman, animal or plant, or mineral, past present or future). Nothing happens in isolation. We are all part of the impermanence of change and the hope of transformation.

Summary

Hopefully this essay has provided a glimmer of awareness of the pressing need for advocacy and transformation in our schools. About 15% of the children in our schools have a disability whether diagnosed or not. When you see a school, I hope you will think of all of these children. And consider how you would want your child to be treated if he or she had a disability. If you agree that transformation is needed then please join in the effort to change schools.

Subsumed in the hope of transformation, there are three questions for each of us who desire change to consider. The first is, “What can I do to change the system of schooling so that each and every child will be able to benefit from school?” The second question is “Do I possess the courage and tenacity to fight this intolerant system of schooling that is disposing of so many children?” And the third question and perhaps the most important is compound, “What is my role in the process and where shall I begin?” Once these questions are addressed, we are on the way to undo the harm of the silent discrimination against children with disabilities and more fully understand Albert Einstein’s message, “The only life worth living is a life in the service of others.”

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2. Ibid. p. 10.
3. Deepak Chopra, and David Simon, (2004). *A Practical Guide to Healing Body, Mind, and Spirit: The Seven Spiritual Laws Of Yoga*. (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishing). p, 32-34.
4. Judith Lasater, (2000). *Living Your Yoga: Finding the Spiritual in Everyday Life*. (Berkley, California: Rodmell Press). p. 136.
5. Chopra and Simon, (2004). pp. 32-34
6. Jean-Francois Lyotard, (1984) *The Postmodern Condition : A Report on Knowledge*, trans., Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. Originally published in France as *La Condition postmoderne : rapport sur le savoir*, (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979). 4.
7. Ibid, p. 46.
8. Elementary & Secondary Education Act, (2001). <http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf> (Accessed May 14,2009)
9. Michel Foucault, (1974). "Human Nature: Justice Verses Power," in *Reflective Water: the Basic Concerns of Mankind*, ed., Fons Eiders, (London: Souvenir Press). 171. cited in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1984). p. 6.
10. Michele Foucault expressed the view of discourse as language and as the language expressed through practices. This type of discourse differs from the *langue* and *parole* of Sassure. Foucault's discourse, communicates both meaning and rules of expression. Discourse and its rules of operation are embedded in instructional relationships of the specific episteme in which the discourse in formed.
11. Cleo Cherryholmes, (1988) *Power and Criticism Poststructural Investigations in Education*, (New York: Teachers College Columbia University, Teachers Press). p.48.
12. Judith Lasater, p. 111.
13. Ibid. p. 19.

A HIDDEN OUTCOME: THE *WHO* OF THE TEACHER

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Introduction

The way to do is to be. Lao-Tze

American public education is under fire today. And, of course, the attacks are not new. They have a history. We have only to look at the carefully chosen and enhanced biases of the *Nation at Risk* report— and the prejudged, ideologically rich reports of neoliberal and conservative “Think Tanks”— to see examples of how public education has been systematically misinterpreted to the American public for several years. It is— it has been— politically and ideologically *de rigueur* to use public education as the “fall guy” for a host of economic, social, moral, and cultural problems. There is enough evidence to cause us to wonder if we have been exposed to a propaganda-infused “manufactured crisis.”

Most of the claims of the Manufactured Crisis are, indeed, myths, half-truths, and sometimes outright lies . . . One of the worst effects . . . has been to divert attention from the *real* problems faced by American education . . . This campaign involved a great deal of effort, chicanery, playing on people’s worries, pandering to prejudices, and misrepresenting evidence (Berliner and Biddle, 4, 9)

This is not to say that there are not problems, some serious, that infect the system of public education in America.¹ But, these problems are symptomatic of the broader American social and economic system. Public education “failures” are the *result* of— and not the *cause* of— larger economic, political, racial, moral, and social problems. Strong ideological currents are carrying certain educational reform movements, including the linguistically-airbrushed No Child Left Behind Act.

Not all reform movements, of course, fit the “bad” category – even those that are infused with rigid ideological intent. Reform movements are - as they should be - a requisite requirement of a democratic society. Some movements challenge entrenched political, social, and corporate power structures that fail the test of contributing to a just and compassionate social order. We will probably always have the struggle between power and justice, and between differing ideologies and opposed vested interests. It is better to struggle with, than to ignore - and, thereby, give sanction to - an imperfect status quo. There will always be options to be evaluated, ideas to be tested, choices to be made, consequences to be lived with. There will continue to be intellectual discontent when the educational *what is?* fails the test of what *should be?*

This writing looks at only one of today’s controversial educational discussions, the teaching of

teachers. How future teachers are educated to perform their roles in America’s schools, both public and private, is a contentious issue. There has been, and continues to be, significant criticism of teacher education programs.

Because Americans venerate education, it comes as no surprise that this enterprise is inspected and criticized regularly, and that educators are expected to respond to these criticisms. And when the critics believe that those responses have not resulted in the highest possible standards, the criticism is especially sharp. In any case, teachers and the way in which they are prepared usually are depicted as villains (Cruickshank, 1).

The way in which teachers-to-be are prepared is an issue raised in the No Child Left Behind Act, by way of the requirement that every student have access to a highly qualified teacher. Who can find fault with an effort to place the highly qualified in America’s classrooms? There is, of course, an ongoing discussion of exactly what is meant by “highly qualified,” and here again ideological and, less dogmatically, philosophical inclinations become a factor in definitional expectations.

‘Teacher quality’ has become almost as popular a buzzword as ‘student achievement.’ But what constitutes a quality teacher? Credentials? Experience? Classroom performance? Test scores? Parent satisfaction? (Editorial, 6)

We may draw upon history to help us engage in this discussion. In 1970 the *Carnegie Study of the Education of Educators* concluded that what was needed was a thorough-going reform of teacher education, to make sure teachers are equipped with a firm sense of direction and a commitment to the preservation and enlargement of human values . . . The remaking of American public education requires, and indeed will not be possible without, fundamental changes in the education of teachers – without, in a sense, the creation of a new breed of teacher-educator, educated to self-scrutiny and to serious thought about purpose (Silberman, 374).²

Today’s discussion - often a contentious debate - of the meaning of “highly qualified” tends to drift away from considering the existential *self* of the teacher, and to define educational purposes in terms of bureaucratically determined technical skills that lead to the fulfillment of measurable, instrumentalist objectives. The teacher is too often seen as a standardized cog in a corporate-styled, efficient machine. We forget that “preparing to be a teacher is like preparing to be a poet. The preparation begins in . . . a commitment made about

one's own life and the purposes of it (Taylor)."

It is the premise of this writing that a "highly qualified" teacher is more than a skilled technician, more than a transmitter of testable knowledge, more than the sum total of curriculum expectations, grade point averages, professional test results, and licensing requirements. The highly qualified teacher is more than the product of a "one-size-fits-all" NATE accreditation process. It may well be that these qualifications are valid, important - even necessary - but there is an overlooked *quality* inherent in "highly qualified." There is a quality that can't be quantified, measured, tested, replicated, or standardized. It doesn't fit a mechanical metaphor for teaching.

We, who are teachers of teachers, are reminded of this incalculable- even transcendent- quality when we reflect upon Ralph Waldo Emerson's sage thought: "That which we are we shall teach (Emerson, 182)." If schools of education are to educate students for self-scrutiny and serious thought about purpose, they will find a place in the curriculum to give significant academic attention to Emerson's wisdom about teaching and each teacher's unique self. Only then will we encourage future teachers *to be* and not just *to do*. Only then will we educate- not just prepare and train-highly qualified teachers. "Education is that process by which we learn new ways of thinking and behaving ... that process by which we glimpse what might be and what we ourselves can become (Reardon, 84)." The teacher-to-be must continually revisit and reinvigorate the question, "Who am I, and who am I becoming?" This is necessary if the teacher is to be able to bring an authentic "I" into the classroom. The teacher-of-teachers must continually reflect upon the wise counsel that "it is impermissible to educate educators . . . without an understanding of their selves as historical, political, social, and cultural beings (Freire, 1996, 133)."

The Hidden Outcome; Where and Why

Understanding one's own magical mystery is one of the teacher's most important assets if he is to understand that everyone is differently equipped. Buckminster Fuller

I teach the only "educational foundations" course in a school of education in a small, private Midwestern university. This "only" designation means that I have inherited a special responsibility. This is to incorporate into the academic structure critical reflection on historical, philosophical, sociological, and political issues relating to education. As part of this reflection I have a responsibility to encourage "interpretive, normative, and critical perspectives on education, both inside and outside of schools (Standards, 7)" But, that's only a beginning. There is more.

An educational foundations course is also uniquely situated to instill a "hidden" outcome into the teacher education program. This outcome is not stated in the syllabus; it's not a measurable product, it doesn't meet an NCATE standard, it's not on any professional skills test; but it does relate to preparing a highly qualified teacher. Students are encouraged and challenged to understand how - and why - they interpret every educational issue, establish a personal philosophy of education, and build their pedagogy, around a unique, unrepeatable self - a self in the process of *becoming*. "The teacher is asked . . . to deal with the complexities of the world . . . they are to be educated so that they may create themselves (Greene)." This self-creation, or perhaps self-renewal (Gardner), becomes the hidden outcome. The teacher-to-be should be educated to be a self-creating, *becoming* teacher, not an institutionally "molded," standardized, finished product.

John Dewey noted that "education is life," and his writings indicate that he implicitly agreed with today's controversial Indian novelist, Salman Rushdie, that "the purpose of life is to broaden what *may be*." To be educated is to be able to venture beyond the *what is* toward future possibilities. "A person can distress the spirit by venturing too little . . . To venture forth is the fountainhead of inspiration (Kierkegaard, 398-99)." It is in the educational foundations classroom that the teacher-to-be is asked to venture forth, to quest, to question the *what is* and struggle to achieve the *what may be*. And, the struggle expands even beyond a broad, conceptual and imaginative educational vision. It recognizes the pedagogical imperative to critically incorporate social, political, historical, and philosophical knowledge - and insights - into the teacher education process. The struggle involves using increased knowledge and insight to foster the growth of an individual self. To borrow a phrase from the "third force" humanist psychologist, Abraham Maslow,³ this "intrinsic education" is also a *hidden outcome* of the teacher education curriculum.

If one thinks in terms of the developing of the kinds of wisdom, the kinds of understanding, the kinds of life-skills that we would want, then we must think in terms of what I call *intrinsic* education - intrinsic learning; that is learning to be a human being in general, and second, learning to be *this* particular human being . . . The function of education . . . is ultimately the "self-actualization" of a person . . . helping the person to become the best that he is able to become . . . Intrinsic education is . . . learning one's identity (Maslow, 170, 168, 178).

For a future teacher, learning one's own identity - a process involving the continual renewal of one's self-

understanding - should be entwined within a teacher education program; even if probing the mystery of a personal identity is not an outcome that can be assessed and demonstrated for accreditation purposes.⁴

Life is a process of discovery through unfolding . . . life unfolds in mysterious ways and is discovered in the course of living in uncertainty . . . the self will never be discovered unless it can be allowed to unfold with all the uncertainties and anxieties this involves (Salk, 102).

The future teacher must be helped to understand that teaching involves uncertainties and anxieties, unanswered questions and incomplete answers, mixed messages and ethical dilemmas. There are challenges to be met, obstacles to be overcome, and failures to be reflected upon. But, these can be the nutrients of personal becoming, because “self-awareness springs from encountering resistance (Berlin, 225).”

Who Am I?: A Question of Authenticity

Man’s main task is to give birth to himself. Erich Fromm

There is more in preparing to be a teacher than gaining technical skills, content knowledge, historical perspectives, professional know-how, and other expectations outlined in university catalogues and certification specifications. Increased self-awareness leading to enhanced selfhood is an unspecified requisite. Any teacher is *first* a person, and the professional educator follows after. The film actor, Kirk Douglass, in one of his movie personas as *The Young Man with a Horn*, made a valid point: “I want to be a success as a human being first, then as an artist.” The more one creates, understands, and lives into the authentic self, the more it is possible to grow into a professional educator that compliments that authenticity. It isn’t easy - it’s never complete - because “authenticity is reduction of phoniness toward the zero point (Maslow, 183).” But, this is the meaning of a teacher’s *becoming* – moving ever closer toward the zero point.

I warn students in my foundations class that it is the “headache class.” Partly because we struggle with the complicated meanings and implications of an authentic self. Partly because we raise educational questions that have no concrete, specific answers. We look at the entire historical, political, philosophical, and sociological education process as being marked by the dynamic possibilities inherent in uncertainty, ambiguity, complexity, paradoxical tension – and instability. There is a continuing echo from Nietzsche’s understanding that “one must harbor a little chaos to give birth to a dancing star.”

We wrestle with educational conundrums, those intricate and difficult problems that give rise to solutions

often based on surmise and guesswork or, in many cases, based on dogmatic ideological thinking. There are many educational conundrums relating to: Why do we educate? Whom should we educate? How should we educate? And there are more educational questions that give rise to conflicting, contentious, diverse answers. The complexities and inherent risks, the uncertainties and open-ended opportunities that make education an adventure, are part of the process that makes possible an ongoing, exciting quest for knowledge, understanding, and human possibility. There are continuing challenges to personal assumptions, prejudices, and ideological convictions.

The challenges give rise to continual questions about the self, and stimulate the question, Who am I? These teachers-to-be begin to understand that what happens in the classroom is as much related to the *who* of the teacher as it is to the teacher’s pedagogical technical expertise.

Who a teacher is as an individual - intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually - plays a significant role in the choices he or she makes regarding the curriculum, classroom management, relationships Becoming more aware of their selves is especially crucial for new teachers who are trying to negotiate a wide range of challenges they encounter in their classrooms and schools (Gordon, 45).

These classroom encounters cannot be isolated from larger social, political, and cultural issues. The world enters the classroom. And, the teacher’s self is continually transformed as he/she creates and innovates to meet a wide range of challenges. It is necessary for the becoming teacher to understand “the importance of continuing the search for the self - that is, the liberation of the true self - even in the midst of intense concern for the problems of the world . . . (and) the search is a difficult and lifelong process, a mysterious way in which there is no ultimate door or key (Carr, 142, 145).”

The liberation of the true self is a matter of self-transformation, a continual process. Liberation means opening up, moving forward, challenging conventions and established patterns, questioning rigid expectations; it means expressing the freedom *to be*.

The highly qualified teacher is not just well prepared in ways of educational *doing*— knowledge, techniques, skills— but also continually grows in ways of personal *being*. In defining this quality, Erich Fromm has written of

(t)he mode of being (which) has as its prerequisites independence, freedom, and the presence of critical reason . . . It means to renew oneself, to grow, to flow out, to love, to transcend the prison of one’s isolated ego, to be interested, to strive, to give. . . . In

the being mode there is also thinking that is alive (Fromm, 88).⁵

The transcending, freedom oriented person— and teacher— is always *becoming*; continually renewing, loving, thinking. It is important for the student preparing to be a teacher to understand the implications of this reality. Teachers, like all “living structures can only be if they become ... only if they change. Change and growth are inherent qualities of the life process (Fromm, 25).” Teacher education is a journey, not a destination. There is no final completion. And there is no one certain, properly constructed, orthodox path to follow. There is no pedagogical catechism that defines a “correct” teaching model. The road to “high quality” teaching and personhood involves “navigating, negotiating, exploring, and back-tracking, in a context where there is no single path or solution (Burbules, 9).” My path may not be your path, even though our paths may cross at several points. We move forward in our individual uniqueness, continually reinventing ourselves. “There are (many) paths to discovering yourself ... Don’t let anyone impose theirs on you (Buscaglia, 57).”⁶

A diploma, a certification, a license— these only indicate that the learning-journey is in process. The skills, techniques, and expertise that are gained in a teacher education program are inert objects until the *who* of the individual teacher undergoes a mysterious metamorphosis that somehow blends factual knowledge, technical skill, and professional expertise with an ever-becoming, unique self. It is only then that there is the birth of an educator who is an authentic individual, and not a preformed manufactured product. The teacher “faces the task of developing an identity ... of inventing and reinventing a self ... of finding an ‘I’ against a backdrop of ‘it,’ of facticity and thingification (Ayers, 32).” The teacher-to-be must learn that he or she will continually be faced with bureaucratically formulated expectations and the demands of competing ideologies. There will be pressures to surrender the *authentic* self, the “I,” to the objectification of predetermined, measurable, inflexible criteria. Only the person who is open to learning *who* he or she is, and, more important, who he or she is *becoming*, will be able to bring authenticity into the classroom.

Erskine Dottin has reminded those who teach that “(k)nowledge is not enough. Technique is not enough. Mere experience is not enough. This is the mystery at the heart of the teaching process.” Knowledge, technique, experience are part of an equation that is used to identify the highly qualified teacher. But . . . solving the mystery - a perplexing enigma at the heart of the teaching process - is necessary to complete the equation.

And, solving the mystery requires asking a question, and probing for answers. “*Who am I* - as a teacher *and*, and as a person - and who am I *becoming*?”

There is a reminder here that “we are mysteries unto ourselves (Gross),” and each individual unravels - often slowly, painfully, and awkwardly - a personal mystery as part of the education process. In the classroom with a highly qualified teacher, the student and teacher learn together; unravel mysteries together, even the mystery of the self. To speak of “mystery” does, of course, go “against the grain” of an educational orthodoxy that seeks to define successful teaching in concrete, specific, facts-defined, standardized, testable terms. But, the *self* is a mystery; a mystery that is built into the very uncertainty that is inherent in any attempt to define a “highly qualified” teacher. The mystery is in the uniqueness of the individual teacher – a psychic, inner “something” that can’t be standardized, measured, or captured in a state-accredited license to teach. The actor, Mel Gibson, in the film *The Man Without a Face* expressed a similar thought: “I’m a teacher; I’m not talking about a piece of paper.”

It is not that measurable outcomes, standards, accreditation criteria, and the professional license do not have a place in the process of defining a “highly qualified” teacher. But, the “hidden outcome”— the self-interrogating, inner response to the “who am I” question— has a place in a creative, holistic definition. The teacher is metaphorically “both the chisel and the marble ... being, *and* bringing into being (Heschel, 68).” Or, in more prosaic terms, a teacher is a unique individual in the process of learning, growing, developing— becoming . The soon-to-be teacher has a responsibility to struggle for authentic selfhood, to be more than a license, more than “a piece of paper;” to be a *who* not a *what*.

Only the authentic self will ask hard questions, and live into the answers, even when the answers challenge today’s powerful demands for a standardized conformity to an educational orthodoxy. For the teacher, “the ancient injunction to ‘know thyself’ is not a platitude, but a necessity. “To know oneself ... is to learn how to reaffirm that self despite all the pressures and constraints (Poznar, 401).” Self-understanding and self-affirmation are important teacher qualities, even if their importance remains hidden in a maze of quantitative assessments, uniform outcomes, cookie-cutter standards, recipe-like guidelines, and other pressures and constraints to a teacher’s individuality.

In spite of today’s instrumentalist trends, the highly qualified teacher is much more than a dispenser of knowledge, or a transmitter of economically valuable skills, or a tester of absorbed content. The *quality*

teacher is a creative human being; an ever-becoming, never-complete, always-learning model, mentor, and guide to student possibility. And, in reflecting upon his/her students' possibilities, this teacher understands that "self-knowledge is fostered and even provoked by knowledge of others. One cannot come to know very much about others without learning to know oneself (Lidz, xviii)."

The quality teacher continues to revisit, and add intriguing answers to, the question, "Who am I?" – even as she or he encourages students to explore their personal answers to the same question. There is a certain educational wisdom to be mined and refined from a statement the actor Tom Hanks made in the late 1990s film, *Joe and the Volcano*: "Who am I? Who are you? There are no other questions. This is the door to the universe." As we in schools of education consider the definition of a "highly qualified" teacher, we just may be motivated to seek ways to help open the door to the universe – the door to the self. In an era of standardization and conformity to preestablished educational criteria, there must be room for the teacher's creative-self to find expression.

There is wisdom to be found in the Gospel of Thomas (even though it did not make it into the Bible): "If you bring forth what is within you, it will save you (Pagels, 53)." For the teacher, an interpretive meaning here is not theological, but pedagogical. Here "to save" is to preserve a sense of personal dignity and integrity as an educator, even while being overwhelmed by enforced conformity.

Final Thoughts

You measure a man by what he does, I measure him by who he is. Aly McBeal, TV series

There are many questions to be asked about the No Child Left Behind Act, not the least of which being: "What are the political motivations that inspired 670 pages of mandates, expectations, and hidden agendas?" Even as this, and other somewhat skeptical questions are raised, there is no doubt that the concern for assuring that teachers in America's schools are of high quality is legitimate and well founded. How to define "highly qualified" does, however, become a contentious issue that opens up many possibilities.

This writing has suggested that there is a "hidden" quality that may be lost in the discussion of what constitutes a good teacher, a successful teacher, a high quality teacher. The positivist-dominated trend in schooling today leads to stress results that can be quantified, measured, put to some kind of empirical verification. This way of thinking finds its way into the definition of a "highly qualified" teacher. As we bureaucratically sanctify such a definition, I am

reminded of Albert Einstein's thoughtful recognition that "not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be counted counts."

This writing has offered the suggestion that there is a teacher-quality that can't be quantified, or put in a data base, or tested, or standardized. It relates to the existential uniqueness of each and every individual teacher – the mysterious *who* factor that must be part of any equation that sums-up the meaning of "highly qualified teacher." This discussion has referred to a *hidden* quality, a too often overlooked inner subjectivity– the *who* of a teacher. Parker Palmer connects this quality to an unasked question, one that

often goes unasked in our national dialogue ... even in the places where teachers are educated and employed . . . (S)eldom, if ever, do we ask the 'who' question – who is the self that teaches? How does the quality of my selfhood form - or deform - the way I relate to my students, my subject, my colleagues, my world? ... (G)ood teaching cannot be reduced to technique; good teaching comes from the identity and integrity of the teacher (Palmer, 4 and 10).

Many years ago, Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his educational novel, *Emile*, left an insight for teachers to reflect upon: "It is your time, your care, your affection, it is you yourself that must be given (Rousseau, 95)." In reflecting upon Rousseau's insight, the question must be raised: "Who am I?" But, this "most personal question of truth . . . is the question of truth which is not taught in our present system of education and is consequently not asked; we have no time for it (Nietzsche)." Schools of education must find time for it! They must find time for exploring the existential truth that defines the *who* of each *becoming* teacher. Preparing highly qualified teachers for America's schools must begin with the question, "Who am I?"⁷ And, there must be recognition that individual answers are never conclusive, never finalized. We are who we are *now*, but also who we are becoming. In the words of an educational prophet, "It is impossible to be an educator without the possibility ... to be reinvented (Freire, 1990, 90)." The "I" of the creative teacher is always in process. Asking questions, and challenging answers, about the process should be part of a teacher education program.

Paradoxically, the teacher is both a creative artist, and the art that is created. We, in teacher education, must be sure there is a place for self-creation and personal reinvention, even within the enforced boundaries of a system of preestablished, standardized, testable outcomes. We must recognize that personal *being* is as important to teaching as subject matter mastery and technical expertise. "*Being* is the center in

HUFFORD: A HIDDEN OUTCOME: THE *WHO* OF THE TEACHER

which exists the possibilities, that, when unfolded reveal the essence of the person (Salk, 106).” To be “highly qualified” includes an understanding of the importance of this “hidden outcome,” the unfolding of the inner-self of the teacher. The highly qualified teacher willingly and meaningfully asks the question, “Who am I?” – and

lives authentically into the answer. To possess this quality is to have the intent and the ability to bring the uniqueness of an innovative, authentic self into dialogue and creative encounter with externally imposed educational expectations. It is *to be*.

ENDNOTES

1. Jonathan Kozol first published his well-known expose of American’s inner-city schools, *Savage Inequalities*, in 1991. The reality of his comment, “The dual society, at least in public education, seems in general to be unquestioned (4),” remains a valid concern today.
2. The Carnegie Study is only one of a proliferation of studies and reports containing recommendations for teacher education. Examples: In 1986, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*, recommended eliminating undergraduate education programs. In 1995 the Holmes Group report, “Tomorrow’s Schools of Education,” recommended a total restructuring of teacher education programs. In 2005, the American Educational Research Association’s report, “Studying Teacher Education,” challenged the value of formal teacher education.
3. In defining a “third force” psychology movement, Maslow has written: “First is the behavioristic, mechanistic, positivistic group. Second is the . . . psychologies that originated in Freud . . . And third there are the humanistic psychologies (Maslow, 4).”
4. Regarding the mystery of a personal identity, the existentialist philosopher, Jacques Maritain, has written that “the most precious gift of an educator is a sort of sacred and loving attention to the student’s mysterious identity, which is a hidden thing that no techniques can reach (1963, 61).”
5. While Fromm discusses the “mode of being,” Maritain writes of the “fecundity of being (1948, 43),” which relates to creativity, originality, and a fertile, imaginative mind.
6. In an education novel, Mary Sarton has built upon the theme of the teacher helping the student to find a personal path of self-discovery: “It is not our function to lead the honest mind to venture upon our path, but to find its own – and these paths must be different (Sarton, 234).”
7. One student preparing to become a teacher has expressed in a written reflection an understanding that “an accreditation team should define a quality teacher education program as one that teaches students not only to *do* . . . but helps them to become aware of who they are and what they believe (Sheahon, 1).”

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WIKIS, SCREENCASTS, PODCASTS, OH MY! EFFECTIVE USES OF WIKIS, SCREENCASTS, & PODCASTS IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

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Introduction

Solomon and Schrum (2007) wrote, “Encouraging our educators and schools to use technology effectively is a complicated and challenging task.” One approach is to train pre-service teachers to effectively use the technology. By using tools such as wikis and podcasts first-hand in a meaningful authentic activity, pre-service teachers gain the experience necessary to implement these tools within their instruction. Practice will lead them to achieving a comfort level with the technology.

Digital divide research provides credence to the statement that technology is only the first step in empowering the users. Barzilai-Nahon (2006) states, “Issues such as perceptions, attitudes toward technology and social influence can augment or diminish the usefulness of the technology.”

What are Wikis?

The term, “wiki,” is derived from the Hawaiian word for fast or quick (Educause 2004). Wikis are free writing spaces where students can compose their thoughts in a collaborative manner. Wiki pages are rarely organized by chronology. Instead they are linked by context and as well as categories and concepts that emerge in the authoring process. They allow links going out and coming in.

The focus is on the last draft, although earlier versions of the same work are saved. Wikis are generally published online, but not all of them are publically accessible. When wiki page permission is set for public viewing, the readership potential is unlimited. Each new reader may become a writer. Thus, the lines of authority become blurred. Prior to wikis, group collaboration on a document was possible only by emailing it to each member and then awaiting their changes before proceeding further. Now everyone involved can continue to edit the document, and the latest edits are available to all. Wikis are web-based, so that everyone can read and edit the documents. However, only one person may edit at any given time.

Wikis are useful for teaching collaboration and content. Teamwork features include collaborative page editing, file sharing and a complete audit trail. Email and RSS feed notifications are available to instructors.

Misplaced Wiki Concerns

A very common reaction that newcomers express when introduced to something is, “That looks promising, but it can’t work for me.” because: “If anybody can edit my text, then anybody can ruin my text.” (Educause 2004). This misplaced concern can be

refuted. The community of users enforces order. When the text is defaced, a previous version can easily be recovered. Remember that wikis save copies of successfully edited versions. The open environment encourages participation and a strong sense of a common goal.

The ethic at heart is called “SoftSecurity.” It can be illustrated by the following anecdote: “Think of an open wiki space as a home that leaves its front door unlocked but doesn’t get robbed because the neighbors are all out on their front steps gossiping, keeping a friendly eye on the street, and never missing a thing.” (Educause 2004).

Wiki – What Educational Research Has Found

Dede (2008) stated that textbooks and encyclopedias “embody ‘authenticated’ knowledge as compiled by experts and transmitted to learners.” Textbooks have a lengthy publication schedule of usually three years, and thus, they will include outdated information as part of the final publication. Furthermore, knowledge continuously increases at a rapid pace. “In contrast, the Web 2.0 definition of ‘knowledge’ is collective agreement about a description that may combine facts with other dimensions of human experience, such as opinions, values, and spiritual beliefs.” (Dede 2008, p 80). Furthermore, Wikipedia articles cover more than the traditional topics, for example, an article on the cartoon dog, Scooby-Doo is available.

Stein, Stuen, Carnine, and Long (2001) estimate that “textbooks serve as the basis for 75 to 90 percent of classroom instruction” (p. 6). They are a passive medium for transmitting knowledge. To address this point, some publishers have included CD-ROMs with video, audio, or other types of multimedia presentation. Richardson (2006) prefers his students to function not only as consumers of knowledge, but more importantly as collaborators in the development of knowledge.

Stand-alone technology courses are effective in teaching students how to run specific programs, but they rarely infuse instructional uses of technology. In order for technology integration to be successful for teachers, effective modeling needs to occur (O’Shea 2007). O’Shea decided that the introductory course in education would not use a textbook but rather, the students would write their own textbook. This approach is based upon a constructivist model. Windschitl (1999) stated, “Constructivism is premised on the belief that learners actively create, interpret, and recognize knowledge in individual ways” (p. 2). At the end of O’Shea’s (2007) study, the following results were

found: (1) Nearly 70% of the students indicated that their technology proficiency was higher or much higher than at the beginning of the semester, (2) A large majority of students in the course stated that the Wikitext process caused them to become actively involved with the course learning, and (3) Students found the text to be better than their other courses' traditional textbooks.

Ravid, Kalman, and Rafaeli (2008) found the following results with wikis: (1) They gave students a sense of empowerment (The students felt like they were teaching others and sharing their knowledge with them) and (2) the assignments forced the students to explore topics in more depth than they might do otherwise.

Furthermore, in the Ravid, Kalman, and Rafaeli (2008) study, long-tail distributions were found to be common with wikis. A relatively small number of users made a large number of edits, while the majority of users made few edits. Users who participated the most in one activity, for example, editing pages, were not the same users who participated the most in other activities, such as creating new pages.

Vaughan (2008) found the following advantages to using a wiki: they (1) increase communication, access, and flexibility, (2) help students synthesize ideas, (3) provide a public nature to the work, (4) increase motivation (5) provide ease and convenience of use, (6) ensure that all group members are involved, and (7) create a 'space' to allow for diversity of opinions and perspectives to be heard and appreciated. Wiki challenges included (1) technical issues such as a writer forgetting to save edits, (2) stress due to partners taking an inordinate amount of time to post their input, and (3) the depth of time (learning curve) it takes to use a wiki.

Educators are responsible for crafting the tools that students will use in their classes to learn the content. Wikis invigorate writing. They offer a low-cost, effective communication and collaboration tool which promotes a team approach. Writing, reading, and editing are all important skills that can be taught using wikis.

Wikis – Specific Educational Examples

Library Success (<http://www.libsuccess.org/>) is widely considered to be a best practices wiki for sharing all types of ideas and information for librarians. Among the many thoughtful items included are (a) Tips for dealing with vendors, (b) Training and development for librarians, and (c) Promoting your library and (d) Implementing technology in the library.

Wikijunior (2008) has links to many wikibooks appropriate for the K-12 audience. The wikibooks include, but are not limited to, the following: Fun Science Experiments, Geometry for Elementary School, Dinosaurs, the Solar System, World War II, Kings and

Queens of England, and Colors for Pre-Readers.

PBWiki (<http://pbwiki.com/academic.wiki>) is a free site for educators to allow their students to collaborate. Upgrades of the site are available for a reasonable cost. The author of this article uses this wiki for his educational purposes.

Wiki use in first and second language learning has quickly increased (Richardson 2006). Many useful wiki ideas for the classroom may be found at <http://www.teachersfirst.com/content/wiki/wikiideas2.cfm>. Many wiki ideas for teaching language arts are available (see Table 1). Wiki ideas for teaching other subjects are also available (see Table 2).

What is a Podcast?

The word podcast was created by combining parts of the words ipod and broadcast. The term can mean both the content and the method of delivery. Podcasts are audio files that contain music or speech. They may be played on computers or mobile devices such as ipods or mp3 players. Any particular podcast (e.g. Major League Baseball) can be subscribed to, in which case the user's device is automatically updated as new episodes become available.

In an educational environment, instructors may request their students to develop a podcast which consists of a speech that first the students write. Students need to know their audience, pick a theme, research the topic and then write the speech. David Warlick states that many K-12 podcasts suffer from a lack of focus (Villano 2008a). To do so, above all else, podcasts must be practiced. Podcasts can convey complex information in a more interesting manner than if the information appeared in print. Think of capturing a significant event, for example an interview with a famous rock star.

Podcast's Use in Education

The implications of podcasts in education are important. For college students, a professor's lecture may be reviewed, or dare say, if the student was absent, heard for the first time. Athletes often miss one or more classes due to game commitments. Often a student becomes sick, at least once during a semester. Both of these are valid reasons for podcasting one's lecture. Many universities offer this service to their faculty. The top reasons given for students downloading the podcasts of their professors are: (1) revision of notes or preparation for assessments, (2) to enable note-taking at their own paces, (3) to catch up on missed lectures, and (4) to have a complete record for their own interest (Copley 2007).

Students were asked why they still came to lectures if recordings were routinely available as podcasts. They cited a need for routine/structured learning,

**OLLIGES: WIKIS, SCREENCASTS, PODCASTS, OH MY!
EFFECTIVE USES OF WIKIS, SCREENCASTS, & PODCASTS IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS**

opportunities for interaction/questions at the lecture, and preferred 'live' to prerecorded (Copley 2007). However, podcasts have many additional uses than a mere taping of lectures. Podcasts are capable of prepping students for a field trip. If a teacher creates a series of podcasts of a field trip ahead of time, their students can subscribe to them and listen to them at each stop while on the field trip. Thus, guided instruction can be delivered, at the appropriate time.

Furthermore, Kathy Shrock (<http://nausetschools.org/podcasts.htm>) states that Feedburner, (<http://www.feedburner.com>), a web site for hosting podcasts, enables K-12 students and teachers to establish relationships with counterparts at other schools around the world. Besides the Shrock site, David Warlick's website, Landmarks for Schools (<http://www.landmark-project.com/>) provides many rich resources for educators.

The Problem, Process, Implementation, and Evaluation

My Freshman seminar class often takes field trips. I wanted to make the field trips more interesting. At each stop on the field trip I wanted to provide the students with the relevant information.

One field trip that we took was to the Missouri Botanical Garden (MBG). Prior to the field trip, I visited the MBG and took notes. Then, I wrote a script for the eventual podcast. The field trip included twelve stops and associated tasks. I returned to the MBG for the purpose of testing and evaluating my script. Then I made some additional changes. I then asked several people to accompany me at various times to the garden to retest the script. Once the script was completed, I went to the Faculty Development Center (FDC) and recorded the script. I recorded about 15-30 seconds of audio on each of several separate tracks. The FDC spliced the audio together based upon my script. The last sentence on each audio track would direct the student to perform some task. This was because I wanted some type of learning activity to occur at each stop. Students downloaded the podcast to their personal digital players and were able to hear the information I provided and respond to the activity.

What is a Screencast?

A screencast, also known as a video screen capture, is a digital recording of a computer screen output often

accompanied by an audio narration. Various software products allow for different types of screen capture. Our Faculty Development Center (FDC) suggested that I use Captivate.

The Problem, Process, Implementation, and Evaluation

I teach a course called Web Authoring and Design. It is taught online in the fall semester and face-to-face in the spring. A weekly assignment is given where students have to create a web page with particular requirements. Some students do a terrific job; whereas, others opt for the minimum amount of effort. I wanted to change this attitude. I thought that if I could provide a video that critiqued student work for each assignment, the students that opted for a minimum amount of work might be challenged to provide a better effort.

Each week, I was able to check out a laptop with Captivate already installed. The FDC taught me how to use the Captivate program. I was able to record my critique of current student assignments. In order to gain confidence, I practiced several times at the FDC, and further, the FDC provided an Instructional Support Specialist for my first class meeting. Configuring the laptop and the projector did take an effort each week. The process ran smoothly throughout the semester except for one class meeting. I tend to push the envelope when it comes to technology. In accordance with the requirements of the assignment, the students created pages with many graphics. This caused the Captivate program to crash during the session. Later that night I recorded the data again in smaller segments. At the end of the semester, the FDC split each recorded session into individual components. I then viewed each component and selected the ones to include and their order. The FDC then made each screencast segment to be used for both my face-to-face and online classes. These segments are in the process of being field tested.

Conclusion

In recent times, new tools have been developed that can be a powerful teaching aid. Examples of these include wikis, podcasts, and screencasts. Table 1 and Table 2 will give you some ideas of how these tools might be used to enhance teaching and learning. Although recognizing that these new tools may add an additional burden on your time, I encourage you to give them a try.

TABLE 1.

1. A continuing story in which your class adds sentence using new vocabulary words and writes and adventure story in collaboration with the entire class. They will NEVER forget the meaning of the words as they read and reread their story each time they visit to add. The story can be a single version or branch off into multiple versions and endings.
2. A collection of mythological allusions found in “real life” while studying Greek/Roman mythology. Ex. Mercury automobiles—why are they so named?
3. An online writer’s workshop or poetry workshop with suggested revisions from classmates. Start with drafts and collaborate. Make sure students use the notes tab to explain why they make changes.
4. Summary and discussion of a scene of a play, a poem, or even chapter by chapter of a novel, with groups taking responsibility for different portions
5. Literary analysis of actual text on the wiki with links to explanations of literary devices, a glossary to explain vocabulary, etc. Try it with a scene from Shakespeare or a sonnet! Each student or group could be responsible for a portion, then ALL can edit and revise to improve the collaborative project. You will be amazed how much they will find and argue.
6. Collaborative book reviews or author studies
7. Creative projects, such as a script for a Shakespeare scene reset in the 21st century
8. A travel brochure wiki use wikis to “advertise” for different literary, historical, or cultural locations and time periods: Dickens’ London, fourteenth century in Italy in Verona and Mantua (Romeo and Juliet), The Oklahoma Territory, The Yukon during the Gold Rush, Ex-patriot Paris in the Twenties, etc.
9. Character resume wiki: have literature classes create a resume wikis for characters in a novel or play you are reading. Both creativity and documented evidence from the literature are required. Use notes to indicate the evidence from the text (Teachers First 2008).

**OLLIGES: WIKIS, SCREENCASTS, PODCASTS, OH MY!
EFFECTIVE USES OF WIKIS, SCREENCASTS, & PODCASTS IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS**

TABLE 2

1. A virtual art gallery with ongoing criticism and responses regarding artwork found online or originals from your art classroom (a cwtiqwiki).
2. A catalog of musical styles or musical instruments.
3. Collections of recipes for a home economics class.
4. A collaborative project with speakers of a foreign language and in another location. A day in the life of an American/Japanese/French/German/Mexican family. (This one would require finding contacts in other locations, of course).
5. A movie review wiki for teens hoping to find the best date flick? (a Flickr?).
6. A humor-study wiki for gifted students trying to learn the fine art of spoof and satire, including visual as well as verbal content.
7. Collections/montages of examples of an abstract concept, such as “surrealism” Why do you consider this surrealist? Explain or refute.
8. An orientation wiki for the next students to come to your middle or high school (Everything you Need to Knowiki).
9. Make a nutrition wiki with ideas for ways to eat healthy at local restaurants (a nutrition wiki?).
10. A careers wiki. Have students interview people about their jobs and write up descriptions of different career paths. Invite the workers to add their own input and pictures, as well. Keep this wiki as part of an alumni project for your high school students investigating school-to-work options.
11. Buy a Car wiki. Interest, financing, car dealer info, car model reviews, etc. (in driver ed, math, or business class).
12. Consumer wiki. Student articles on consumer issues and warnings, including the local mall, area businesses, even cell phone plans. This is great for middle school students learning about consumer rights.
13. Get a Job wiki. Share info on good/bad places to work and why.
14. Let students create a “study hall” wiki for their assignments and prep for upcoming tests in your class and others. Credit to the students of Vicki A. Davis—Cool Cat Teacher—Westwood for this one (Davis 2005).
15. Wonderstudent Wiki: As preparation for college or job applications, have groups of students create a fictitious student-resume wiki, demonstrating good skills at “selling” one’s talents and accomplishments. Invite potential employers or college admissions officers to respond to the wikis, if possible (Wikiideas 2008).

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NUMBERS RULE: TURNING STUDENTS INTO OBJECTS, A CRITICAL ENQUIRY

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[The] turning of real lives into writing is no longer a procedure of heroization; it functions as a procedure of objectification and subjection.¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*

Introduction

It is common for people to describe themselves and others in terms of numbers. For example, applicants for admission to college are most likely required to submit their high school Grade Point Average (GPA) and their Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT),² and, later, their college GPA when interviewing for a particular job. Numbers are used not only to make judgments about a person's cognitive potential, but numbers are also used to represent a person's character and mental state. A plethora of such "diagnostic instruments" that purport to do this "scientifically" can be found in the *Mental Measurement Yearbook* (MMY) and the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*.³ More specifically for American education, the numerical scores on standardized tests of academic achievement are used as the *sine qua non* of a child's total schooling experience compared to other children. The use of numerical (statistical) analysis in truth-seeking is endemic across all of the human (*qua* "social") sciences, perhaps no more so than in economics. In this regard, Robert Skidelsky, recently noted that the use of complicated mathematics in the analysis of economic statistics is a reflection of the modern convention that ". . . mathematics can conjure certainty out of uncertainty."⁴ This paper is a *Critical Enquiry*⁵ into the adequacy of the intellectual foundation upon which numbers are justified to represent unseen functions of the human mind reflected in dispositions, attitudes, values, understandings, and tastes.

The Linguistic Turn

Although Critical Enquiry can begin anywhere along the continuum of intellectual history, a convenient starting place for the case at hand is a movement in philosophical investigations commonly referred to as the Linguistic Turn. This was the historical point at which Western philosophy turned its attention away from logic to the relationship of language to meaning. Although there are differences of opinion as to when the movement began, most would likely agree that early proponents would include, among others, Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), Gottlob Frege (1848-1925), Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), and Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951). More contemporary proponents of language and discourse analysis would include Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean-

François Lyotard, and Julia Kristeva, to name a few. For the purpose of this enquiry, only the work of Saussure and the contemporary proponents of language/discourse analysis will be referenced.

In his most significant work, *Course in General Linguistics*, published posthumously by his students in 1916, Saussure, a Swiss linguist, was not concerned with logic relative to meaning but with the structure of language and meaning. Saussure is generally considered to be the father of structural linguistics, if not structuralism itself. Briefly stated, Saussure reasoned that because the word (*signifier*) and the concept (*signified*) are arbitrarily related, then *meaning* must reside in the system of signs. That is, the word "tree" could refer to many concepts not only to a single physical entity with a trunk, branches, and leaves. The person who first assigned "tree" as the *signifier* could have just as easily assigned another combination of letters. Building on this reasoning, Derrida argued that the gap between a *signifier* and its intended *signified*, between a word and its concept, could only be breached if at the end of a succession of clarifying *signifiers* (words) would be a particular *signifier* (word) that would require no additional clarification. That is, the word would be a transcendental signifier. No such signifier has yet been found; therefore, absolute meanings are trapped within the covers of even the most comprehensive dictionaries. From this perspective, there is always a difference between a signifier (word) and a signified (concept); thus, meaning is always deferred in time. Derrida refers to this dilemma—the infinite difference between a signifier and its intended signified and differed meaning---as *différance*.⁶ Given *différance*, Derrida called into question the possibility of metaphysics, the foundation of 2,500 years of Western philosophy. This is particularly significant for the argument presented here in that *différance* challenges the very possibility of any "science" relative to human dispositions, attitudes, values, understandings, and tastes.

The Human Sciences

The assumption there was a possibility of a "science" of human nature took roots in the early 19th century with the publication of Adolphe Quetelet's (1796-1874) *Sur L'Homme, et le Développement de ses Faculties* (*A Treatise on Man and the Development of*

His Faculties), first published in Paris in 1835 and in Edinburgh in 1842. Although an astronomer by profession, Quetelet applied the knowledge of *chance occurrence* that he acquired from the famous statistician Joseph Fourier (1768-1830) to not only astronomical events, but the human condition as well.

While visiting Fourier in Paris, the French government asked Quetelet to examine data related to young men from a particular province being conscripted for service in the French army. The government was concerned about a rather large number of these conscripts not meeting the French army's minimum height requirement. In constructing a graphic profile, Quetelet first assumed that the distribution of height ought to fit a "normal" curve of distribution, like, he believed, most populations of like elements in the universe. In this regard, the notion of a normal curve of distribution (commonly referred to as the "bell curve") becomes a *discourse*. When he "read" the profile, he found that the curve was bimodal not normal, and that the smaller mode to the left of the larger mode was the point at which a conscript would be rejected for military service because he would be too short in stature. Quetelet concluded that these conscripts somehow cheated, thus committing a moral crime against the state. In essence, Quetelet claimed to be able to "read" the minds of the suspected cheaters with the same scientifically grounded authority as a physician who reads the results from modern X-ray images to diagnose physical anomalies.

Quetelet's work is central to the modern human sciences in that it assumes that *unseen* human attributes are revealed through observable (*seen*) evidence--- including behaviors revealed on appropriate "standardized" tests. This evidence is assumed to constitute readable signs that could indicate the likely (probable) existence of a condition defined by a theoretical *construct*. Further observation contributes more evidence. It was a simple matter for Quetelet to make judgments about (analyze) the data using descriptive mathematics.⁷ In applying the principles of normal distribution, Quetelet provided the newly developing social sciences a justification for describing in numerical terms the separation of one person from another then explaining the separation in narrative terms.

Theoretical Constructs

The case of graphic profiles, such as the normal curve of distribution, highlights several important aspects of the power of discourse.⁸ Often in the social sciences, the normal curve is a graphic sign of a particular state of affairs regarding a particular person as a part of a particular group of other persons being

differentiated from one-to-another relative to some particular criterion assumed, *a priori*, to be common to all in the group. The profile is most often submitted to statistical analysis based on notions of probability, not absolute certainty which science requires. In education and social science research any anomaly that sets apart some members of a particular group from most in the group is often explained in narrative terms as a "*theoretical construct*." Significant for this enquiry is the question: Why are human attributes such as dispositions, attitudes, values, understandings, and tastes subsumed within the notion of a *construct*?

According to Gall *et al*, "They are constructs because they are *not* directly observable, but rather must be *inferred* from their observable effects on behavior [emphasis added]."⁹ This is consistent with the definition given by Lee J. Cronbach and Paul E. Meehl in their 1955 seminal paper "Construct Validity in Psychological Tests." They define a *construct* as "some *postulated* attribute of people, *assumed* to be reflected in test performance [emphasis added]."¹⁰ Two questions become apparent here. First, what observable empirical evidence justifies postulating (presupposing) that any particular human behavior is directly associated with any particular human attribute expressed in narrative form? Second, what justifies replacing a numerical quantity (a *probable* one at that) of aberrant behaviors within a group as a *theoretical construct* expressed in narrative? Central to this enquiry is the second question.

Effacing Différance

It is at this point in this historical genealogy of "truth" within the social sciences that constructs expressed in narrative form acquire meaning through language. They become *discourse*. As discourse, it became a small matter to equate constructs with non narrative discourses, such as the normal curve of distribution (the Bell Curve) as Quetelet did. But the normal curve represents the numerical frequencies of a particular characteristic (height of conscripts) of elements that is common to all elements that constitute a particular group (class). Simply stated, Quetelet effaced the abyss of *différance* when he "read" the discourse of the graphic profile of the heights of conscripts expressed in numerical terms but expressed the aberrations in narrative terms, they cheated. This occurs often in the social science and education where it is common to use numbers to replace the signifiers (words) used to describe some functions of the human mind reflected in dispositions, attitudes, values, understandings, and tastes. In short, words which have no absolute meaning because of *différance* are replaced by numbers that can be submitted to statistical analysis. The popular five point Likert item scales used to acquire numerical data

FAZZARO: NUMBERS RULE: TURNING STUDENTS INTO OBJECTS,
A CRITICAL ENQUIRY

from narratives (opinions, etc.) is an example of reducing language/discourse in narrative form to numbers.¹¹

Likert items are commonly presented as five equal spaces along a horizontal line. Each space labeled in either ascending or descending order with narrative signifiers such as, “Strongly Agree,” “Agree,” “Neutral,” “Disagree,” “Strongly Disagree.” Each of the five equal-length spaces along the Likert scale line represents a personal (subjective) opinion about a particular statement. For example, the statement part of a Likert item might be, “Franklin D. Roosevelt was the greatest President of the United States.” The respondent is to circle one of the following responses along a horizontal line, “Strongly Agree,” “Agree,” “Neutral,” “Disagree,” “Strongly Disagree.” When this item is “scored,” numerical values are given such that “Strongly Agree” = 5, “Agree” = 4, “Neutral” = 3, “Disagree” = 2, and “Strongly Disagree” = 1.

Education and the Hegemony of Scientific Discourse

The transition from language (a system of signs) to discourse was brought about by the notion of probability being transported from the natural sciences to the human sciences.¹² Although Quetelet’s work might be a convenient starting point, this transition and its impact on education and schooling practices was accomplished not by a single event but by a series of events starting at least at the beginning of the Enlightenment (1650 - 1800).

The Enlightenment expanded if not unbound the discourses¹³ of both *Reality* (the objective-material world) and *Humanity* (the world of the subjective human mind). Marked by the work of Rene Descartes, the discourse of Reality broke from the narrow dictates of Church orthodoxy and took the course of science conditioned by the later Kantian amalgam of rationalism and empiricism. The discourse of Humanity took the course of individual freedom and social justice championed by the likes of Rousseau, Voltaire,

Jefferson, Wollstonecraft, and Spinoza, to name only a few. But by 1830, as the rearrangement of national political institutions slowly accelerated to their present forms of at best pseudo democracies, the technical “scientific” discourse of Reality quickly spread into, and was being used to overwrite, the distributive discourse of Humanity. The institution of American public education, conceived by the Founders and made operational by the generation of educators exemplified, for example, by the work of Horace Mann, would not be spared this overwriting. By the dawn of the Twentieth Century, the institution of American public education, captured by the ideology of scientific management,¹⁴ was rapidly expanding its repertoire of technologies to turn students into numbers. Once “numeralized” the individual student would be constructed through schooling practices justified at base as “natural” processes. It would be as if the Humanities discourse of the Enlightenment never existed.

The dangers of reducing humans to mere quantifiable objects are profound. Once humans believe that they can legitimately be describes as mere objects that can be quantified and mathematically analyzed, then they can be legitimately ordered into a manageable (controlled) hierarchical social order.

Aldous Huxley, in his classic, *Brave New World*, describes a world in which humans have been reduced to mere physical objects so that they can be easily manufactured to fit into a particular class.

“Consider the matter dispassionately, Mr. Foster, and you will see that no offence is so heinous as unorthodoxy of behaviour. Murder kills only the individual—and after all, what is an individual?” With a sweeping gesture he indicated the rows of microscopes, the test-tubes, and incubators. “We can make a new one with the greatest of ease—as many as we like. Unorthodoxy threatens more than the life of an individual; it strikes at society itself. Yes, at Society itself,” he repeated.¹⁵

ENDNOTES

1. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 192.
2. Alfie Kohn, a prominent critique of standardized testing, noted that, “The ‘A’ in SAT used to stand for Aptitude until the Educational Testing Service gave up on the pretense. Now ‘SAT’ doesn’t stand for anything—in more ways than one.” Alfie Kohn, *The Case Against Standardized Testing: Raising the Scores, Ruining the Schools* (Portsmouth, NH: Heiemann, 2000), 6.
3. The third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III) published in 1987 listed 311 diagnoses of psycho pathologies the fourth edition (DSM-IV) listed 397, or on average more than nine (9) newly “discovered” human psychologies per year. In education, Oscar Buros’ first bibliography of testing published in 1934 was only forty-four (44) pages. By 1938, now known as the familiar *Mental Measurement Yearbook* (MMY)

had more than 400 pages listing about 4000 tests. The 1995 edition has 1259 pages. Walt Haney, "Validity, Vaudeville, and Values: A Short History of Social Concerns Over Standardized Testing," *American Psychologist* (October, 1981): 1029.

4. Robert Skidelsky, "The Remedist: Why John Maynard Keynes is the Man of the Year," *The New York Times Magazine*, 14 December 2008, 21-22.

5. *Critical Enquiry* signifies an ongoing project of the author and his students. The purpose of the project is to develop approaches to American public education policy enquiry that emphasize the analysis and interpretation of discourses that create, maintain, and justify the structures and technologies of institutions functioning within particular social, political, economic, and legal contexts. The notion of *discourse* relative to the *Critical Enquiry* (CE) project includes meanings consciously expressed through *narratives*, including not only phonetic and graphic texts, signs, and symbols, but individual and group behaviors and institutional practices. The capital "C" in *Critical* emphasizes *social* criticism at the most fundamental level of what ought to constitute ideal, just, democratic social structures. The capital "E" in *Enquiry* recognizes that the more traditional spelling is best used when engaged in "asking about" at a fundamental philosophical level. In this regard, the *Critical Enquiry* project challenges the assumptions of traditional quantitative and qualitative approaches to policy "research."

6. There are many sources that could be listed concerning Derrida's meaning of *différance*. The best among them would include: Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans., Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) [Originally published in France in 1967 as *De la Grammatologie* by Le Editions de Minuit]; Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans., Alan Bass (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981) [Originally published as *Positions* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1972)]; and, Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans., Alan Bass (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978) [Originally published in France in 1967 as *L'écriture et la différence*].

7. The first reported use of this technique of analysis was by John Graunt in 1662. Graunt analyzed the weekly bills of mortality published regularly since 1604. See Andres Hald *A History of Probability and Statistics and Their Applications Before 1750* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1990), 82.

8. In his popular book, *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Probable* (New York: Random House, 2007), Nassim Nicholas Taleb notes that "Almost everything in social life is produced by rare but consequential shocks and jumps; all the while almost everything studied about social life focuses on the 'normal,' particularly with 'bell curve' methods of inference that tells you close to nothing. Why? Because the bell curve ignores large deviations, cannot handle them, yet makes us confident that we have tamed uncertainty." Taleb gives the bell curve the nickname 'GIF, Great Intellectual Fraud'. (p. xxxiv)

9. Meredith D. Gall, Walter R. Borg, and Joyce P. Gall, *Educational Research: An Introduction*, 6th ed. (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1996), 249-250.

10. Lee J. Cronbach and Paul E. Meehl in their 1955 seminal paper "Construct Validity in Psychological Tests," *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (July, 1955); 283.

11. Rensis Likert, "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," *Archives of Psychology*, 140 (1932): 1-55.

12. For a brief history of this transition see Charles J. Fazzaro, "Praxis, Public Schooling, and Probabilistic Knowledge," *Journal of the Philosophy and History of Education Society*, Vol. 43,

13. The notion of *discourse* relative to *Critical Enquiry* includes meanings consciously expressed through *narratives*---broadly defined to include not only phonetic and graphic texts, signs, and symbols, but individual and group behaviors and institutional practices.

14. See: Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).

15. Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1932).

CLOSING THE BOOK ON BLOOM'S CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN MIND

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Introduction

A little more than twenty years ago, Allan Bloom wrote *The Closing of the American Mind*. To virtually everyone's surprise, including Bloom's, the book turned out to be a major best seller, an unusual event for an academic book. On first reading, Bloom's message is enticing. It is easy to agree with Bloom when he claims American students don't read what would be considered good literature; to many university students can't write a substantial paper with an in-depth analysis on an important topic; American culture is rather crass; what passes for humor is often gross; as a nation America is too materialistic, and; Americans are too engrossed in trivialities in everyday life at the exclusion of serious thought about serious issues. The problem is, the more you read Bloom, the more you should question his outlook on America, his opinion of America's students, and his understanding of what it means to be happy and live the good life. Bloom appears to miss what is important in life and what it means to be an American, and he even demonstrates a total lack of appreciation of what motivated the founding fathers.

A Case Study

A major theme throughout *Closing* is that from at least the 1960s American culture has become vapid, schools have become rudderless, and students are self-absorbed. Since Bloom is so critical of the baby boomer generation let's take a serious look at a couple who are fairly representative of their generation. Bob and Betty are about 60 now and were in college during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and I claim are more representative of their generation than Bloom is representative of his. Bob and Betty attended the same state university, tried pot on a few occasions, and unlike some presidents, they did inhale. During their college years, Bob and Betty overindulged on more than a few weekends and were active members of the sexual revolution. While they didn't agree with the war in Vietnam, Betty didn't burn her bra and Bob didn't burn his draft card. All they knew of Uriah Heep is they were a British rock band; they never realized Mr. Heep was a character in Charles Dickens' *David Copperfield*. The classics that Bloom so loved never made it to the top of Bob and Betty's reading list.

Neither Bob nor Betty wrestled with the mysteries of the universe, nor did they spend much time thinking about the eternal questions so loved by Bloom. They both graduated, Bob in pharmacy and Betty in nursing. And, within the first few months after college, following their lower middle class values instilled in them by their

parents, they found jobs in their chosen fields, married and honeymooned in Florida. While on their honeymoon in Florida, they saw for the first time the ocean and were impressed even mesmerized by its power. For two weeks they did all the things a couple does on their honeymoon in Florida: they expressed their undying love for each other, they walked the beach and looked out on the beauty of the ocean, they talked of their future, and they charted their lives together. Since they both had good paying jobs, they bought a home, put away money for their retirement, and settled down to a middle class life. After a couple of years they had children, and even took the infamous driving trip from the mid-west all the way to California. Along the way, as all good parents do, they held their children's hands as they looked across and down into the Grand Canyon. Once again they were amazed by the splendor of nature, and told their kids what they knew from the guidebooks. When they reached the Pacific Ocean, they all played in the sand and splashed in the ocean. On several weekends every year they took the entire family on brief trips to surrounding states. On these camping trips they sat around the fire and told spooky stories, roasted marshmallows, and gazed up into the night sky. The entire family sat in awe of the magnitude and mystery of the universe.

Yes, they had been a little rebellious in college, but later they led rather stereotypical lives. Bob coached little league, Betty was a Girl Scouts leader, and both were active in the PTA and other school-related activities. The entire family was involved in their church, and Bob and Betty taught their kids respect and love of country.

Over the years Bob and Betty enjoyed family gatherings, where kids listened to their grandparents' stories of life before microwaves, color television, and cars that weren't air conditioned. The kids are grown and on their own now, and Bob and Betty tell their grandkids what life was like before cell phones and iPods. Now they enjoy spoiling their grandkids as much as their parents enjoyed spoiling Bob and Betty's kids – nothing that would be considered harmful to the kids, but there is always a treat when the kids came to visit, or an ice cream at the zoo.

Recently Bob and Betty went on a cruise, and as they strolled along the deck holding hands, they looked out at the same ocean they first saw on their honeymoon. They looked back at the forty years they had shared and were grateful. Bob and Betty were both looking forward, too, not to forty more years, but to growing old together.

They thanked God for their wonderful life. Bob and Betty believe as most people believe: Bob and Betty have lived a good, happy life.

But, wait – have they led a good life? Bob and Betty have read *Winnie the Pooh*, and spent many evenings reading Snow White, Sleeping Beauty, and a host of other children stories, and in recent years the two of them took turns reading the Harry Potter series to their grandkids. Unfortunately, according to Bloom, all they know about Plato and Aristotle is that they were Greek or maybe Roman philosophers. They have never heard of Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke is only a vague figure who had some influence on our founding fathers. Neither Bob nor Betty has read *Emile*, and all Bob knows of Rousseau is that he was a wanderer who fathered and abandoned numerous children, something so unimaginable to Bob that he is simply unable to comprehend it. They have read *Cat in the Hat* and most of Dr. Seuss’s other works, but Nietzsche and Heidegger are as unknown to them as the language both German philosophers spoke. The grandkids enjoyed grandma and grandpa reading Harry Potter to them, but Bob and Betty don’t have time to read political philosophy.

Bob and Betty have attended a few symphonies and even enjoyed them, but their local oldies station continues to be their station of choice. Most people would look at Bob and Betty and think they have had a good life, but Bloom says that Bob and Betty are unfulfilled: according to Bloom something is missing in their lives. They have not led a good, happy life.

What is the Good Life?

Why does Bloom make what most people would say is an outrageous comment? That is easy – among his many mistakes is the fact that he has a rather unusual opinion of what it is to be happy or to live a good life. His view of both is extremely narrow, a narrow view that simply doesn’t make sense for the vast majority of people. Moreover, Bloom’s view that the vast majority of people cannot know or be happy, that they cannot live a good life, is preposterous. He seems to have an extremely limited concept of happiness and the good life. He even goes so far as to claim that only a certain kind of music, book, or thought can make one happy, and can lead to the good life. This is worse than preposterous, it is elitism gone wild.

Bloom doesn’t make these wild claims without supporting them. No, he likes to support his claims by appealing to the ancients. This of course, isn’t difficult. Reading ancient Greek philosophy is much like reading the Bible in that one can find support for most anything one wants. Yes, Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Barnes, vol. II, 1985) says contemplation was the highest form of happiness, yet Aristotle also recognizes

humans are social beings and can’t spend their entire lives in contemplation. In the *Rhetoric* (Barnes, vol. II, 1985) Aristotle makes it clear that happiness includes prosperity, good health, friends, and children. And, in the *Politic*, (Barnes, vol. II, 1985) Aristotle says as social beings, humans need a communal pursuit of happiness. Nowhere does Aristotle say happiness has to be defined so narrowly as to exclude the majority of people. Even before Aristotle, Plato, in his dialogue *Gorgias*, has Socrates say that happiness is being good (Woodhead, 1999). Bloom, on the other hand, defines happiness and living the good life in a way that excludes all those who did not agree with how he chose to live his life. Elitism can be defended, but not this extreme form.

Not only does Bloom have a narrow view of happiness and the good live. He is unjustly critical of American culture, and shows little understanding of American history. While Bloom spends considerable time talking about the founding fathers and our early republic it is obvious that he misunderstands what motivated America’s founding fathers. He continually claims the founders were not only influenced by Locke and even Hobbes, but they were simply implementing their philosophies. It seems Bloom spent all of his time reading European political philosophers and assumed the American founding fathers were simply carrying out the ideas espoused by their European “superiors”. He doesn’t appear to consider that like all philosophers Jefferson, Madison, and other founding fathers could build upon the ideas of prior generations, but have and develop ideas of their own. Not only does Bloom show almost a complete lack of understanding of Jefferson, Madison, Washington, or the other founders, it seems he didn’t even read them. If he had, he would know that the founding father did not see rights and responsibilities as simply to ensure their self-interest. His understanding of America seems to have been developed by reading European intellectuals and projecting their thoughts onto the founding fathers. This tactic is unfair to the founders, a lazy method of scholarship, even anti-intellectual.

As with much of what Bloom says, he is very selective in his reading of American history and popular literature. It is as if Bloom never read Mark Twain or Lincoln’s *Gettysburg Address*, or any of the novels, short stories, or poems that make up American literature and popular culture. As a philosophy professor, Bloom sees many of the problems in education and American culture stemming from the decline of general education. According to Bloom, students are no longer reading and studying the great books of western civilization. This is an example of Bloom being right, but having the details wrong. The decline of general education did not

occurred during the 1960s. The baby boomers weren't the first generation to rebel against what university professors thought was the "proper" education. The great books were not shunted aside during the 1960s. Every student of American education knows the smorgasbord approach to the liberal arts component in higher education began during the first decade of the last century (Veysey, 1970). In fact, electives were introduced at Harvard some eighty years before the time of President Eliot (Rudolph, 1962). Even when Bloom's conclusions are right, readers are left to wonder if Bloom understands why he is right.

Seduction of the Elite

As was stated earlier, Bloom's ideas can be enticing. However, even when Bloom is right, he is wrong. In his criticism of American education Bloom claims students are intellectually lazy, and in this he is right. However, he also claims students are a product of a culture that has lost its direction. America, according to Bloom, has lost its soul. One of Bloom's culprits is popular music. He blasts the music of the post-1950s as despicable. The music of the late 1950s and 1960s, Bloom says, has the beat of sexual intercourse and brings out the savage nature of young, impressionable students. When it comes to music his memory is extremely selective. If one looks at history, it is easy to see that older generations have always found it easy to criticize the younger generation's music. The Charleston was criticized during the 1920s as was the jitterbug in the 1940s. In fact, not only was what might be called "his generation" dancing to the jitterbug, during the early 50s, "his generation" was responsible for early R&B and Rockabilly which melded into rock. The music of his generation upset the previous generation, as the harder rock of the 1960s obviously bothered Bloom. Bloom's criticism is nothing new it is, however, overstated, and supported by nothing more than Bloom's preference.

Our friends Bob and Betty are as lost listening to current rock as Bloom was listening to the rock of the 1960s. It isn't a surprise that Bloom was most comfortable with what he grew up with, and looks back fondly on the late 1940s and early 1950s. They were his formative years and he remembers his student days at the University of Chicago as Bob and Betty remember their student days at the state university. Bloom, however, is like a horse plowing a field with blinders on. He has a very narrow view. The late 1940s and early 1950s were not some utopian time in America, and the 1960s weren't the tipping point in American history leading to a decline in society, and rock music isn't the devil's music. Most university professors can agree with Bloom's assertion that students are not as serious as

professors might want them to be, however, this can be said of every generation. This is not a phenomenon new to the baby boomer generation.

Over the years, as I have read and reread and thought about *Closing*, the more I am convinced that it tells us more about Bloom than it tells us about American culture or American education. I have come to believe that Bloom was an American who didn't seem to like America. He was a Straussian who in his best known work gave no credit to Leo Strauss. His only mention of Strauss was a short quote, "As Leo Strauss put it, the moderns 'built on low but solid ground'" (Bloom, p. 167). This can hardly be seen as a ringing recommendation for a man who was Bloom's mentor. Throughout *Closing*, Bloom extolled the virtue of reading great books, but the men who had more to do with bringing the great book to the mass public and were instrumental in implementing the great books curriculum at the University of Chicago, Bloom's alma mater, are almost totally ignored. Robert Maynard Hutchins was the president of the University of Chicago and put his career on the line to bring the great books to Chicago yet receives no mention at all. Mortimer Adler, a colleague of Hutchins and a philosophy professor at Chicago when Bloom was a student there rates only one mention. And it was a rather snide comment at that: "Mortimer Adler's business genius recognized [this] and made a roaring commercial success out of the Great Books. He was not even concerned about the translations he used, let alone about learning those languages (Bloom p. 54)." Bloom's suspicion of the value of reading texts in translation has merit. Unfortunately, if his suspicion is taken to its logical conclusion, he would require serious students learn Latin, ancient Greek, and several European languages before beginning their study of history, philosophy, political theory, etc. Again, this is a level of elitism that is almost incomprehensible.

As mentioned above, Bloom's misgivings regarding the value of translations must be taken seriously, but coming from Bloom it is somewhat surprising. Prior to *Closing of the American Mind*, Bloom's books were limited to Plato's *Republic* (translator and editor), *Politics and the Arts: Rousseau's Letters to d' Alembert* (translator and editor), Rousseau's *Emile* (translator and editor), and *Shakespeare's Politics* with Henry V. Jaffa. Once again, it appears if things are done his way they are legitimate, but if done some other way, their value is questionable. He is again exhibiting a degree of elitism that is almost unmatched.

Conclusion

With all of the shortcomings in *Closing*, it is not without merit. He is correct to be concerned about

American society, our younger generation, and our culture. But, he goes too far and demonstrates a total unwillingness to compromise or even consider the possibility that there might be another legitimate position. Bloom had a good idea for an article and ruined it by expanding it into a book. As he inflated what should have been a short, concise topic into a larger diatribe he lost his way and ventured into territory about which he knew very little. From what I have heard, Bloom appears to have been a gifted teacher, who was known for his translations of the works of others rather than for his original thought. *Closing of the American Mind* was his one attempt at originality and while the book was a hugely successful bestseller, it was not a

very accurate or original description of American culture, students or higher education. The more I reread *Closing* and think of Bloom, the more convinced I am that Bloom spent his time thinking about life, but did not know what it meant to live. Bloom missed out on those important things and experiences in life that made Bob's and Betty's life so rewarding. Bob and Betty lived the good life and Bloom, for all of his grand thoughts, appears to have searched for the good life, but did not understand or appreciate what made Bob's and Betty's life so fulfilling.

If a great book is one which withstands the test of time, *The Closing of the American Mind* is, definitely and thankfully, not a great book.

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Alice Chipman Dewey (1858-1927): Still a Mystery?

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Introduction

In writing about and researching progressive education over the last two decades one individual seems to remain a mystery, Alice Chipman Dewey. Most of us are familiar with the work of outstanding women and their contributions to progressive education. These include Caroline Pratt, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Elsie Clapp, Ella Flagg Young, Marietta Johnson, Helen Parkhurst, Flora Cooke, Katherine Mayhew and many others.¹ Most Dewey scholars recognize the impact Alice Chipman Dewey had on John Dewey's thought, but it is rarely if fully addressed. Dewey biographers have relied heavily on the article "Biography of John Dewey," by Jane Dewey published in the Paul Schlipp volume *The Philosophy of John Dewey*.² Jane Dewey wrote the piece with her sister Evelyn from material provided by their father, including the portion on intellectual biography. The most thorough piece at this time on Alice is Irene Hall's dissertation from Harvard, *The Unsung Partner: The Educational Work and Philosophy of Alice Chipman Dewey*.³ My interest and continued pursuit here is to seek a greater understanding of the life and intellectual contributions of Alice to progressive education, women's issues, and early childhood education. The recent publication of the correspondence of John Dewey offers further insight into who she was and what she believed.

Background

Although Alice was a native of Michigan, her family had Vermont roots. Orphaned as a child she and her sister were brought up by her maternal grandparents, Frederick and Evaline Riggs. It was in Michigan's frontier environment that Alice nurtured free thought, dissent from convention, intellectual independence, self-reliance and learning by experience. Her individualism and self-reliance did not find itself in the ego, but in an attention "toward social conditions and injustices."⁴ Alice studied at the Fenton Baptist Seminary and taught high school in Flushing, Michigan, however due to home responsibilities, taking care of her grandmother, Alice delayed her entrance to the University of Michigan until 1883 where she decided to study philosophy.⁵ It is her commitment to social issues and injustice that scholars usually attribute an influence on John Dewey, grounding his more classical training and even his religious views more in the reality of human experience.

John Dewey's two year teaching stint in Oil City, Pennsylvania stimulated "self examination of his personal and philosophical views of the world."⁶ Dewey

informed William Torrey Harris during his first year at the University of Michigan that he was searching the questions of religion, morality, "psychology, self-consciousness, and social and political change."⁷ It is in this search that Dewey finds a personal and intellectual companion in Alice Chipman, a junior philosophy major who boarded in the same house as Dewey in Ann Arbor. Alice was described at the time as brilliant, serious, earnest, critical, spiritual, and a student of modern scientific inquiry, however Alice had a soft and fragile side that in many ways plagued her all her life, certainly after the loss of two of her children. Alice was active and helped establish an intellectual and feminist sorority at Michigan that nationally included Lucretia Mott and George Eliot.⁸ She also protested the University of Michigan's reading room policy that tended to keep women out, and was an early member of the university's philosophy club, started by Dewey's colleague George Morris. She held membership in the Samovar Club which gathered to discuss Russian writers such as Tolstoy and Turgenev.⁹ Alice embraced many of Tolstoy's views on education and was part of a group of philosophy students who challenged the department's use of philosophy to promote the doctrines of Christianity.

Alice had entered the University of Michigan in 1883 with advanced status. She was well-read in Aristotle, Spinoza, and English poetry and she had knowledge of French and Greek. She also reviewed articles for the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. Dewey biographer Jay Martin suggests that through association with Alice, John began to move from absolute idealism to pluralism and experimentalism, "from pietistic ethics to ethical culture."¹⁰ John asked Alice, who was separated from him at the time due to recess at the university, to read Plato's *Republic* and offer suggestions for him in how to teach the class. Alice's influence stimulated John to move from an academic view of philosophy to connecting it to real life, even tackling gender issues. By the mid 1880s John Dewey had begun to write about the importance of education in the health of women, arguing that "there is no marked difference in general health from the average the average health likely to be reported by an equal number of women engaged in other kinds of work."¹¹

Following her education at the University of Michigan, Alice was planning to teach school. The country was undergoing rapid change due to immigration and industrialization resulting in attention to teacher preparation and increased enrollments. John

had joined the Michigan School Master's Club and was helping the University make accreditation visits. Both Alice and John were clearly interested in education and attention was drawn to the philosophical and psychological ideas of what to teach and to what purpose and how children learn. Around the completion of his first draft of *Psychology* in December 1885, John wrote of his growing interest and study of child psychology. Dewey expressed his idea that a child was more than an imitator and certainly not innately evil.

Starting a Family

Alice and John were becoming closer and closer and on December 24, 1885 Alice opened a package sent by John that contained an engagement ring. Alice accepted, however the proposed marriage was not without some concerns. Although John was doing well at the University of Michigan, expecting promotion and a salary increase, both Alice and John were concerned about their financial status and ability to support themselves in marriage. Regardless of the concerns on July 28, 1886 they married in Fenton and moved closer to the Ann Arbor campus. Children soon followed with Evelyn born in 1889, Morris in 1893, and Fred in 1889. Family was always an important part of the Dewey's' life and work and they did not follow convention. They explored their ideas about children through the observation of their own and were intimately involved in their care. Alice held strong views on the raising of children that often challenged the status quo.¹² Alice favored a type of unrestrained freedom in a most Rousseauian sense. The Dewey children often went barefoot during the winter and Fred and Evelyn were present when Alice gave birth to Morris while she explained the birth process to them.¹³ Excited, yet concerned about their growing family, and feeling confined by Ann Arbor, the Dewey's gradually became less enthused with their stay in Michigan. John felt the faculty more interested in self-protection than change and inquiry. While Alice was personally attached to Ann Arbor, she realized her family needed the change and she and John needed a more intellectually stimulating environment. The restlessness was partially resolved through an offer by William Rainey Harper, President of the new University of Chicago. The Dewey's found renewed life with the prospect. As part of the offer, John Dewey had arranged with Harper a financial agreement that allowed them to go to Europe where they believed their children could learn languages more efficiently. At the time John knew German and Latin but wanted to pick up French and Italian.¹⁴ Alice took Fred and Evelyn to Europe while John looked after Morris in Chicago with the help of his mother Lucina who was living with them at the time. Alice did not wish

to leave Morris who was then less than two but John pleaded with her to go. This gave John an opportunity to bond deeply with Morris and he assured Alice he was not disciplining or moralizing with him.¹⁵ While away, John kept Alice abreast of the Pullman strike, suffrage, voting, prostitution, bicyclers and the changing fashions in Chicago as well as the activities of Morris. Alice informed John of Fred's growing concern about poverty and social justice and about the landlord's critique of the behavior of the children even though she did not seem overly concerned.¹⁶ John assured Alice that Morris had not forgotten her and she seemed to need that reassurance. Missing Alice and the children Dewey traveled with Morris to Europe in December. Shortly after reuniting and travel through Switzerland and Freiburg, Germany, Alice, Evelyn, and Morris became ill. Alice and Evelyn recovered but Morris did not. Morris died on March 12, 1895. The Dewey's were crushed and Alice wished to return home as soon as possible. As might be expected Alice nor John recovered from the loss. Morris was not quite three-years-old.¹⁷

University of Chicago

The loss of Morris was devastating, but Alice still seemed to be missing something in her life. Alan Ryan suggests Alice was "chafing at the constraints of domestic life and finding motherhood an inadequate outlet for the energy and the political enthusiasm that had attracted Dewey in the first place."¹⁸ Part of this investment in energy took place at Hull House, with Alice finding compatibility with Jane Addams and her attempt to remedy "social inequity." The Dewey's actually sought housing near the Hull House complex and Alice applied her educational philosophy at Hull House, being attentive to the needs and interests of the students.¹⁹ Ryan argues that the opening of the Lab School at the University of Chicago gave Alice her opportunity to invest her talent and energy. Alice and John had engaged a group of parents willing to experiment in a new type of education. This parental group supplied the moral and financial aid to begin the elementary school, known eventually as the Dewey lab school.²⁰ The elementary school opened in January 1896 in "a public dwelling, with sixteen pupils and two persons in charge."²¹ Susan Blow, a primary figure in the kindergarten movement visited the Dewey School shortly after its beginning and wrote to William T. Harris: "Chicago is an electric center for all sorts of education heresies. Chicago is alive-but as it seems to me going very wrong. I saw Dr. Dewey's school. They said it was not a fair showing but the whole principle they were working on seemed wrong."²² Blow did not discuss why she believed it so wrong.

According to Katherine Mayhew and Anna Edwards, Ella Flagg Young and Alice Dewey “introduced intellectual organization without impeding the freedom of the individual teachers...”²³ At the time of Alice’s appointment as principal of the school she was making \$2,500.00. The Dewey family had financially struggled up to that point in Chicago, burdened by the cost of living and raising a growing family. Three other children were added to the family during the Chicago years; Gordon in 1896, Lucy in 1897, and Jane in 1900.²⁴ Up to the time of Alice’s appointment, the Dewey’s did not have a telephone, a bicycle for Fred, nor could they make visits to the theater, opera or attend concerts.²⁵

John gave Alice credit in *How We Think* (1910) stating she had inspired much of the work at the lab school.²⁶ Some years earlier Alice had quoted from Froebel, “We teach our children without having aroused an inner want for the instruction, and after having repressed everything that was previously in the child.”²⁷ Alice did not accept the German idealism and the metaphysics associated with Froebel. She believed Froebel intended to see growth in terms of continuity from kindergarten to adolescence and beyond and believed Froebel would have pursued this progression had he lived long enough.²⁸ Alice believed this continuity relied upon “a bridge be built between the home and the school and that the curriculum and the teaching of a school must consider and relate to both the child’s past and the child’s future.”²⁹ Teaching was not the mere passing or acquisition of information. Pay attention to the life of the child and do not overestimate or underestimate the intelligence of the child.³⁰ “It is not therefore the teacher alone who is to instruct,” she claimed, “She also has to face the problems of what the children in the class are to learn from each other.”³¹ Both teacher and student are in the act of discovery. Moving beyond Froebel, Alice sought to integrate sensory data with the development of the child’s mind, being attentive to subject matter, but also interest. She wrote: “We must not underestimate the intelligence of the child—by intelligence meaning his training and whatever power he has acquired in judging and discriminating—in short his experience: for he has experience all his own, and he will not tell you what it is, and no one knows its full nature.”³² Place the child in school to develop, “not to isolate him socially.” Do not ask him or her to discriminate what they bring to the table, don’t overcome them with abstractions for “which he or she is not ripe.”³³ Alice stressed using the energy of the child to explore and gain new ideas, not to imply that the child does not need guidance. In describing her own philosophy of education Alice wrote: “It is not too

much to claim that the complete form of education must be the work of the artist as well as of the philosopher. The universal principle lies not in something remote from experience, but rather in the adaptation of the form of expression to the common activities of every day. We do not need to worry about the preservation of great truths.”³⁴

In 1903 Alice became head of the combined Parker and Dewey schools, a decision that came to mark the end of the lab school and Dewey’s association with the University of Chicago. While this merger has been well documented, there are some important issues to consider. Apparently from the start, John Dewey and Wilbur Jackman of the Parker school were engaging in turf battles. Dewey believed Jackman had maligned the lab school to enhance his own reputation. On the other hand Jackman accused Dewey of paranoia, seeing ulterior motives when none existed.³⁵ The faculty and staff from each of the schools were intensely loyal to their former schools, and Dewey tended to ignore the Parker faculty, relying on advice from Alice, Ella Flagg Young, and two Parker teachers, Zonia Barber and Emily Rice. The appointment of Alice as principal of the merged schools smelled of cronyism and some faculty members threatened to resign. As principal of the lab school, Alice’s duties included dealing with parents, student teachers, including hiring and firing and assigning teachers. She also was required to submit budget information to President Harper.³⁶ Alice held high expectations for her teachers and refused to tolerate those who failed to make her standards or were average. Alice helped create an environment that sought to challenge gender stereotypes in instruction. Boys and girls all used tools, cooked lunches, learned to sew, and learned to weave.³⁷ In highlighting the interest and experience of the student, Alice argued “it was the principle rather than the plan that controlled ... another set of pupils in another environment would need a different scheme of work.”³⁸ Understanding their place in the world and the ability to reflect and think for themselves were the chief goals of the school. Alice also taught English composition and Literature including the study of Shakespeare, Copernicus, Thomas More and Luther as well as the Reformation and the Renaissance.³⁹

Dewey claimed he was not aware of the Parker faculty concerns and would not have appointed Alice, yet he retained his recommendation of Alice. Harper accepted the recommendation but with reservation and limitation claiming the appointment was temporary due to married faculty not being allowed to work in the same department.⁴⁰ Harper spoke to Alice about the arrangement which apparently she did not understand.

Alice spoke with John about the situation which eventually led to the Dewey's submitting letters of resignation on April 5, 1904.⁴¹ Taken by the sudden turn of events, Harper met with John Dewey but the situation could not be resolved to either's satisfaction. Harper wrote a letter to Alice thanking her for "the laborious work you have done in connection with the Laboratory School and the elementary work of the School of Education." He characterized her work as a "true spirit of devotion."⁴² Yet, according to Max Eastman, Harper did not fully understand Alice's pivotal role in the lab school. George Herbert Mead, contacted by Harper to convince Dewey to stay informed Harper of this role. The eventual demise of the school derived from a lack of funding, the tuition of Dewey's children, the differences of his lab school and the Parker School, the specific loyalties of both constituents and the role of Anita Blaine.⁴³ Neither Dewey wished to sever their ties to the university. They had labored to make the lab school a success and had developed a loyal and professional staff, but also deep personal friendships. Alice wrote William T. Harris stating: "It is very hard to pull up our roots here, but the situation seems so obviously to demand this step that we could not any longer balance considerations."⁴⁴ In a need to get away from the events in Chicago, the family took a trip to Europe as they had done ten years earlier. Alice seemed energized once again and wished to look into the education of women in Europe and asked Harris if he was interested in such reports. Alice was reading on the psychology of women including Hugo Munsterberg's *Women*.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, tragedy struck the Dewey's again when eight-year-old Gordon became ill, contracting typhus on the trip to Liverpool. While he appeared to improve at first he relapsed on a trip to Ireland and did not recover. The death of Gordon resulted in Alice scrapping her plans on the study of women and a proposed book with William Mark Baldwin was abandoned.⁴⁶ Alice was a talented writer, with excellent description and observational skills but the book was not to be. John claimed the light had gone out. Alan Ryan writes Alice "became increasingly tired, withdrawn, and querulous."⁴⁷ Seeking a need to fill an emotional gap, Alice and John adopted an Italian boy, Sabino who was the same age as Gordon. John seemed to realize the act as impulsive and recalled, "I am glad I followed my feelings for once."⁴⁸ By the time the Dewey's returned from Europe, Chicago was no longer their home. Columbia University had found the funds to create a position and John began teaching there in 1905.

Columbia

When John arrived in NYC he wrote Alice that Chicago was in comparison a country village.⁴⁹ Just

after settling in New York the Dewey's became involved in what became known as the Gorky affair. Maxim Gorky was visiting the United States to raise money and moral support for challenging the power of the Czar. America as a whole seemed sympathetic to Gorky's political cause and not offended by his brand of socialism which was characterized by a challenge to unjust power and authority. However, it was not Gorky's politics that got attention, but the fact he was not traveling with his wife, but with a Russian actress. Americans were outraged at this moral transgression and even early supporters like Mark Twain and William Dean Howells backed away from Gorky upon revelation of the affair. Unable to find lodging in New York due to the scandal, John and Alice invited Gorky to stay with them. Alice claimed, "I would rather starve and see my children starve than see John sacrifice his principles."⁵⁰ Alice held the same principles and prepared a reception for Gorky's mistress with students from Barnard College. Mme. Andreieva addressed the group in French discussing the role Russian women were playing in the revolution. The Dewey's were attacked for participating in the affair.

From 1905 to 1910, the Dewey's spent their summers in Hurricane, New York, not far from Thomas Davidson's Glenmore. In 1910 they bought a farm on Long Island and retained ownership until 1923.⁵¹ Dewey biographers have tended to ignore Alice for about eight years, until their trip to Japan and China, from 1919-1921. This tends to imply Alice was less than active; more of a recluse but that is far from the case. Shortly following the formation of the NAACP, Alice organized a meeting of African American women at the Dewey home, "in an attempt to join with them and to join them to the women's suffrage movement."⁵² The landlord of the apartment was outraged by Alice's proposed meeting and forbade the Dewey's to have it. A meeting at the Ethical Culture Meeting House was held to protest this infringement of rights. Continuing her love for teaching, Alice also taught a course in elementary education at Teachers College in 1907. In the course Alice attempted to integrate theory and practice, asked her students to journal about their ideas, defended the use of psychology in curriculum development, connected science with history, was attentive to children development theory, and sought to link the home and the school.⁵³ Alice maintained a lively interest in early childhood education and was close to Marjorie Naumberg. Both Alice and Naumberg had an interest in the world of Maria Montessori. Naumberg became the Director of the Walden School in NYC.⁵⁴

Alice travelled to Italy in 1913 desiring to visit Montessori schools and John asked William Heard

Kilpatrick to write a letter of introduction for Alice and Evelyn to Montessori hopefully to allow greater access.⁵⁵ Alice visited two Montessori schools in Milan shortly in the early days of 1914. She described her visits, usually with Evelyn, as satisfactory. “Both made a very good impression on me,” she wrote, “and in contrast to the other conditions have seem well worth the efforts of one life time.”⁵⁶ She continued to describe her observation of the school: “The results of alcoholism were very apparent in the school and seem more prominent on the streets than I remembered them” Alice visited a Montessori school in Rome in a new public school and had written Montessori to meet her. Alice described her experience. “the school is as much more formal as one would expect in a public school, did not warm us up as did the Casa in Milan but seemed intelligent and perhaps they accomplish more than with less trained teachers. One thing seems certain and that is the children learn what they must want themselves and that they do initiate their own line of work.”⁵⁷ On January 31, 1914 Alice and Evelyn met Maria Montessori and neither seemed highly impressed. Evelyn described the visit as nice, “she is fat and pretty and very well dressed, lives in a beautiful house and has many hoverers. She was very chatty after we got started tho much embarrassed at first ... said education would belong to everyone when we had finished making it into an exact science.”⁵⁸ According to Alice, Montessori had a wealthy benefactor, the Marchese di Vitta who did not impress Alice and Evelyn. Describing the Marchese, Evelyn wrote: “She is a Machiavelli in petticoat and probably the cause of many of Montessori’s quarrels of which there seems to be many. Alice described the Marchese as a “Jesuit or a Colonel Parkerite in her cult.”⁵⁹ Alice believed Montessori was influenced by Froebel, but did not agree with Montessori’s conception that education could or should become an exact science. In another letter to John about another Montessori school Alice recalled: “Montessori said yesterday that the reason she did not believe in free material was because she tried some of the things of Froebel—such as the weaving and children did not care for it ... no music whatever—many children brought wine to drink—none had milk.”⁶⁰ Montessori had also expressed to Alice that the good Montessori teachers she had trained were usually hired by the government, and Alice expressed to John that “we have seen that they are not all good.”⁶¹

On the return voyage home Alice and Evelyn expressed their continued disappointment in Montessori, but both felt there was something “inspiring about her personality.”⁶² She also reported a bit of gossip about Montessori having a child with a doctor while she was a

medical student. While friends apparently collected funds to help raise the child, Alice reported that Montessori refused to care for the child and refused to see it. Alice seemed to accept this gossip and tended to see her as ambitious and selfish.⁶³

Alice and John Dewey enjoyed travel and when the opportunity rose they soon headed to the Far East. Jay Martin argues that part of the reason of Dewey trip to the Far East was to help with Alice’s depression. Martin claims Alice had a history of depression that had a family origin beginning with the death of her mother when she was only four-years-old. Alice’s father Gordon died within two years of her mother and according to Martin “mourned himself to death.”⁶⁴ Although bright, critical, and inquisitive, Alice had a soft and fragile personality that sometimes turned into moodiness, discontent, and being critical. Intellectual activity often soothed her as it did John Dewey and she always enjoyed traveling. The deaths of two children and the demise of the lab school in Chicago did affect her. Max Eastman, in a controversial description of Alice wrote, “she fell gradually in to a habit of resentment. She grew caustic where she had been keen, captious where she had been critical. Her health began to decline... the less she could do for herself, the more her perfectionism...”⁶⁵ In 1896 Alice wrote: “My whole existence is passed in screwing up myself up to standing the next week -it doesn’t pay. There is no telling what may transpire in the next week.”⁶⁶ This attitude certainly borders on depression and Alice suffered from what appeared to be a form of postpartum depression following the birth of Lucy in 1900. Alice participated fervently in the women’s suffrage movement and served as vice president of the College Equal Suffrage League in New York State. Part of the mission of the League was to use education for social change. Alice also served as a district leader for the Women’s Suffrage party of New York City. Their platform emphasized building schools, equal pay for equal work, attacking child labor, and giving women greater political voice.⁶⁷ While the traveling appeared to help Alice, World War I renewed much of her anxiety when she feared Sabino might be drafted. Part of this anxiety was personal, but another part was political as Alice continued to fight for social justice and deeply opposed the horrific violence that was taking place. Alice was aware of John’s support of the American entry into the war in an attempt to reshape Europe into a true democracy. She was also aware of the attack on John by former student Randolph Bourne with whom she often had corresponded.

Japan, China

Prior to the trip to Japan and China Alice wondered if it was the best thing for her “to go to a strange and

expensive land for troubles we have always with us.”⁶⁸ But she went, and for a while her old self began to reappear. She began to read about Japanese culture and pursued her interest in art. John wanted to redeem the old Alice, to keep her occupied and away from herself absorption and at times paranoia. Upon arrival in Japan and still worried about finances, Alice seemed pleased that Tokyo Imperial University paid well for John’s lectures. Japan seemed to inspire Alice and she used her language skills to learn some Japanese and inquired into the feminist movement in Japan. Upon arrival in Japan Alice and John were interviewed by Riichiro Hoahisi who held a PhD from the University of Chicago. Hoashi reported that Alice dominated the conversation, commenting on the decline of Harris’ influence and the dominance of pragmatism in current American educational thought.⁶⁹ Alice was also sought out for her expertise in elementary education.⁷⁰ Yet, in spite of this Alice still experienced bouts of depression perhaps even brought on by her concerns regarding the oppression and plight of Japanese women. Alice believed Japanese women were “unselfish and unappreciated,” and willing to sacrifice family and challenge cultural mores if they could only seek education.⁷¹ Alice made astute observations of Japanese society and culture, the streets, shops, gardens, and art. Probably most importantly she studied the Japanese people. She held a special place in her heart for women and the poor, even refusing to ride in a rickshaw because it was pulled by another human being.⁷²

Nearing the end of the Japanese excursion, Alice began to anticipate the trip to China. She continued her interest in women’s issues and she wrote about the subjugation of women through domesticity and the lack of education along with the problems of political corruption. The Dewey’s were in China two years and arrived during a time of active student unrest, what has been called the New Culture movement. Dewey’s work in democracy and education was well-known in China and three days after his arrival the May Fourth incident took place in Beijing, when student revolted against the government.⁷³ This movement attempted to remove the vestiges of Confucian culture and replace it with republican government, much to the Deweys’ delight. Alice wanted to take part, but a month later she had become resolved that a true revolution was not to take place in the immediate future.⁷⁴ Dewey saw his work come alive in China, an experience he described as “overpowering.” Alice was also active and besieged by invitations to speak. Alice spoke to women’s groups on the subject of private education, the history of the suffrage of American women, the education of girls in America, compared the education of Chinese and

American girls, their learning and work, and how women could help improve society. There was a strong suffragist tone to her work and clearly she showed an interest in women’s issues.⁷⁵ Like John, Alice envisioned greater potential for Chinese women than Japanese women and argued that the greatest “need in China is elementary education and schools for small children taught by women. Without them all teaching can do is to perpetuate the old false ideas of education.”⁷⁶ Through her lectures, Alice desired to “raise the consciousness of young Chinese women.” But she also felt the Chinese officials were only paying lip service to the concerns of women.⁷⁷ She realized women had been left out of the New Culture Movement.⁷⁸ John continued his second year in China helping the education department in Beijing. Evelyn and Lucy spent a short time in China and both were offered positions at Beijing University, but they declined and returned to the US.

Chinese society was in transition during the Dewey visit and Alice was thrilled to see women being treated with greater respect. Bertrand Russell also visited China during the time and stayed with the Dewey’s, however his young mistress and former student, Dora Black, accompanied him which challenged cultural mores of Americans in China and also many upper class Chinese. Alice remained tolerant as she had during the Gorky affair, but seemed irritated that neither Russell nor Miss Black ever thanked her for her support and hospitality.⁷⁹ Alice was appreciated and recognized by the Chinese and was named an honorary dean of women at Nanjing Teachers College and she often invited Chinese students to the Dewey home when they came to Columbia. Alice, like her husband held a deep affection for the Chinese people.

Illness

In the spring of 1924, John and Alice continued their travels abroad to Turkey where John was asked to reconstruct Turkish education following the war. Greeted with enthusiasm, John and Alice began to inspect Turkish schools and facilities, and spoke with teachers, administrators, and local school organizations.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, while traveling in rural Turkey, Alice became seriously ill but did not feel the illness grave enough to seek medical treatment. Dewey expressed in a letter to Alice that he did not have confidence that Turkey could or would begin to reform education as he suggested in a report to the minister of public education. Shortly after filing the report, Alice became more ill, spending several days in the hospital before the departure. Alice never regained her health following the trip to Turkey. Regardless, the Dewey’s continued to travel. On a trip to Mexico Alice’s medical

problems resurfaced shortly after their arrival in Mexico City. The previous summer she had been hospitalized when visiting Jane Dewey in Denmark. Alice suffered a mild heart attack and stroke in Mexico and returned to New York for care. She returned by herself, underwent a procedure to remove an obstruction, and went to the Clifton Springs Sanatorium for recovery. Alice's condition did not improve and when her health seemed to worsen, John took a leave of absence in the spring of 1927. Alice was able to visit friends in Massachusetts but eventually was bedridden and needed constant care. She suffered a stroke on July 4, 1927 and on the morning of July 14 passed away due to a blood clot to the brain. The Dewey's had been married for 41 years. Alice's will stipulated that upon John's remarriage he would forgo his share in their estate, largely derived by the sale of the Dewey farm on Long Island. Her estate had appreciated in value and upon his remarriage to Roberta Grant in 1946 the principle went to the Dewey children. All the Dewey children with the exception of Fred accepted money from the principal. Dewey was receiving a pensions form Columbia and the Barnes Foundation at the time and Roberta was wealthy from family money made in the glass industry.⁸¹

Conclusion

Alice championed her causes in different ways from her husband. She published little, but appeared more content to live and act out her convictions. She was a prominent voice in the feminist movement of the early 20th century, championing the concerns of equality of opportunity in society and in education and sought full

equal rights for women. She challenged paternalism with attention to the reality of the world, the human experience. For her education was a process of self identity but also a social and political awareness, a gospel she preached in Japan and China. Alice was clearly a suffragist and clearly educated her husband in the concerns and needs of women. Many themes appear in her work and include teacher empowerment, student and teacher ownership and accountability, basing curriculum on student interest which includes identity, culture, attachment and experience, not whim. She sought women's rights throughout the world, attentive to social science research and what it said about child development. She attempted to emphasize reflective practitioners, to know the child and the parent—who they are and where they come from. But there was another side to Alice and a complicated one. She was no saint, and certainly was not always considerate of the feelings of others. She could be biting in her criticism, and not always willing to listen to those who disagreed with her or her husband. Alice was brilliant and compassionate about what she loved and believed in, but she also struggled with her own self identity, could be stubborn and was often acerbic. Upon her death, Alice was described as a brave and free thinker, an original pioneer for the rights of women, a beloved mother, a wise individual, playful and generous who loved her children. Like most of us, John chose to remember the good times, two lives immersed in personal love and commitment, but also deep tragedy. They were a team.

ENDNOTES

1. Susan Semel and Alan Sadovnik, *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders during the Progressive Era* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
2. Jane Dewey, "Biography of John Dewey," ed. Paul Schlipp, *The Philosophy of John Dewey* (LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court, 1939).
3. Irene Hall, "The Unsung Partner: The Educational Work and Philosophy of Alice Chipman Dewey" (Dissertation: Harvard, 2005).
4. Dewey, *Biography of John Dewey.*, 21.
5. Judy Surratt, "Alice Chipman Dewey," in *Notable American Women*, ed. Janet James Edward James, and Paul Boyer (Cambridge: Harvard, 1971).
6. *Ibid.*, 91.
7. Jay Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography* (New York: Columbia University, 2002).
8. *Ibid.*, 93.

9. Hall, 28. See also Alan Pinich and Michael Armstrong, *Tolstoy on Education: Tolstoy's Educational Writings 1861-1862* (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, 1982).
10. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 96.
11. John Dewey, "Health and Sex in Higher Education," *EW* 1: 70.
12. John Dewey published "The Psychology of Infant Language," *EW* 4: 66-69, based upon his observations of his children.
13. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 132.
14. *Ibid.*, 143.
15. *Ibid.*, 160.
16. Alice Dewey to John Dewey, November 16, 1894. *John Dewey Correspondence*. Alice had difficulty finding lodging due to the rambunctious Dewey children. This problem might also be due to Alice Dewey's refusal to take criticism on how to raise her children. John Dewey was also having some problems with Morris at the time and mentions throwing water in his face to make him stop screaming. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, September 17, 1894. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
17. Dewey, *Biography of John Dewey*, 24.
18. Alan Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), 122.
19. Hall, 61. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, November 1894. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
20. Dewey, *Biography of John Dewey*, 28.
21. Katherine and Anna Edwards Mayhew, *The Dewey School* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), 372.
22. Susan Blow to William T. Harris, June 12, 1896? *John Dewey Correspondence*.
23. Edwards and Mayhew, *The Dewey School*, 372.
24. George Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1973), 106-107.
25. *Ibid.* Much of this information was obtained by Dykhuizen during an interview with Fred in 1962. Over the years Fred had become quite prosperous and was the only child of Alice and John that did not take money from Alice's estate when John married Roberta Lowitz Grant in 1946.
26. John Dewey, "How We Think," *MW* 6: 179.
27. Alice Dewey, "The Place of the Kindergarten," *The Elementary School Teacher* 3, (January (1903): 283.
28. *Ibid.*, 273.
29. *Ibid.*, 284.
30. *Ibid.*, 286.
31. *Ibid.*, 278.
32. *Ibid.*, 280.

STACK: ALICE CHIPMAN DEWEY (1858-1927): STILL A MYSTERY?

33. Ibid., 286.
34. Ibid., 285.
35. Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 109.
36. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 8-9.
37. Frank Ball, "Manual Training," *Elementary School Record* 1 (October 1900): 178.
38. Hall, *The Unsung Partner*, 86.
39. Ibid., 97.
40. Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 112.
41. Ibid. 113.
42. Ibid. 114. The resignations were accepted by the Board of Trustees on May 2, 1904.
43. Max Eastman, *Great Companions* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1959), 273.
44. Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*. 115. Alice Dewey to William T. Harris, May 2, 1094. At the time Harris was US Commissioner and offered Alice an opportunity to serve as a member on one of his educational commissions. See Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*, 211.
45. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 229.
46. Ibid. 231.
47. Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism*, 155. Ryan essentially drops discussion of Alice at this point in his book on Dewey, mentioning her only in the context of the Gorky affair.
48. Dewey, *Biography of John Dewey*, 55. Sabino became a teacher and a designer of school equipment and the only child of the Dewey's to go into education.
49. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 239.
50. Ibid., 241.
51. Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 151.
52. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 248.
53. John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 75. Hall, *The Unsung Partner*, 115-116.
54. Alice Dewey to Evelyn Dewey, September 10, 1913. *John Dewey Correspondence*. Naumberg studied at Vassar and graduate from Barnard in 1912. She also studies at the London School of Economics and Columbia University.
55. John Dewey to William H. Kilpatrick, November 20, 1913. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
56. Alice Dewey to John Dewey, January 6, 1914. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
57. Alice Dewey to John Dewey, Lucy and Jane, January 26, 1914. *John Dewey Correspondence*.

58. Evelyn Dewey to John Dewey, February 2, 1914. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
59. Ibid. Alice Dewey to John Dewey, February 3, 1914. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
60. Alice Dewey to John Dewey, February 16, 1914. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
61. Alice Dewey to John Dewey, February 21, 1914. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
62. Alice Dewey to John Dewey, February 27, 1914. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
63. Montessori opened her first school in 1907. She was the first woman to receive a medical degree in Italy in 1894. Helen Parkhurst (1892-1973) was a graduate student at Columbia during the summers of 1908-1910. In 1914 she studied with Montessori and is noted for developing the Dalton Plan in 1910.
64. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 306.
65. Ibid., 307.
66. Ibid.
67. Hall, *The Unsung Partner*, 122, 125.
68. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 310.
69. Lewis Feuer, "John Dewey's Sojourn in Japan," *Teachers College Record* 17 (1969).
70. Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 193.
71. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 315.
72. Alice Dewey to Dewey Children, February 10, 1919. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
73. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 316.
74. Alice Dewey to Dewey Children, June 2, 1919. *John Dewey Correspondence*.
75. Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 200.
76. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 319.
77. Alice Dewey to Dewey Children, May 26, 1919. *John Dewey Correspondence*. This neglect of the voice of women resonates with contemporary discussion about the neglect of the voices of women in the civil rights and anti-war movement in the US in the 1960s.
78. George Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 200.
79. Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 324.
80. Ibid., 338.
81. Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 313.

FLORA WHITE RECONSIDERED: THE TRANSFORMATIVE QUALITY OF PLACE

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Introduction

In *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*, Edward S. Casey calls for a heightened awareness of place in philosophical discourse. He notes, “To be at all—to exist in any way—is to be somewhere, and to be somewhere is to be in some kind of place.” However, “just because place is so much with us, and we with it, it has been taken for granted, deemed not worthy of separate treatment” (1997, x). Casey argues that in over two thousand years of Western thought, place-talk became subordinated to a consideration of Space. This trend accelerated during the Age of Exploration, when the “deplaciation” of native people was accompanied by “the systematic destruction of regional landscapes that served as the concrete settings for local culture.” In the twentieth century, two world wars “acted to undermine any secure sense of abiding place.” The spread of electronic technology made it “irrelevant *where* you are as long as you can link up with other users of the same technology” (Casey 1997, xii-xiii). Today, he observes:

the encroachment of an indifferent sameness of place on a global scale.... makes the human subject long for a diversity of places, that is, difference of place, that has been lost in a worldwide monoculture based on Western (and more specifically, American) economic and political paradigms” (Casey 1997, xiii).

This paper reconsiders¹ the life of educational reformer Flora White (1860-1948) using the lens of place. (For purposes of this discussion, “place” embodies a sense of home and homeland, family, familiarity and intimacy, as opposed to undifferentiated space.) Specifically the focus of the paper is Heath, Massachusetts, where White was born and lived for much of her life. Utilizing primary and secondary sources (White’s personal writings, local histories, newspaper accounts, and reminiscences by contemporaries), the paper shows that White’s deplaciation—coupled with her unique experiences in an agricultural town in an industrial state—caused Heath to play an important role in defining and transforming her personal and professional life. An understanding of White as an educator, writer, and reformer requires us to investigate her place of origin

and the places that influenced her life, thought, and work.

Heath—the birthplace

Author Elisabeth Sifton offers a description of the Berkshire town of Heath, Massachusetts, as it appeared during the early to mid-twentieth century. Her account indicates that some systematic destruction of the regional landscape had occurred there.

Heath was very beautiful....Much of its hilly, forested terrain had been cleared over the previous two centuries for meadow and pasture, and from the open, windswept hilltops one could see for miles. Its isolated farmhouses....were handsomely plain in that lonely, heartbreaking way that is the distinctive mark of American frontier architecture (2003, 18).

The terrain was originally part of a land grant to the town of Boston in 1735. Its early history reflects the deplaciation of indigenous people. Court records from 1785 show that two women of the Scautecook tribe received a sum of 50 pounds for deeding property to the Massachusetts government. Boston never carried out the specific grant provisions to settle the land which subsequently was sold and re-sold to a variety of settlers (Tanner 1935, 53-54). In 1785 a church was organized at the town (Weis 1935, 35), named after General William Heath. During the American Revolution, he was the commanding officer of Colonel Hugh Maxwell who oversaw much of the process of organizing and incorporating the town including negotiations with the Massachusetts legislature, to which General Heath had been elected (Wolf 1985, 51).

Flora White’s forebears were among the town’s earliest and most prominent residents. Jonathan White came to the area in 1752; he bought land in the southern part of Heath, cleared a few acres, planted an orchard, and built a log house. A colonel in the French and Indian War and resident of Lancaster, Massachusetts, Jonathan White was Lancaster’s “largest landowner, a man of wealth and education—a gentleman of the old school” (Tanner 1935, 60). Although he lived most of his time at Lancaster, he frequently stayed at Heath and resided there in his later years. Jonathan’s son Asaph White—lora’s great-grandfather—was “connected with

almost every enterprise of a public nature in the region” (Tanner 1935, 62). He built the Second Massachusetts Turnpike and constructed a clothing mill along with several public buildings.

Farming was the main occupation in Heath from its early days (Gleason 1985, 104), but by the time Flora was born in 1860 to a small farmer, Joseph White and his wife Harriet (*U. S.* 1860), the area was in a 30-year period of decline. From a population of 1,199 in 1830, the number dropped to 895 in 1840. The downward trend continued, due to several factors including poor soil, a short growing season, the movement of large-scale agriculture to the Midwest, and a high altitude prohibiting the development of waterpower except for small operations. Edward Calver described Heath as “A mountainous township good for grazing sheep, of which 2,312 were kept in 1837” (1979, 190).

Joseph White represented Heath in the state legislature;² however, the family’s secure place in the town was shaken when he died in 1861, leaving Mrs. White with five children (*Heath Gravestone Records* 1991, 28). Their only son was “bound out” (Moyer 1974, 493) to a farm family with a male head of household in Hawley, Massachusetts (*U. S.* 1870). Mrs. White and her daughters moved for a while to nearby Shelburne Falls but then returned to Heath where Flora spent much of her girlhood. She subsequently moved with her mother and sisters to Amherst, Massachusetts, where they boarded in a minister’s home (“Poetess” 1947, 6). White graduated from Westfield Normal School and taught in the West Springfield and Springfield public schools (Pickwick 1941, 6; M. Plourde-Barker 2004).

During the late nineteenth century, Springfield was experiencing rapid industrialization as Massachusetts became the most urban of the states. Growing industries drew immigrants and rural people who left their homes to secure employment (*Springfield History*, 2004). White reacted against the crowded conditions and regimentation of the public schools in the industrial community in which she worked, arguing that educators should afford each child

a space that would insure it against repression,—a space wherein it can laugh and sing, and kick and jump, and swim and dive, and frolic,—yes, and plant and pull, and pound and build, and always have room for it all (White 1899, 7-8).

Embedded in White’s description of “space” was her

particular experience growing up amid the hills and meadows of Heath (which, unlike most Massachusetts towns, remained agricultural). White’s desire for a space (or place) for children’s growth was reflected in her involvement in the early Progressive Education movement. She rejected the rigid academic formalism of public schools and favored learning activities that allowed children to “test and do and dare” (White & White, *Manual Training*, undated, part 2, 7-10), eventually shared this view in articles lectures.

White resigned from public schools in 1885 and traveled to South Africa where her sister, Harriet, was a missionary teacher (Tanner 1935, 63-64). There Flora White spent three years teaching English in a boys’ preparatory school at Paarl, near Cape Town (Pickwick 1941, 5). The experience provided the background for “Zan Zoo,” a short story about a Black South African girl. White (under the male pen name “George Heath”) wrote and sold the short story to *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* for publication in 1891. The story suggests that Flora White grew in her own understanding of place by leaving home and witnessing the effects of colonialism on deplaciated tribal people.

Assuming the voice of a male writer/narrator, George Heath, White described his rescue of a free-spirited tribal girl, Zan Zoo, from the repressive cruelty of her Boer mistress. “George Heath” took Zan Zoo to his Native New England; however, the girl belonged to the *veld*, the South-African grassland. “Is it not good to be here?” Zan Zoo had asked the narrator as she introduced him to the plants, animals, and unique geographic features of her African home (Heath 1891, 347).

Zan Zoo was unaccustomed to New England and slowly died as the harsh winter approached. When writer/narrator “George Heath” recognized his misjudgment, he returned Zan Zoo’s body to an unmarked spot in the place of her birth (Heath 1891, 353). In the voice of the narrator, White wrote:

I shall never regret the long journey I took to lay the little...[black African] girl on the veld she loved so dearly. I wanted no curious eyes to stare at her resting-place. The sugar-birds and the toads and the doves will find her, and the spring-bok will stop in its flight as he nears her; the warm earth will guard her. No hope lies nearer my heart than that now, somehow, somewhere, Zan Zoo is happy (Heath 1891, 353).

Flora White attributed “Heath’s” belief that he could rescue Zan Zoo to male egoism (Heath 1891, 354-355). White was apparently less cognizant of the inherent ethnocentrism in having “Heath” gain enlightenment through the death of an African girl who was rescued by moving to the U. S. Nevertheless, White was clear in believing that everyone had a particular place in the world. Forty-one years after the publication of “Zan Zoo,” White wrote an article for a Massachusetts newspaper in which she clarified that—just as Zan Zoo’s identity was rooted in the veld—White belonged to the soil in Heath. She observed, “Those of us who have an inheritance in the hill-country—Those of us who are truly of the soil—are by nature expressly conscious of the unseen, unregarded forces that gave life and strength alike to plants and peoples” (White 1932, 3-C). The title of her article was, “Heath, the General of George Washington and Heath, the Town.”

In 1892, White’s mother died (*Heath Gravestone Records* 1991, 28). She had lived in Springfield with Flora and her sister Mary, who operated a small day school in their home (“Writer, Educator” 1948, 2; Plourde-Barker 2004). White made a career change shortly thereafter, accepting a position teaching physical culture (physical education) and sloyd (woodworking) at Westfield Normal School (*State Normal School* 1893-95, 2).

Physical culture promoted fine and gross motor activities that had been restricted through through a division of curriculum into gender-specific courses and industrialization in general. Flora White approached this work with great energy and continued to model physical fitness by doing a daily handstand until she was nearly seventy (Share 1986, 4). Educational sloyd, on the other hand, promoted intellectual growth and individualized instruction through the production of pre-industrial handcrafts. Some educational reformers hoped sloyd would connect, through the 12 years of general education, an orderly progression of manual work with intellectual activities, thereby meeting the new demands of an industrial age (Cremin 1969, 33). White resisted calling such work “manual training,” noting that one could train a soldier but not a poet (White & White 5). She advised teachers to avoid imposing their own systems of work on children, an apparent reference to problems that could result from using an industrial model for education (White 1899, 9).

Return of the native

In 1896 Flora and Mary White returned to Heath to

reclaim the lands where their family had lived for so many years. When none of the former family property was available for purchase, the sisters bought other land in the town; they named it “Plover Hill” after a bird that was native to the region (Smith 1985, 141). Acquiring the property was part of the sisters’ project to found a progressive day and boarding school for girls, known as Miss White’s Home School. During the academic year, the Whites held classes at Concord, Massachusetts, near their wealthy clientele. The school had an optional outdoor summer program at Heath called Plover Hill Camp for Girls (*Miss White’s Home School* 1900). Flora White would later reflect upon Miss White’s Home School as the “climax” of her educational career (White 1940).

Utilizing the unique features of the area, the White sisters provided a summer educational experience “of wholesome outdoor activity while retaining the shelter and atmosphere of a home” (*Plover Hill Camp* 1907, 1). A 1907 camp brochure described the camp.

Plover Hill is in Heath, Franklin County, Massachusetts. It is an open upland which rises to a height of eighteen hundred feet above the sea level. It faces Greylock and the Housatonic Range on the west, Modanock on the east, and the rolling hills of Buckland and Ashfield on the south. The air is cool and bracing, and the water, which comes from deep-seated springs, is remarkably pure. The surroundings are in every way thoroughly hygienic and health-giving. The Camp grounds include Plover Hill estate and the use of a woodland containing numerous brooks and winding paths. It also has a variety of old trees—beeches, elms, oaks, and maples—scattered over it, and here and there forming small groves suitable for recreation (*Plover Hill Camp* 1907, 2).

Plover Hill emphasized the importance of place. It provided a setting for breaking from the norms of the time to provide experiences not available otherwise. In so doing, the sisters extended girls’ horizons far beyond the gender restrictions of the time found in the dual curriculum of the common schools. In addition to participating in field trips to points of geographic and historic interest and taking lessons in gardening and domestic science, on a typical day, the campers engaged in gymnastics and basketball; cross country walks; the study of birds, wildflowers, and constellations; and reading of the classics, including an hour of Shakespeare (*Plover Hill Camp* 1-4). These activities were the norm at Plover Hill despite a widespread belief that competitive sports and rigorous intellectual activity

were harmful to women (Twin 1985, 193-217).

Flora White also promoted Heath to her friends as a place where adults could gain inspiration and solace from the clean air and beautiful hillside views. One such friend was Dr. Grace Wolcott (Smith 1985, 145), a Boston physician specializing in women's health. In 1903—upon White's urging—Dr. Wolcott established at Heath "an occupational camp for nervous patients" (*Forty-first annual meeting* 1916, 35). "Boston's best-known men physicians" (*Forty-first* 1916, 35) sent many women to Dr. Wolcott for treatment due to her high success rate. (The referrals were likely influenced by prevailing medical opinion that women's nervous disorders were a direct result of too much academic study and physical exertion.) While they were under Dr. Wolcott's care, the women experienced the tranquility of the hills and received occupational therapy in the form of gardening and weaving (Smith 1985, 145). When Dr. Wolcott died suddenly in 1915, some of her patients purchased property in the town and returned there every summer. They became part of a circle of people who attended the White sisters' "famous ... afternoon tea parties" characterized by lively discussions on a range of topics, including education, religion, history, agriculture, social issues and world affairs (Smith 1985, 141).

Flora White lost no time in deepening her connections to the place of her 1860 birth. She was a driving force in the founding of the Heath Historical Society in 1900; she and her sister Mary established Old Home Week in 1902—later called the Heath Fair, which is still in existence; she established St. Faiths, a summer school for rural girls seeking confirmation in the Episcopal Church (Smith 1985, 142-143); she also supported the work of New England landscape painter Robert Strong Woodward, her close friend and distant relative (Maitland 1985, 165). In 1921, Flora White was the impetus behind "The Drama of David," an outdoor production cast with local people on the model of the Oberammergau Passion Play (Smith 1985, 142-143).

The White sisters closed their Concord school in 1914 (White 1942, publisher's announcement) but continued to instruct a few students at Heath. In many cases, their pupils were children of their former students. Bobby Ervin, a pupil of the Whites, remembered that he most enjoyed the nature study that was a central part of his curriculum at Heath (Share 1986, 2).

Later years in Heath

One of Dr. Wolcott's patients was Ethel Paine of Boston, whose father in 1906 purchased the home of Heath's first minister (Robbins 1935, 8) for her summer residence. In 1915, Paine married John Cabot Moors, a banker and member of the Harvard Corporation. Although the couple had an imposing summer residence on the shore at Cohasset, Ethel Moors preferred the hills and meadows of Heath. She persuaded some of her friends to acquire summer homes there, as well as such intellectuals as Harvard law professor Felix Frankfurter and Union Theological Seminary professor Reinhold Niebuhr. It was at Heath that Niebuhr first delivered his famous Serenity Prayer in 1943 in the town's Union Church. Even after Felix Frankfurter's appointment to the U. S. Supreme Court in 1939, he arrived in Heath every summer accompanied by his law books (Sifton 2003, 37-79).

Collectively, these people—largely drawn to Heath by Flora White, Grace Wolcott, Ethel Moors, and their friends—formed what Niebuhr's daughter, Elisabeth Sifton, characterized as "an unusual summer colony" (Sifton 1998, 17). Edward Calver described their activities:

They came to enjoy the good life and almost of necessity did so within the town. The roads were narrow, unpaved, and steep, and automobiles were primitive.... Once here they cultivated elaborate flower gardens. They walked. They went birding. They picked berries. They entertained at morning coffee, noon luncheon, afternoon tea, dinner, often on the spur of the moment.... They went to the Union church. They had house guests. And they talked. Some of the talk was brilliant, erudite, and witty; some was gossip; some had to do with coping; a great deal had to do with politics. Some of the men were gifted and prominent in their profession; some of the women had fine minds. A great many were social and congenial (1979, 200).

Sometimes Heath seemed far removed from the pressing problems of the day—as, for example, during the First World War when the Whites amused guests by prompting their collie, Lassie, to give the appropriate number of barks when asked, "What would you do if the Germans were coming?" (Smith 1985, 142). At other times events overseas brought heartache and undermined Heath's aura of security as, for example when the sisters' former Heath pupil, Henry "Skipper" Ervin (Bobby's brother) was killed in World War II (Share 1986, 2). Still, Sifton recalled the fondness her family and friends shared for Heath's unique

characteristics:

We liked it for its beauty, for its sympathetic human tone, and for still having the physical contours of a classic New England town, with two centuries' worth of New England views about self-governance and self-reliance showing in every hill and valley (2003, 21).

Sifton also noted that Heath's "most striking quality beyond the physical beauty of the land and buildings was the relative absence in Heath society of all those banal hypocrisies about money, status, power, and authority that regularly contort and distort social behavior in most places" (2003, 18).

In this atmosphere, this place, Flora White and her contemporaries were able to achieve self-actualization by initiating their own testing, doing, and daring. While Niebuhr drew on the serenity of Heath to compose his famous prayer, and Felix Frankfurter—an agnostic Jew—questioned and argued with Protestant clergy who summered at the town (Sifton 2002, 16-23), Flora White also enjoyed new opportunities for inspiration and growth. She contributed regularly to *Unity*, a Unitarian magazine published by John Haynes Holmes, one of the founders of the NAACP (*Unity*, May 31, 1923; September 28, 1931; July 23, 1934; April 4, 1938; December 1940; September 1941; July 1944). She wrote newspaper articles on history, foreign policy, and public affairs (White 1899; White 1932, 3C; White 1931, 7E). She supported pacifists and criticized western nations' brutality toward indigenous peoples (*Unity* September, 1941, 119). She also published music and poetry. One of White's poems—published when she was 76 years old and when her sister Mary's health was failing—illustrates the connection Flora White felt to her birthplace:

The Old Beech Tree
 Rugged, erect and woefully stark,
 Gnomes peering out from his bulging bark,
 Striding the rock he is rending apart,
 Shivered and splintered by lightning dart,
 Stands the old beech tree that has captured my heart.
 Mottled of trunk and shattered of limb,
 Two boughs forming a cross-beam grim,

Braced 'gainst the west-wind's hurricane blast,
 Facing eastward through centuries past,
 What will we do with life at the last?
 When over Pocumtuck the moon rolls red,
 When white mists trace the Connecticut's bed,
 When circling the upland the plover's wild cry
 Turns into tone both bird and sky,
 What will we do if death draws nigh?
 Moon and mist and soaring bird
 Straightway give the answering word—
 "Barren, leafless, cruciate tree
 Is the breath of Calvary;
 Stands alone—and gallantly faces life's last
 mystery."

(*Unity* May 18, 1936, 111)

Epilogue and conclusion

Flora White's life ended during the harsh New England winter on February 14, 1948. At 87 years of age, she had fractured her hip in a fall while living at Parks Convalescent Center in Greenfield, Massachusetts. The following spring her body was interred in Heath's South Cemetery beside generations of White ancestors, dating back to Jonathan White who first cleared land at Heath ("Writer, Educator" 1948, 2; Heath Gravestone Records 1991, 28).

When Heath celebrated its Bicentennial in 1985, the President of its Historical Society wrote, "The fact that it is one of the last Berkshire towns that is agricultural.... makes Heath.... almost unique" (Coe 1985, 11). A study of Flora White's life and career illustrates the importance of the unique place in which she lived in providing a sense of identity and focus, influencing her educational philosophy, and nurturing her personal growth. White's awareness of the importance of place (due, in part, to her own deplaciation) and her repeated attempts to connect to Heath throughout her life, suggest that one cannot understand her as a teacher, writer, or human being without also understanding Heath. White was likely

thinking of her own unique place in the world when she penned the words of her character, Zan Zoo: "Is it not good to be here?"

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ENDNOTES

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2. Flora White wrote in her copy of the *Sesquicentennial Anniversary of the Town of Heath*, "Joseph White, son of David, represented the district (which included Heath) in the State Legislature in Boston & was a personal friend of Charles Sumner."

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AN APPROACH TO WRITING A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

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Introduction

Viewed historically, the current era marks a highpoint in U.S. government involvement in the public schools. McClusky (2007) notes a level of federal government involvement that includes control over state curricula and state requirements to report Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP). Pendell (2008) describes how the state of Connecticut and districts in Texas, Illinois and other states have filed law suits against the federal government over No Child Left Behind (NCLB) mandates citing violations of the Tenth Amendment and the Spending Clause. Numerous sources connect this highpoint of involvement to the U.S. government's response in the wake of both the Soviet launching of the satellite Sputnik in 1957 and *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, a quarter-century later (Amrein and Berliner 2002; Astiz, Wiseman and Baker 2002; Goodlad 2004; Guthrie and Springer 2007). In fact, the sources cited here represent only a very small sample of the literature noting both *Sputnik* and *A Nation at Risk* as watershed events toward increasing federal government involvement in education. In both cases the government feared a loss of world dominance in scientific advancement and economic power pointing the finger of blame directly at the schools.

With states being required to demonstrate how their curricula meet NCLB standards, teachers are often limited to instructional rather than curricular decisions. Nonetheless, teachers decide, on a daily basis, how their classrooms will be arranged, how their interactions with students will take place, how much input children will have with daily activities and other important decisions. What drives these decisions? How are these decisions connected to a teacher's view of the importance of a child's education in the bigger picture? In this highly dictatorial educational environment, is the teacher's philosophy of education irrelevant? If teacher preparation requirements are any indication, it is not; teacher education candidates typically write a philosophy of education as a required assignment during their preparation. Huss (2007) calls it "both standard fare and a rite of passage for nearly all undergraduate pre-service teaching candidates" (p.69). The reality is that many school districts require a written philosophy of education of their prospective employees.

This paper describes an approach to writing a philosophy of education used primarily with undergraduate students seeking teacher certification in the state of Texas. New teachers in Texas will typically

get asked about their philosophy of education in an interview but many feel their answer needs to be succinct and to focus more on their classroom in a vacuum rather than connected to deeply rooted philosophical underpinnings. Another way prospective teachers get asked the question is on a job application; the space provided for their answer is commonly a small text box, leaving little space to provide a comprehensive answer to the question. Finally, a principal may ask: "If I walked into your classroom, what would I see?" This is reminiscent of Ayers' (1993) idea that personal teaching space is a reflection of philosophy. While the principal may or may not follow this with a question regarding why these choices are made, the intent of this question is nonetheless philosophical. Despite Huss' (2007) concern that philosophy statements are written only to satisfy those who will read them, this approach, despite its structural requirements, does attempt to get students to make the content of the philosophy statement very personal yet written with a specific audience in mind. Even the Huss (2007) approach has students "explore five simple and direct questions" (p.73). Thus structure, but not content is also suggested in his method. Even so, the critical issue remains; students struggle with writing their personal beliefs in a document they believe will be reviewed by someone who may or may not offer them a job based at least partially on the contents of that philosophy. Amobi (2003) describes writing a philosophy for the purpose of preparing to answer the question in the context of a job interview as the approach she used prior to a paradigm shift to have the written philosophy connect directly with classroom practice. After this paradigm shift came her approach to teaching the writing of a philosophy of education as "a dynamic force that influences what we do as educators" (Amobi 2003, p. 25). The approach to writing a philosophy described in this paper seeks to prepare students to answer the question in a job interview and have the philosophy be a living document reflecting the decisions they will make in the classroom.

Components of a Philosophy of Education

To fully address a philosophy of education in the context of writing for, but not necessarily to appease a particular audience, the student must ponder a written philosophy of education easily adaptable to the circumstances for which it will be viewed. This succinct approach requires the student, in two short paragraphs, to address three questions: 1) What utilitarian purposes does education serve beyond the school walls? 2) Why

are these purposes important? 3) How will this view of the purpose of education manifest itself in classroom practices? The first paragraph begins with a ‘World View Statement’ while the second paragraph begins with a ‘Content Area World View Statement’. This structure facilitates consistency throughout the document while allowing the two paragraphs to clarify and justify the world view, and address classroom application in the content area world view respectively. This approach is consistent with the views of John Dewey (1916) who felt philosophy should “attain as unified, consistent and complete an outlook on practice as possible” (p. 324). The World View/Content Area World View approach to writing an educational philosophy presents exactly that: a unified, consistent and complete outlook on practice. It should also be noted this approach is not completed in one assignment nor is it finished over the course of one semester. The World View and Content Area World View statements are completed in an Introduction to Education course along with instruction in four authoritarian educational philosophies [Perennialism, Essentialism, Behaviorism and Positivism] and four non-authoritarian philosophies [Constructivism, Progressivism, Humanism and Social Reconstructionism] while the rest of the document is rewritten in later semesters in other courses in the sequence.

World View Statement

Beginning the document with a World View statement (WV), or “The purpose of education is ...” helps focus the student on the ‘why’ of what they believe should be happening in the schools. The world view approach also helps focus attention on the purpose of schooling beyond school. There should always be a reason behind what teachers do in their classrooms beyond preparing students for their next school year. Conceptualizing a world view helps put the focus on this bigger picture. This top-down approach is difficult for some students; determining utilitarian purposes for classroom choices can be challenging for someone already teaching and even more challenging for someone not yet teaching. Nonetheless, it is critical to get future teachers pondering this bigger picture because much of the curriculum they will be teaching is already determined for them by the state. The government control mentioned above left a very dictatorial essentialist philosophy in its wake. The premise behind the essentialist philosophy prevalent in our nation currently is the need for an essential body of knowledge and skills attained by all students for the larger purpose of having citizens who can productively contribute to our society and keep the United States in a position of global power and control. Despite this governmental

control over curriculum, there is still room and a need for teachers to connect the decisions they make in their classrooms to their own personal purposes for these choices.

For clarity, this paper will present connected examples of each of the steps to this approach. In the first example a world view statement is provided to reflect both the essentialist philosophy prevalent in governmental edicts and a humanist approach commonly found in students’ views.

Example

The purpose of education is to prepare children socially, emotionally, physically and academically to be productive members of a sustainable global society.

Content Area World View Statement

The Content Area World View (CAWV) statement serves two purposes. First, it helps students write an internally consistent philosophy from beginning to end. Often students begin with what they believe to be a big picture philosophy and as they begin to elaborate, other issues belonging in the world view statement emerge. Second, the CAWV provides a direct connection from the ‘what’ and the ‘why’ of the WV to the ‘how’ exemplified by classroom activities. Huss (2007) believes the failure to align educational beliefs and classroom practices leaves students in a mismatched school environment. The method for writing an educational philosophy explained here is likewise consistent with the post paradigm-shift approach of Amobi (2003) to make educational philosophy instructive to the everyday life of teaching in the classrooms (p. 31). The process of writing the CAWV begins by borrowing language from the WV verbatim and applying it to the level and/or the content area. For students who plan to teach elementary school, the content area is not included as they will teach all content areas. For students who plan to teach a secondary level, the content area is clearly specified.

Two examples are provided for clarification of this difference. The first is the phrasing that students who are pursuing elementary certification are encouraged to use. The second is an example for both middle school and high school teachers. The key difference is the connection of the world view to a single content area in the latter example. Notice how both examples contain language borrowed directly from the WV and the word ‘by’ somewhere in the middle of the statement. The former facilitates consistency throughout the document while usage of the word ‘by’ is encouraged because it helps put the students’ focus on what they will be doing in their classroom to reflect their philosophy.

Examples

1. Elementary school helps prepare children socially, emotionally, physically and academically to be productive members of a sustainable global society by providing opportunities for personal growth, collective responsibility and worldwide perspective.

2. High school music helps prepare children socially, emotionally, physically and academically to be productive members of a sustainable global society by providing opportunities to connect personal experiences to performance for competition, entertainment and charity of music representing a wide variety of styles and genres, composition, and improvisation.

Once complete, the WV and the CAWV serve as the backbone of philosophy. Thus, these statements can be used by themselves to provide a brief, written or verbal synopsis of the philosophy if a student gets asked for a philosophy of education in an interview or on a job application. To help students elaborate upon, and think more critically about the backbone of the philosophy, both the WV and the CAWV are followed by brief paragraphs. The paragraph following the WV helps clarify and justify the WV statement.

World View Clarification and Justification

Clarification is necessary; it provides operational definitions for the important elements of the WV. In the given WV example, the phrases ‘social, emotional, physical and academic preparation’, ‘productive members’ and ‘sustainable global society’ all require clarification or definition. Justification is important as well; the reader should understand the importance of these issues to the writer. Clarification and justification can and possibly should be done simultaneously as it makes the first paragraph more readable and less formulaic. Students are encouraged to reinforce their justifications with statistics, a quote from an authority figure or plausible opinion. This approach discouraged myopic views, unfounded or not shared by others and encouraged students to become more aware of their educational surroundings in the larger context of our society. Students are also encouraged to remain positive and avoid criticizing the status quo in order to demonstrate some perceived superiority of their point of view. Finally, while students are required to know which educational philosophies are reflected in their words, they are encouraged not to use these terms in the final document. This approach helps students remain connected yet simultaneously helps prevent them from “obediently echo(ing) a list of ‘name your jargon’ keywords” (Hess 2007, p. 71).

Clarification and Justification Example

The purpose of education is to prepare children socially, emotionally, physically and academically to

be productive members of a sustainable global society. With constant changes in technology and society becoming exponentially more diverse with each decade, today’s children will be required to interact with a wide variety of people in many ways. Today’s relevant issues, including but not limited to an unstable economy, an increasingly diverse society and the planet’s sustainability, will necessitate preparing children with flexible skill sets and a commitment to leaving behind a better society and planet than they found. In total, these issues require a new generation of children who are well rounded and prepared to help themselves and others for the greater good of all.

Classroom Activities

With the assistance of the CAWV, the first paragraph dovetails with the second paragraph. Whereas the first paragraph is for clarification and justification, the second paragraph describes what classroom activities support the ideas in the first paragraph. It is at this point the elementary teacher can choose to address a specific grade level and begin talking personally about the classroom. At the end of the entire philosophy, a ‘full circle’ statement is added to bring the reader back to the original WV and facilitate connection of classroom activities to the original statement.

Examples

1. Elementary school helps prepare children socially, emotionally, physically and academically to be productive members of a sustainable global society by providing opportunities for personal growth, collective responsibility and worldwide perspective. In my third grade classroom, children will be taught to see how their actions, skills and contributions connect with the bigger picture of the classroom, school, neighborhood, state, country and world. Stretching and physical activity will be found along side working on academics. Academics will constantly be connected to real world examples. When children read, they will be asked to make personal connections to the text or connections to other texts. When children do math, they will be shown how their school learning can help them with problems outside of school. There will be many opportunities for students to recognize their social responsibilities; we will be recycling, doing community service to the school and the neighborhood and pen pals will help students connect with children in other countries to better understand life elsewhere. The children in my class will indeed be socially, emotionally, physically and academically preparing to become productive members in a sustainable global society.

2. High school music helps prepare children socially, emotionally, physically and academically to be productive members of a sustainable global society by providing opportunities to connect personal experiences to performance for competition, entertainment and charity of music representing a wide variety of styles and genres, composition, and improvisation. A quick look into a child's music folder will reveal my beliefs in action. Popular music will be found right next to classical music and jazz, music from other countries, music composed by women and music with messages of honor and protest. The benefits of studying and performing this variety of music will be both musical and extra-musical. The musical benefits include learning to perform, compose and improvise at the highest levels possible. The extra-musical benefits include learning to work alone and with small and large groups toward common goals, learning the perspective of others around the world through music, having an emotional outlet through music, mutual benefit fundraising with part of the proceeds going toward sustainable earth charities and experiencing the benefits of giving to others through music. My band students will clearly be learning social, emotional, physical and academic skills to be productive members of a sustainable global society.

Conclusion

In total, this approach to writing a philosophy of education addresses the need to connect the 'what' and 'why' of prospective teachers' beliefs to their actions and classroom decisions; it connects decisions to the larger purposes for which they're intended. Thus, the disconnect between classroom practice and a written philosophy for the purpose of having something to say to an audience, noted by Huss (2007) and Amobi (2003), is potentially addressed with this model. The

model allows students to conceive philosophy top-down [from WV to classroom practice] or bottom-up [from classroom practice to WV]. The model is started, but not finished, during the early stages of a student's preparation sequence, allowing it to be a living, dynamic and flexible statement.

In this era of extreme government involvement in educational practice, it is imperative for students entering the profession to have an understanding of their own philosophy and how it fits, not only with the philosophy of the administrators who hire them, but with Essentialism in general and specifically for the purpose of maintaining a competitive country in the global picture. In other words, the stakes are higher than finding a school with a good fit; students need to make sure the teaching profession, in this era of extreme government control, is a good fit.

This approach seeks to leave students with a truly personal philosophy. Mead's (1964) ideas of the social self separated into the "I" and the "me" provide important theoretical understanding to the dualistic purpose of writing a personal philosophy intended for prospective employers to read. Mead built upon Cooley's (1902) "looking glass self" to describe how one's sense of self comes from the reflections offered us by others. In short, the "I" is the self as subject and the "me" is the self as object. The "me" grows out of the generalized other and the self learning how to respond in social situations. The generalized other, says Mead (1964) is "invoked whenever a person considers what he ought to do" (p. 53). Thus, if a student writes a philosophy, as Huss (2007) suggests, to "simply repeat what the instructor or school administrator wants to hear, the effort will be void of substance" (p. 71), the 'me' has responded, leaving little or no room for the self as subject to act. Hopefully, this approach allows both the "I" and the "me" room to speak, and act.

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BARBED WIRE, BUMPY ROADS, AND BEGONIAS

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Women are destined to rule the schools of every city... In the near future we will have more women than men in the executive charge of the vast educational system. It is a woman's natural field, and she is no longer to do the greatest part of the work and yet be denied leadership. It will be my aim to prove that no mistake has been made and to show critics and friends alike that a woman is better qualified for this work than a Man. Ella Flagg Young, 1909, at her appointment to the Superintendence of Chicago City Schools (Glass, 2000).

Introduction

This paper examines three research studies relating to female superintendents in the United States. The first study discussed is *A Comparative Analysis of Women Superintendents in Rural and Urban Settings*. It was published in 1993 by Linda Wesson and Marilyn Grady. Topics included in their study were viewing women as change agents and looked at them in the areas of educational change, job satisfaction, job skills, leadership qualities, and rural urban differences.

Urban Education, the second study included in this paper, called *The Promise of Title IX: Longitudinal Study of Gender in Urban School Administration 1972 to 2002*, was written by Norma Mertz. Statistical data was collected over a 30 year period, and the study reports on the movement of females into administrative jobs in the biggest school districts in the nation, except for that one top spot, that of superintendent. Title IX held the promise to redress gender inequity in school administration. It would appear to have been successful except for the one persistent, resistant, powerful top spot.

The third report by Carole Funk, Anita Pankake and Gwen Schroth, presents archetypes of Outstanding Female Superintendents. This document is a study of women superintendents. The study identified professional and personal characteristics and styles of leadership to develop archetypes of six outstanding female superintendents in Texas. This research also intended to reveal similarities between and among female superintendents that would provide insights into backgrounds, feelings, relationships, and beliefs through the use of qualitative methodology based on the use of an inductive content-analysis technique to reveal patterns and frameworks that would show an overall successful female superintendent. The data collected for the study were first obtained from an earlier study of ways in which six outstanding female superintendents learned from failure. In the current study, recurring leadership themes emerged from the inductive data analysis: (1) vision, shared vision, and visioning; (2) ethical and professional behaviors; (3) dreaming, thinking, creating, intuiting, and introspecting; (4) communication; (5) motivation; (6) commitment; (7)

work ethic and industry; and (8) energy and stamina. From the eight themes came the archetypes of outstanding women superintendents.

Why title a paper Barbed Wire, Bumpy Roads, and Begonia? These three studies are chocked full of bumpy statistics, data, and research which reflect sticky information, the hegemony of men in school administration being well established, and numbers of women moving into administration—women like begonias. Begonias are hardy, fragrant, showy and come in many colors.

First Study: "A Comparative Analysis of Women Superintendents in Rural and Urban Settings" by Linda Wesson and Marilyn Grady in 1993 (1995).

The prevailing model of educational administration evolved over the last part of the 19th and the early decades of the 20th centuries (Callahan, cited in Adkinson 1981). This leadership model paralleled the managerial revolution in business, industry, and government; it defined the professional manager as a person who had an "internal decision-making monopoly and authority over others" (Kanter, cited in Adkinson 1981, 313) and relied on a rigid hierarchical structure, competition, and control to bring about results (Ortiz & Marshall 1988).

There are serious questions about the efficacy of this leadership model. As early as 1988, researchers in educational administration were asking two fundamental questions that highlighted this dilemma: "To what extent does a system of hierarchical control enhance teaching and learning?... To what extent do traditional ranking and emphasis on competition square with the enhancement of educators as people and of instructional services?" (Ortiz & Marshall 1988, p. 138).

Two powerful movements in this country seem to have originated, at least in part, as reactions to this leadership model: one is the current reform movement in education with its emphasis on restructuring schools; the other is the paradigm shift in leadership that is characterized by collaboration and consensus building.

Reinventing or restructuring schools in this country began with the educational reform movements of the 1980s. It involves understanding the social, political, and legal context within which schools operate and

redefining school programs and practices in ways that optimize student learning (Simpson 1992). "The educational crisis today is not an isolated phenomenon but is part of the larger social, familial, and value crises that defy a simple solution, i.e., better schools" (Simpson 1992, p. 238). Because of the complexity of the issues and the need for a systematic approach to the problems, the reform movement calls for educational leaders to move away from the traditional, hierarchical, control-and-command environment. In complex environments, leaders have to be more than technical managers.

The paradigm shift in leadership is depicted in business management literature (Aburdene & Naisbitt 1992; Covey 1990; Helgesen 1990, Peters 1988) as a shift toward a more flexible organizational structure based on units that are more lateral and cooperative. It is an organizational structure that values leadership over management and emphasizes collaboration, consensus building, and empowerment.

There is a parallel movement toward the reconceptualization of leadership in educational administration. A key player in this movement is the superintendent of schools. Most studies have focused on the superintendent in general and the male superintendent in particular. Although 3% of the superintendencies are held by women, little is known about their leadership characteristics and work experiences (Bell 1988). It is particularly important to gain a better understanding of women in the superintendency as educators reconceptualize the dimensions of educational leadership to better fit the demands of the reform movement in education (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee 1982; Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt 1989; Purkey & Smith 1983).

To better understand the leadership characteristics of women superintendents the Wesson and Grady pilot study utilized a self-report procedure to determine whether women superintendents operationalize leadership qualities that fit a new paradigm of leadership and if there were differences in the leadership characteristics of urban and rural superintendents. The variables of interest were women's perceived sources of job satisfaction, the benefits accrued on the job, their sense of self fulfillment in the work place, and personal strengths they brought to the job.

They looked for differences between the leadership characteristics of urban superintendents and rural superintendents because of the amount of stress urban districts have historically experienced (Cuban 1979). In 1990 Samuel Husk, then the executive director of the Council of Great City Schools that represents forty-four of the countries largest urban districts, estimated that the

average tenure of urban superintendents was less than three years (Bradley 1990). Today sources at the Council of Great City Schools cite the average tenure of all urban superintendents as two years. Recent attention has also focused on difficulties facing urban school districts because of changing student and family demographics (Hodgkinson 1988; Rist 1992). Urban school districts have been and are systems under stress. It would be interesting to know if women superintendents in urban districts differed from women in rural districts in regard to their perceived sources of job satisfaction, benefits accrued on the job, sense of self fulfillment, and personal strengths that they brought to the job.

Procedures

To obtain the information needed to answer the research questions addressed in this study, women superintendents were interviewed. Interviewing women superintendents would provide the depth of information required by the research questions. However no comprehensive directory of women superintendents could be found.

In seeking the names of women superintendents required assistance from the American Association of School Administrators, state associations of school administrators, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), state departments of education, and other researchers. Lists of superintendents' names were obtained from state departments of education and state administrators' groups. Some states would not release the names of their superintendents. 346 women superintendents in 29 states were identified. Women superintendents in the other 21 states were not included.

All 346 superintendents received a letter explaining the study and were asked two questions: Would you be willing to participate in the study; and, how many years have you been a superintendent? After one mailing 263 (76%) of the superintendents responded. Of the 263 respondents, 249 (95%) agreed to be interviewed.

Because the research questions required a comparison of the perceptions of urban and rural superintendents, they were initially categorized as urban or rural. For this initial categorization, superintendents working in population centers of 50,000 or more or in an area adjacent to such a population center were classified as urban. All others were classified as rural superintendents. In an effort to verify our definition of urban, characteristics described in publications issued by the U.S. Department of Commerce (1990 Census of Populations 1992), *The World Almanac* (Scripps Howard 1990), and *Grolier's Electronic Encyclopedia* (1991) were used. These sources suggested a number of

complex descriptions of urban areas that did not enhance our ability to define urban superintendents. Thus, as part of the interview, the superintendents were asked to identify their superintendency in terms of settings. This procedure was compatible with suggestions made by Thomas (1991) for defining urban in educational studies.

All 31 superintendents initially identified as urban were selected for telephone interviews. 31 rural superintendents were randomly selected for interviews to obtain an equivalent number of rural superintendents for comparison with the urban subjects. Twenty-one urban and 30 rural superintendents were available for telephone interviews during January 1993. The superintendents answered 10 open-ended questions in sequence during interviews of 30-45 minutes in length.

The most striking conclusion is that both urban and rural women superintendents have leadership characteristics that are similar, and these leadership characteristics do fit a new leadership paradigm. These women superintendents have been hired to be change agents and consensus builders, and both the urban and rural superintendents are finding a lot of success in their jobs. Data gathered during the interviews indicate that both groups of superintendents describe their job satisfiers, job benefits, and strengths in terms that do indeed fit a new leadership paradigm.

Both groups of superintendents' job satisfiers centered around bringing about change ("making a difference," "being involved in change," and "providing direction"); both groups of superintendents saw the job benefits in terms of reaching out to others and creating a nourishing environment ("opportunity to work with a variety of people," "achieving a career goal," and "a chance for growth"); both groups of superintendents saw their strengths in terms of connectedness and vision ("working with people," "being able to communicate," and "having a vision").

The answers to the question, "What qualities was the board seeking when they hired you to your present position?" are indicators that most of the school boards were looking for the very qualities that these women saw as their strengths, their job satisfiers and the benefits they received from the job; namely, bringing about change- their strengths, creating a nourishing environment- their job satisfiers, and having a vision and connectedness with the district- their job benefits. The board wanted someone to introduce and manage change; they wanted someone to provide stability, structure, and organization for the district. These superintendents' leadership styles as indicated by their perceived strengths and job satisfiers seem to be an appropriate fit for school boards in both urban and rural

school districts.

This was a pilot study of a small sample of the women superintendents in this country, but the results are consistent with the premise: women superintendents are successfully operationalizing leadership skills that fit a new leadership paradigm, a paradigm that values connectedness and human development (Shakeshaft 1987). That these results are consistent for women in urban and rural areas is illustrated by a comment made by an urban superintendent who said, "The side of the district really doesn't matter; the larger districts draw a lot of attention because of the size, but the issues are the same. These issues deal with adult problems- problems of who is going to control the agenda and issues concerning governance. These adult issues get in the way of children's issues." Perhaps a leadership paradigm shift in the superintendency will help mitigate these kinds of agendas!

Second Study: Archetypes of Outstanding Female Superintendents Authored by Carole Funk, Anita Pankake, and Gwen Schroth

Since 1972, the question of whether and to what extent women are moving into administration has been vigorously debated (Edson 1987; Jones & Montenegro 1982; McCarthy & Zent 1981; Mertz & McNeely 1988; Valverde 1980; Yeakey, Johnston, & Adkison 1986). Similarly, the question of whether the promise of Title IX for achieving gender equity in school administration is being realized remains open. Curiously enough, what would seem to be an easily answered question, a simple matter of comparative arithmetic, has proven to be anything but easy to answer. There continues to be a lack of a reliable national database or systematic, standardized methods of collecting data in ways that would make such analysis possible. The problems of documenting trends in the status of the years (Banks 1995; Jones & Montenegro 1982; Mertz 1991; Shakeshaft 1989; Tyack & Hasot 1982; Yeakey et al., 1986).

Recognizing the problems inherent in tracking the status of women in line administration and given the limited resources.

Method and Procedures

The 50 largest U.S. school districts in 1972 (by student population) constituted the population for the study. The choice of large-city school districts was prompted by the notion that given the large number of students they served and the larger number of administrative positions they maintained relative to other types of systems, if changes were to occur, they would be more likely to occur and be traceable in these districts. Furthermore, large districts tend to experience greater movement in positions and have greater ability

to create positions than smaller school districts. Matched data were secured for 44 of the districts for the first 20 of 30 years of the study but from only 37 of the 44 school districts for the entire 30 years (84% return rate).

The school systems were asked to complete a simple form requesting the total number, the number of men, and the number of women holding *each* of nine line administrative positions: superintendent, deputy or associate superintendent, assistant superintendent, high school principal or assistant principal, middle or junior

high school principal and assistant principal, and elementary principal and assistant principal. The data were compared for 10-year intervals: 1972 to 1982, 1982 to 1992, 1992 to 2002, and for the 30-year period, 1972 to 2002. Descriptive statistics were generated (numbers and percentages) by position for the entire population, and chi-square calculations were used to determine if differences found from time period to time period were statistically significant.

Findings

Table 1
Men and Women in Line Administrative Positions,
1972-2002

	1972		1982		1992		2002	
	m	%	m	%	m	%	m	%
Positions (total)	9,945		9,886		12,572		13,761	
Women in Positions	3,282	33	3,658	37	6,296	50	8,532	62
men in positions	6,663	67	6,228	63	6,286	50	5,229	39

As may be seen in Table 1, the total number and percentage of women holding administrative positions increased in each time period. Although the increase in number of women holding positions was modest in 1972 to 1982 (+376), increases in subsequent periods (1982 to 1992, 1992 to 2002) were large and notable (+2,628, +2,246). Thus, during the 30-year period from 1972 to 2002, the number of women holding positions had come near to tripling, the percentage of women holding positions had nearly doubled, and women outnumbered men as total position holders 8,532 to 5,229. This dramatic shift can be seen in Figure 1.

Given the increasing percentage of women holding positions during 1972 to 2002, it is not surprising that the percentage of men declined in the same period. However, the change in the number of men holding positions was neither as steady nor as dramatic as the increases in women holding positions. Indeed, in one period, 1982 to 1992, there was a small increase in the number of men holding positions (+58). One has only to look at the total number of positions for an explanation of these results. Between 1982 and 2002, there was a dramatic increase in the total number of positions, 9,866 in 1982 to 12,572 in 1992 to 13,761 in 2002. Although men clearly lost positions and women gained positions during the 30-year period, the impact of men was not proportional to the increases in women.

As can be seen in Table 2, the *percentage* of women increased in each position in each time period, 1972 to 2002, and the *number* of women increased in each

position in each time period with one exception, elementary assistant principals, 1972 to 1982. In that positions in that time period, the number of women decreased by 144. However, in that same period, the percentage of women holding the position increases slightly (49% to 50%).

Although there is a clear pattern of increases in the number and percentage of women holding each position in each time period, the magnitude of those increases differs by position. In 1972, women were the majority in only one position, elementary principal (54%), and approached parity in one position, elementary assistant principal (49%). In the other seven positions, men were not merely the majority, they dominated the positions (range: 100% to 79.5%). In 2002, men remained the majority in four of the nine positions; superintendent (79.5%), deputy superintendent (55%), high school principal (59%), and high school assistant principal (54%). However, the magnitude of their majority in these and other positions save superintendent was seriously eroded from 1972 levels. Furthermore, in the intervening 30 years women extended their dominance in the position of elementary principal to 74%, became the majority in three more positions- elementary assistant principal (73%), middle school principal, and assistant principal (56% each)- and reached parity in an additional position, assistant superintendent (50%). Indeed, it is only in the position of superintendent that the number of percentage of women can be characterized as modest (eight, 19.5%).

Table 2

STEPHENS: BARBED WIRE, BUMPY ROADS, AND BEGONIAS

Position	1972		1982		1992		2002	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Superintendent	0	0	3	7	7	17	81	9.5
Deputy superintendent	4	4	27	23	32	31	89	45
Assistant superintendent	35	13	50	21	84	35	108	50
High school principal	43	7	112	15	297	32	362	41
Assistant high school principal	278	19	462	24	906	40	1,096	46
Middle school principal	89	10	166	20	367	30	5,58	56
Assistant middle school principal	314	20.5	440	29	790	46	1008	56
Elementary school principal	1,704	54	1,718	58	2,378	61	3,112	74
Assistant Elementary school principal	815	49	671	50	1,395	55	2191	73

Table 3
Results of Chi-Square Analysis of Women in Line Administrative Positions, 1972 to 2002

Position	% 1972	%2002	Asymptotic Significance
Superintendent	0	19.5*	.000
Deputy superintendent	4	45*	.000
Assistant Superintendent	13	50*	.000
High school principal	7	41*	.000
Assistant high school principal	19	45*	.001
Middle school principal	10	56*	.000
Assistant middle school principal	20.5	56*	.000
Elementary school principal	54	74	.077
Assistant Elementary school principal	49	73*	.030
Total women	33	62*	.003

*Significant at .05 level

The number and percentage of women who have moved into administration in the largest school districts in the nation in the 30 years since the passage of Title IX appear dramatic. From near invisibility, women are in every position in notable numbers and percentages, save superintendent, and nothing can detract from that very real achievement. Nevertheless, the question remains whether the increases are statistically significant.

As can be seen in Table 3, the increases in the percentages of women in line administrative positions 1972 to 2002 were statistically significant at the .05 level for all women (total) and in each position except elementary school principal, which approached significance. From a statistical perspective, the changes in the situation and placement of women in line administrative positions since the passage of Title IX have been real and dramatic, not merely a matter of chance. When the data are examined by time period, as can be seen in Table 4, excluding the position of

elementary school principal, a more varied picture emerges. The increases in the percentages of women holding positions were statistically significant only for the overall time period, 1972 to 2002, not for any of the intervening time periods. Furthermore, in specific positions, only two of the position increases for women from 1972 to 1982 were statistically significant (superintendent and deputy superintendent) and two more were approaching significance (high school principal and middle school principal). In the next time period, 1982 to 1992, five of the position increases were statistically significant (superintendent, high school principal, high school assistant principal, middle school principal, and middle school assistant principal), and one more was approaching significance (assistant superintendent). In the last time period, 1992 to 2002, none of the female position increases was statistically significant, and only one was approaching significance (middle school principal).

Table 4

Results of Chi0Squaree Analysis of Women in Line Administrative Positions, 1972-2002

Position	1972 to 1982			1982 to 1992			1992 to 200s		
	%1972	%1982	AS	%1982	%1992	AS	%1992	%2002	AS
Superintendent	0	7*	.008	7	17*	.041	17	19.5	.622
Deputy superintendent	4	23*	.000	23	31	.276	31	45	.108
Assistant Superintendent	13	21	.170	21	35	.061	35	32	.104
High school principal	7	15	.066	15	32*	.013	32	41	.292
Assistant high school principal	19	24	.446	24	40*	.046	40	46	.518
Middle school principal	10	20	.068	20	38*	.013	39	56	.081
Assistant middle school principal	20.5	29	.258	29	46*	.050	46	56	.322
Elementary school principal	54	58	.706	58	61	.783	61	74	.263
Assistant Elementary school principal	49	50	.920	50	55	.626	55	73	.122
Total women	33	37	.633	37	50	.163	50	62	.257

Note: AS=asymptotic significance.

*Significant at .05 level.

Discussion

Although the power of statistical “truth” cannot be overlooked, and should not be undervalued, this study provides a classic case in which statistical analysis must be tempered with logical analysis. The movement of women into line administration in the largest school districts in the nation and the clear pattern of increases over the 30 years 1972 to 2002 are so dramatic and visible, they are undeniable. Women dominate and are at or approaching parity in all positions in large-city school districts save one, superintendent. Moreover, women have clearly moved into “threshold” positions in significant numbers, positions that situate them for moving into higher level positions, such as assistant superintendent and high school principal. Nevertheless, in spite of being statistically significant, the increases in the number and percentage of women holding positions as superintendent in the largest school districts are distinctly modest, from zero (0%) in 1972 to eight (19.5%) in 2002. Statistically significant or not, that hardly matches the advances made in other positions, nor does the pattern of increases suggest that women will approach parity any time soon. The position of superintendent remains outside the pattern of advances have made in school administration, and persistently, overwhelmingly male, at least in the districts that participated in the study.

What accounts for the marked discrepancy from the general pattern of advances in the position of superintendent? What are women moving into the position of superintendent at such a sluggish pace? What is the different about the top spot that sets it apart from the other positions and the influences on those positions?

At the most fundamental level, differences between the superintendency and other positions rest on

differences in how individuals come to the positions, that is, in who controls entry. Line administrative appointments, save that of superintendent, are largely internal matters. The superintendent makes the selection, with or without consultation with other central office administrative staff, subject, in most states, to final approval by the school board. However, in all but a few cases, superintendents are chosen by school boards, which have both initiatory and approval authority over the hiring process for that position. De facto, this sets the position of superintendent apart from other administrative positions; different people do the choosing in potentially different ways. It is not that the position of superintendent is any less subject to legal requirements governing gender equity than other administrative positions, or that school boards are any less constrained from conforming to these legal requirements, but differences in how and by whom the individuals are chosen operationally differentiate the processes. In some ways, the very success of the internal process in advancing women into administrative positions may obscure the absence of success in accepting them into the superintendency. The boards of the districts studied can rightly point to their success in achieving equity, and take credit for it, without considering equity in their choice of the superintendent.

The increasingly rich literature on women and the superintendency affirms the continued gender bias and gender discrimination against women in and aspiring to the superintendency (Bell 1995; Blount 1998; Brunner 1999, 2000a, 2000b; Chase and Bell 1990; Grogan 1996, 2000; Grogan and Henry 1995; Kamler & Shakeshaft 1999; Shakeshaft 1987 1999; Skrla, Reyes, & Scheurich, 2000; Tallerico 1999a, 1999b). Historically, the position has been male defined, not just male dominated, and there is evidence to suggest that a

male-defined conceptualization of the position characterizes the way in which the position is still viewed (Brunner 1999; Grogan 1996; Grogan & Henry 1995; Shakeshaft 1999; Tallerico 1999b). It is hardly surprising that it shapes the way boards think about and frame selection criteria for the position (Tallerico, 2000). In her study of aspiring female superintendents, Grogan (1996) found that female aspirants were asked to demonstrate that they matched this male-defined conceptualization that they possessed stereotypically male characteristics such as decisiveness, and to prove that they were tough enough to manage the job of superintendent, something male aspirants, by definition, did not have to do. Of course, this is the classic catch-22. If women demonstrate they are “tough enough to do the job,” they are often perceived to be unfeminine, uncaring. Bell (1995) found that female superintendents who were decisive and assertive, two characteristics often associated with the superintendency, tended to get negative evaluations from their boards. Grogan’s (1996, p. 8; 2000, p. 124) conclusion aptly captures the current situation: “Women are still being viewed as women first and administrators second.”

School boards often use consultants to assist them in the superintendent search process. Kamler and Shakeshaft (1999) studied their role as gatekeepers, confirming Bell and Chase’s (1994; Chase & Bell 1990) conclusion that consultants were a major factor in determining who was and was not considered for the position in school districts that used them. Although some consultants made special efforts to seek out female candidates, the majority did not, relying instead on their standard networks to identify possible candidates. That the candidates they put forward were overwhelmingly men is hardly surprising. These consultants influenced and were influenced by the gender-defined conceptualization of the position and allowed few women to pass through the gates they guarded. It is interesting that when asked why they recommended so few women, the consultants gave all sorts of reasons, including that school board members were biased against women candidates, and compared to men, women were more place bound, had family responsibilities that mediated against being able to take on the position, and lacked prior experience as superintendents (Kamler & Shakeshaft 1999).

Although a number of factors may contribute to the modest number of women holding the top spot and their sluggish movement into what Skria et al. (2000, p. 48) term “the male-constructed culture of the superintendency,” it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the position is particularly resistant to the advancement of women, more so than other line

administrative positions, and differences in the way in which superintendents are chosen bode ill for changing this situation in the immediate future.

What is the effect of the increasing numbers of women holding line administrative positions save that of superintendent? Despite that impressive claim by writers in the field that women lead differently than do men, more in line with needed school reform (Bjork, 2000; Brunner, 2000a, 2000b; Chase 1995; Marshall, Patterson, Rogers, & Steele 1996; Pounder 1990; Shakeshaft 1987), there is little empirical evidence to support these claims (Eagly et al. 1992; Eagly & Johnson 1990). Studies of female administrators, including female superintendents, provide suggestive evidence that role and role socialization may be more powerful determinants of behavior than gender (Brunner, 2000a; Chase & Bell 1990; Marshall 1993; Marshall & Mitchell 1989; Mertz, 2000; Mertz & McNeely 1998). In studying women’s experiences as superintendents, Grogan (2000) opined that “a man or woman who becomes superintendent is shaped by the discourse of the superintendency...we learn to make meaning of our experiences according to the dominant values and beliefs expressed within the discourse” (p. 127). Although it may well be true that the position requires women to act in ways that may not be “natural” for them according to Brunner (2000a), it is hard to escape Bjork’s (2000) conclusion that “dominant male notions shaped the behavior of women superintendents” (p. 11). These “male notions” continue to dominate conceptions of school leadership and the process by which administrators are chosen and socialized (Mertz, 2000).

Although it may be too early to know, there is little evidence beyond anecdotal reports to suggest that increases in the numbers of female administrators have affected the culture of schools, what happens to students in those schools, or existing male-defined conceptions of leadership. It will be interesting to see if this picture changes as more women hold such positions in more districts for longer periods of time. It would be ironic if Title IX opened the way for women to be administrators in significant numbers but left schooling essentially unchanged. In a similar vein, McFadden and Smith (2003), speculating about the possibility of “tipping” in school administration, that is, moving from male dominated to female dominated, noted that historically, when sex- or race-segregated positions tipped, the positions declined in status, lost autonomy, became more standardized and more closely supervised, and saw a stagnation or decline in salary—hardly a future about which to be sanguine.

Results

Based on the findings of this study, it is reasonable to conclude that the hegemony of men that characterized school administration at the time Title IX became law has been broken. Whether it is attributable to Title IX alone, or in concert with other factors, women have moved into line administrative positions in significant numbers, and the trend would appear to be continuing. In the wake of such changes, it is hard not to credit Title IX with having an effect, an effect consonant with its intent and in the intended direction. As for fulfilling Ella Flagg's prophecy about "ruling" the schools, as she did the Chicago public schools, their continued scarcity in the position of superintendent, even after 30 years, suggests that the position has been little affected by Title IX and that women continue to have a long, uncertain way to go reach the top spot.

Third Study: Archetypes of Outstanding Female superintendents by Carole Funk, Anita Pankake, and Gwen Schroth in 2002.

Introduction

Suffrage efforts in the early 1900s boosted women into educational leadership roles. At this time, superintendents throughout the United States were selected through county elections. (Blount 1999). Because many of these county districts had male superintendents who were corrupt and used dishonest financial and administrative practices, women were elected to replace many of the men who had previously held these positions. The victories of these female superintendents were sustained by honesty, credibility, and success in their roles, and by 1930, Blount noted that women held nearly 28% of the nation's superintendencies. In a move to "turn out the ladies," however, male superintendent groups began a national political effort to have school superintendents appointed instead of electing them. These powerful men did not want women to retain their elected positions as superintendents and argued that superintendents should not be elected in public elections that were so "politically charged." The voters did not see through this political ruse and agreed to the appointment of school superintendents instead of an elective process. Because the people who were set up to appoint the superintendents were all men, the women who previously help superintendents began to decline; thereafter, males were appointed to nearly all of the superintendent's positions across the nation. As a result, female superintendents all but disappeared in the United States after several decades of progress had been made.

The struggle in the twentieth century for all women in the United States, but particularly for those in education, has been to find their individual and collective voices in order to proclaim their significance

(Dunlap & Schmuck 1995). Voices once silenced, however, have now been heard as more women than ever before have begun to seek leadership roles in American public schools. Although about 14% of women no hold positions as school superintendents (Brunner, 2001), female leaders at all levels continue to be constrained in many ways in their efforts to become successful school administrators. Research studies regarding women in educational administration reveal many critical problems that women face in entering and being successful in administrative careers. In spite of the difficulties regarding entry into educational leadership, however, female educators continue to enter the field of administration regardless of the continuing discrimination in hiring and promotion and other barriers, both external and internal (Edson 1988).

History and Background

According to Edson (1988), women who enter the field of school leadership do so because they wish to meet the challenges inherent in leadership roles and believe that they can provide children with more positive educational experiences than they see being provided now. Although the literature regarding female leaders in education reveals that more women than ever before are entering administrative roles, "There is still much we do not know about sex discrimination, about female career patterns, about women leaders, and about inclusive conceptualizations of managerial and administrative theory" (Dunlap & Schmuck 1995, p. xi). Recent research studies regarding female administrators in leadership positions in education reveal that they differ not only by gender from male administrators but also lead quite differently. The leadership styles of these women reveal that they were perceived by others as change agents (Wesson & Grady 1995), use interactive leadership, (Funk 1998), practice transformational inclusion and nurturing (Helgesen 1990), and exhibit empathy, sensitivity, caring, supporting, compassion, patience, organization, and attention to detail (Funk 1998). With regard to the need for more women in school leadership positions, Shakeshaft (1989) indicates that women more often than men are identified as highly successful principals.

Although research results reveal that female administrators lead quite differently from males and are gaining some ground in administrative positions and power, many have not been able to make their intended leadership impact because of barriers that continue to prohibit them from being selected for key leadership roles. Women with new leadership styles are desperately needed for successful school reform efforts with their communicative and integrative styles (Funk 1998). By utilizing their unique strengths, including collaborative

and transformation leadership, a focus on curriculum and instruction, inclusion of all clienteles in decision-making, empowerment of teachers, students, and parents, and articulation of new visions of what schools should be, female leaders of public schools and school districts could make the difference needed to ensure successful changes in education. At this point, however, these women continue to be underutilized by school boards and superintendents who do not utilize the talents of their aspiring and practicing female school leaders to make a real difference in the quality of schooling in our nation.

As noted by Irby and Brown (1998), however, "it is important that women's current poor representation in formal school leadership is not necessarily an inherent condition of the institution of schooling but rather is the result of social interactions that have unfolded in specific historical contexts" (p. 8). This statement reveals the sociological nature of some of the problems embedded within American culture that must be remedied in order to remove these barriers in order to achieve equity for women in education leadership. In a similar vein, Shakeshaft (1989) noted that only a handful of models have been developed to explain the theoretical underpinnings of the barriers that prohibit or limit the entrance of many women into leadership positions in education. According to this author, these barriers for aspiring women in education are internal as well as external and could originate from psychological factors such as motivation and self-efficacy. In addition, organizational theory could provide information on the impact of the structure and operation of schools and determinants of opportunity and power on female leadership aspirants or those who wish to be promoted to high levels. One of the most critical barriers that Shakeshaft (1987) describes is that of Androcentrism—the practice of viewing the world and shaping reality from a male perspective that leads to sex discrimination.

Not much is known about the 14% of female superintendents who are serving as school districts in the United States (Brunner, 2001); however, recent research does indicate that more diversity exists among female superintendents than their male counterparts. Female superintendents are more often minorities, Democrats' Catholic or Jewish, and either never married or are widowed or divorced. Male superintendents who are by contrast usually Anglo, Republican, and married. Bruner also indicates that many women who have been able to achieve the positions of superintendent have resigned their school leadership roles have take a lower position in another school district because of the lack of support from some school board members and district

stakeholders soon after they occupied these positions. At this point, however, many of the reasons why that these executive women have left their positions as superintendents are either not known or not well understood. Without more information regarding the characteristics of female superintendents who are highly successful in their roles, changes cannot be made regarding changes in superintendent preparation programs to assist those women who are now walking away from their positions as superintendents. According to Brunner (1999), research studies that focus on women in school administration are conducted by almost entirely by women, perhaps indicating that this literature is not considered to be an important field of study for many other researchers in education.

Purpose of the Study and Methodology

The purpose of this study was to identify professional and personal characteristics and styles of leadership in order to develop archetypes of six outstanding female superintendents in Texas. The intent of the research was also to reveal similarities between and among these women that could provide insights their backgrounds, relationships, feelings, and beliefs through the use of a qualitative methodology based on the use of an inductive content analysis technique to reveal patterns and frameworks that would reveal and overall profile of a successful female superintendent. The data collected for use in this study were first obtained by Pankake, Schroth, and Funk (2000) in their study regarding ways in which six outstanding female superintendents learned from failures in their lives. The six subjects in this study were current or retired female superintendents who had been nominated for or awarded the Texas Association of School Boards' Outstanding Superintendent of the Year award. Warren Bennis (1989) developed the interview questions for his book, *On Becoming a Leader* (1989) and gave his permission for the researchers to use the questions in the structured interviews that were conducted.

Characteristics Themes of Outstanding Female Superintendents

The characteristics and themes revealed in the data analysis provided a collective view of these six outstanding female superintendents and led to the identification of the qualities of leadership that were identified in the content analysis process. They include the leadership characteristics, essential superintendents' roles, necessary qualities of leadership, and critical skills that define these outstanding female superintendents.

Leadership Qualities

The following leadership qualities include characteristics, essential leadership roles, qualities, and

critical skills for outstanding female school superintendents.

1. Leadership characteristics of these outstanding superintendents include: being brave, caring, creative, courageous, committed, confident, energetic, healthy, honest, industrious, introspective, initiative, knowledgeable, open-minded, passionate, pragmatic, reflective, responsible, risk-taking, trustworthy, and well-informed.
2. Essential leadership roles that these women school executives described were: analyzer, change agent, communicator, delegator, dreamer, hirer, nurturer, reader, risk-taker, and team-builder.
3. Qualities needed by successful superintendents include character, integrity, vision, courage, and passion.
4. Critical skills for female superintendents are visions, determining the real needs for their districts, communicating, hiring the right people, delegating, developing team support, working effectively with people, and producing meaningful and lasting change.

Leadership Themes

Eight recurring themes that emerged from the inductive data analysis include: being a visionary, acting professionally and ethically, allowing time for dreaming and creating, communicating effectively and often, motivating staff and self, being truly committed to their leadership role and to children, having a strong work ethic, and having the energy and stamina in order to do their jobs. Each of these themes are presented below are more fully entitles and described, and relevant quotes are presented in an effort to provide a more personal view from the participants.

1. Vision, shared vision, and visioning

The most frequently mentioned theme of leadership by the female superintendents was vision. These women spoke of having their own visions, their process of visioning, and ensuring that everyone who worked with them shared their vision with one another, creating a collective vision. Most of these outstanding leaders noted that vision was the most important quality to have as superintendents. These women described how they operationalized the vision concept, and one of these women even noted that you “can’t teach it but you could “hone it.” The following quotes from these women show the necessity of visioning as an educational leader.

- Being a visionary is part creativity and part courage; a visionary has to have some glimpse of *what can be*. It has to be a little bit out beyond where the rest of the group is but not too far beyond because if you don’t share the dream, you begin to lose them.
- Part of being a visionary is being able to put pieces of information together and come up with a new

slant of a new way to look at things- that is part of what sets a leader apart from an administrator.

- I think leaders need vision, and I was at one time of the belief that you could teach that, I am no longer have that belief. We have a lot of management people who are clearly outstanding in crisis-to-crisis management, but if you give them a blank sheet of paper—(and ask) where do you want to be, they will ask me, ‘what do you want me to do.’ They can’t see really what it looks like in their minds.
- To establish a vision for the organization, it can’t be done unilaterally. Probably the most important thing I do is to get out front and make sure that I’m not out there by myself.

2. Ethical and professional behaviors

Within this area, these female superintendents noted that character, integrity, honesty, determination, commitment, fairness, and responsibility were important characteristics as well as acting on their principles, not compromising, and doing what is right regardless of the circumstances. The following quotes represent some of the strong feelings held by these female leaders about being professional and ethical in the superintendency.

- Keep to your principles! Don’t compromise!
- I was known for my honesty and integrity, and the community trusted me.
- I think that the qualities of leadership are integrity and honesty. To be honest you have to be brave, and bravery is having the ability to do what is right regardless of the consequences.
- Character is integrity and the basis for everything else! If you don’t have integrity, then you don’t have anything.
- If you are not going to deal fairly with people, if you are not going to keep faith with the best, then you don’t have any business being in this business.
- Just don’t attack my personal integrity. And when somebody does, that’s it.

3. Dreaming, thinking, creating, intuiting, and introspecting

This “inward-looking” set of affective skills and feelings is closely related to visioning, and these internal activities could also be viewed as the central components necessary to build a vision. Items in this category were often mentioned, however, without addressing visioning, thereby earning its own place in this skill set needed to be visionary leader. Some of the quotes that provide some insights into examples of these prominent skills in the study are given below.

- I think leaders are more intuitive than other people. Not everything is something for which there is a rule or law.
- I think that it is especially important in dealing with

people, to be intuitive to be able to get a feel for what is going on because you know it.

- I believe firmly that a leader has to be visionary. One of my favorite things is to ask them to dream about the future—beyond what they can do. I think it is essential that you build in thinking and dreaming—visioning time.
- I’ve finally figured out what my greatest fear is... (that) I am going to be so inundated with putting out fires and administrivia that I won’t have time to dream... (that) I won’t have time to look ahead. Each one of my principals knows that they have to have a designated “dream person.”

4. Communication

This category of skills includes communicating with people, keeping them informed, having the ability to relate to people, and specifically communicating well with the school board in order to have good board-superintendent relations. The skill of reaching others through open and honest interaction with all stakeholders appears to be a “make or break” issue for a successful superintendency.

- I think leadership carries with it a real need to clearly communicate. I’ve found that about 90% of the difficulties I’ve encountered have been based on lack of or no communication.
- I didn’t want them (the board) to read it in the paper. I never wanted them to be surprised. And I didn’t want them to surprise me either. I didn’t want to hear at the board table something I should have heard ahead of time. I told them going in, that I would try never to surprise you, and I won’t let you get caught by questions in your civic club.
- Another area of leadership that you really can overlook is superintendent-board relations. If you do, you won’t be here very long. Board-superintendent relations are critical. If you can’t pull that off, then you can forget your vision.
- Be up front with everything (with the board), I tell all—don’t omit anything!
- I knew how to keep my mouth closed—a very important attribute wherever you are in school administration.
- Information is power and an organization that doesn’t keep people informed or doesn’t even want them to be informed—that is cruelty of the first order. It shows that you don’t trust them and don’t respect them. If you really want to keep someone from growing or getting promoted, don’t let them know what is going on.

5. Motivation

Being committed to do the right thing for the children is one of the more powerful traits that a

superintendent can have. These successful school executives revealed that it is necessary to be determined to make things better for students, keep to your principles, be responsible, do what is right regardless of the circumstances, don’t compromise when student welfare is involved. Commitment is also reflected in a superintendent’s initiative, industry, and perseverance. The critical nature of the presence of commitment is revealed by the comments these outstanding superintendents who were the subjects in this study.

- I think that the most important thing any superintendent does is to hire the right people.
- If I were to take it one step further than that I think probably the most important people I hire are principals.
- I think that leadership has to be based on valuing other people—encouraging and offering them to grow and develop capacity.
- I guess that lots of people have potential for leadership if given the opportunity to have the potential freedom to grow. My style of leadership is to always recognize that it truly takes a team.
- I think a reward system is important. We don’t have merit pay, but there are lots of ways to recognize people for their accomplishments and their good jobs as leaders. You tell someone that they are doing a good job and they will bust it to do an even better job next time.

6. Commitment

Being committed to do the right thing for the children is one of the more powerful traits that a superintendent can have. These successful school executives revealed that it is necessary to be determined to make things better for students, keep to your principle, be responsible, do what is right regardless of the circumstances, and don’t compromise when student welfare is involved. Commitment is also reflected in a superintendent’s initiative, industry, and perseverance. The critical nature of the presence of commitment is revealed by the comments these outstanding superintendents who were the subjects in this study.

- Don’t go into school administration if you are not willing to work and work and work.
- You don’t count hours; you do what needs to be done. I think you have to be willing to persevere and stick with it and give what it takes in terms of time.
- I hung in there because it was right for the children.
- If you are not willing to go out on a limb to make things better than they have been, willing to do something different, willing to lead people and lead your school and your board into different ways of looking at things and into adopting new programs and approaches, you won’t make it. It takes courage

to do that—to continue to stand for something you think that needs badly to be done when nobody else wants to do it!

- When something doesn't work or when something works wrong, it's a challenge to get it right.
- My attitude is that you can kill me but you can't eat me!

7. Work ethic and industry

The characteristics of outstanding female superintendents include a strong work ethic, industry, initiative, determination, responsibility, and being a willing worker. These skills appear to be evident in each of these executive women.

- Make sure you want this job before going for it. This job involves lots of work!
- We had a strong middle-class work ethic. I don't ever remember my mother or father missing a day of work—that wasn't an option in our home. Work was fun; they never came home complaining. That ethic was a strong factor in who I am, no question.
- I admired my dad because of his work ethics and his personality. Everyone was equal in my dad's eyes. He never met a stranger, and it didn't matter if you were rich or poor.
- Well, I go back to my father; most certainly, I did admire him. I don't have a whole lot of respect for people who don't have a strong work ethic.

8. Energy and Stamina

This category represents the need noted by these women school executives for energy, stamina, and good health in order to be able to do their work successfully. The following statements reveal these superintendents' need for physical stamina and high energy to do all that they need to accomplish.

- You need to be healthy and have physical stamina to do this job.
- I think it takes an extraordinary person who can cope with the demands of school administration, especially the superintendency and not be a strong person physically.
- I hate to say this but I see so many waiting to get prodded to go and do things, things that they know should be done, but it is easier not to add one more thing to their plate. They are tired and it is really sad.
- One of the reasons I retired was because I saw that I was not as strong. That played a large part in my decision to retire.

Archetypes of Outstanding Female Superintendents

Based on the synthesis of the qualities and themes, the statements below represent an integration of the categories and themes of this study that led to the creation of the archetypes of outstanding female superintendents presented below.

Successful female superintendents are knowledgeable, hard-working women who select the right people for positions in their district, motivate them to share a collective vision, model their strong commitment to children, and produce meaningful and lasting change in schools.

- Successful female superintendents are creative, energetic executives who take purposeful risks of behalf of schools and children by developing strong team support, communicating effectively with all stakeholders, and operationalizing their collaborative into clear patterns of action that make a difference in the lives of children.
- Successful female superintendents are professional, ethical, and honest leaders who have a passion and an intuitive feel for their educational roles, model a strong work ethic, and model life-long learning for all district personnel.
- Successful female superintendents are caring, reflective leaders who brave the currents of discord and politics in order to create a supportive climate throughout the school district, work effectively and confidently with all stakeholders, and use delegation as a powerful tool in order to ensure trust and confidence in all personnel.
- Successful female superintendents are passionate, courageous professionals who act on their principles, do the right thing regardless of the circumstances, and are trusted by district stakeholders.
- Successful female superintendents are fair, determined women who model integrity in their roles, are pragmatic, intuitive, and introspective leaders, and they remain open-minded in their decision-making processes.
- Successful school superintendents are responsible, well-informed school executives who exhibit strong personal character, reach others through open and honest interactions, and maintain effective superintendent-school board relationships.
- Successful female school superintendents are passionate, confident women who are dreamers and creators, think out of the box, use their imagination to see and realize their visions, and have a true feel for what is going on in the district.
- Successful female school superintendents are open-minded, introspective role models who care and value all clienteles, encourage them to develop capacity, and give them the freedom to grow.

Summary

This research study regarding the archetypes of outstanding female superintendents in Texas revealed strengths, styles, attitudes and beliefs of women who have been highly successful in the demanding and often

difficult role of school superintendent. In spite of the complicated and challenging environments in which all superintendents operate, some female superintendents more often have a difficult time becoming superintendents than men, while others have more difficulty in retaining their positions, much less becoming highly successful in their roles. This analysis of outstanding female superintendents has provided some insights into the leadership typologies that were revealed through their participation in this research project. Through their participation with the researchers, they now provide aspiring female administrators with the knowledge that women can and will be outstanding school superintendents and have provided the field of educational administration with important insights into their leadership profiles, characteristics, critical styles and skills, administrative strengths, personal insights, character, creative abilities, communication styles, motivational strategies, and commitment to doing the best for children.

Conclusion

This paper reviewed three studies relating to female superintendents and included data from 1972 to 2003. There are few studies done since 2002 which reflect the

lives of women superintendents. Educational Administration is fairly common ground, but difficult for women to traverse...bumpy roads. There are also hidden obstacles.

While trying to decide what to do with their careers, women look at different opportunities, and they may spend time in different jobs and positions. While most say they do not want to become superintendents, they are led in that direction, or "fall into" or "back into" a superintendent's job. Some wish to be superintendent and start out that way.

Many extraordinary challenges face our world as well as our nation, and we can't afford to miss or let ourselves ignore anyone's talent or ability and promise who can give us good leadership. The world as we see it right now needs anyone who can contribute to his or her fullest measure of thinking and brain power to help make our world and country better.

We all have the responsibility to offer and expand leadership opportunities for those who are looking at leadership opportunities. Cryss Brunner and Margaret Grogan have used Robert Frost's poem "The Road Not Taken" as their metaphor for a women's journey to the superintendency.

The Road Not Taken

*Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;*

*Then took the other, as just as fair
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same.*

*And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leaders on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.*

*I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.*

—Robert Frost (1916, p.9)

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EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY MANAGEMENT THEORIES AND MODELS THAT SHAPED TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

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Introduction

The role of the school leader, as an administrator of a school building or district, is complex and relies upon the varied skills, educational experience and background of the individual who pursues the position. Just what administrative skills, knowledge and abilities a successful school leader must have are always subject to debate. Yet theorists have continued to grapple with the theoretical underpinnings of such a position and have tried to determine just what an individual must exhibit to be successful in public school administration.

To a great extent, the theories and models proffered by earlier 20th century management theorists have become the bases, or at least a component, of the origins of what is now current school administration theory and practice.

Many of these earlier theories and models stem from attempts by theorists and academicians to isolate those qualities necessary to becoming a successful administrator with the notion that once these qualities can be identified, they can be generalized to the larger field of administration and management, including public school administration and management. Thus, the examination of these earlier theories and models can provide an insight into that which now shape extant 21st century school administration and leadership.

There exist a variety of opinions as to what the role of a school administrator, a principal or a school superintendent, should be. Varied opinions also exist as to what functions this individual should play within the school system. Often school leadership and administration are included with business models of management theories in general, where school administration is envisioned as management, but limited to the public sector. Thus, by examining early management and administration theories and models, one can recognize the precursors to what is now school administration.

Emerging 20th Century Management and Administration Theories and Models

Socrates recognized management as a social process, concerned with how people relate to one another (Plato & Xenophon 1956). Aristotle, however, in *Politics*, suggested there were no universal traits for the good manager (Plato 1928).

At the turn of the 20th century, educational theorists began looking at school administration primarily as a process of applying scientific methods and reasoning to

all management in any context, including schools. One such theorist, Frederick W. Taylor, recognized the need for employing scientific methods to management as opposed to an intuitive approach. In his view, management problems of growing industry should be viewed in concrete, rational terms rather than responding through a “rule of thumb” or instinctive reactive approach to administration (Knezevich 1975). Other management theorists, like Henri Fayol, also focused on process, but stressed basic elements or principles extrapolated for examining organizations. He assumed that these basic principles also could be applied to school leadership, believing that there were administrative functions common to all types of organizations, including schools (Fayol 1949). He identified those common administrative functions as planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating and controlling of the institution.

Other 20th century theorists have confirmed Fayol’s approach and applied it to both industrial and public sector management, such as school leadership. For example, in 1950, Sears wrote there was no reason for departing significantly from Fayol’s approach when applying administrative processes to schools (Sears 1950). Other management theorists, such as Fowlkes, recognized educational administration as a more complex process that included formulation, execution and appraisal of policies (Fowlkes 1951).

Critical theories of administration began to emerge focusing on process analysis. One view was that administrators should encourage process analysis by asking questions, with the assumption that to determine what a school administrator does, one must look to the kinds of questions that confront the administrator within the organization (Knezevich 1975). Another view contended that administration is the output of objectives rather than a generalized process or set of techniques (Johnson, Kast & Rosenzweig 1967). All these theories viewed administration from a systems approach, stressing planning as well as working toward goals, and where the administrator becomes the strategist responsible for orientation toward goals, planning and coordinating, rather than one engaged in daily operating decisions.

Management by objectives also became popular in 20th century theories of administration. Yehzekl Dror saw planning as a process of preparing a set of decisions for action in the future, directed at achieving goals by

optimal means (Dror 1963). Gregg listed seven descriptors of an administrator's role: decision-making, planning, organizing, communicating, influencing, coordinating and evaluating (Knezevich 1975) Campbell and Ramseyer asserted that all administration entails decision-making, programming, stimulating, coordinating and appraising (Campbell & Ramseyer 1958).

Most 20th-century theorists agree there is no ideal list of tasks or skills, no matter how complex, that can completely define the role of administrators, including school administrators, in all situations. Rather, they identified certain variables as attempts at addressing the challenges of the position. These variables often were often defined as administrative functions. For example, being able to organize was a function listed by many educational theorists (Campbell & Rhymster 1958), while other theorists contended programming was a more appropriate description of the function. Other theorists distinguished organizing from staffing and gathering of resources (Knezevich 1975). Newman's view described gathering of resources as a process for obtaining personnel, capital and facilities needed to execute plans. (Ibid.) Glick and Urwick distinguished organizing from staffing and gathering of resources (Knezevich 1975). They described a list of resources needed for successful administration where staffing is at one end of the spectrum and the use of programming of selecting and organizing of staff is at the other end.

Many early management theorists identified decision-making as a key function within school administrative practice. Often, the focus of these theorists was attempting to define decision-making. Barnard defined decision-making as conscious choice made from among a well-defined set of often competing alternatives (Barnard 1938). Simon augmented this definition by suggesting that organizational behavior is a complex network of decision-making processes all pointed toward influencing the behaviors of those individuals working within the organization (Simon 1957). While there have been many examples of leaders themselves who, from varied vantage points, have confirmed decision making as a critical function to administration, President John Kennedy well described this important function:

Capacity to act decisively at the exact time action is needed has been too often muffled in the morass of committees, timidities, and fictitious theories which have created a growing gap between decision and execution (Kennedy 1961).

As John Kennedy aptly pointed out, successful management and administration often require

recognizing decision-making as a function of leadership.

Thus, theoretically defining the role of management and administration has been attempted over time to help understand public administration, including school administration. Theoreticians in the field over the last hundred years have attempted to list and categorize those functions and skills which best describe this role. There are some universal functions which continue to surface in the context of these theories, including planning, organizing, directing coordinating, controlling and decision-making. These functions have had disparate rubrics by various theorists and yet all suggest the complexity of the role. Undoubtedly these theoretical bases for determining and describing an administrator's role aid in developing models for practice, through which one can begin to surmise the role of the school administrator.

Historic Models of Organizations and the Famous Hawthorne Experiment that Propelled our Understanding of Administration

Max Weber is chiefly credited with the development of the classical model for the bureaucratic organization (Weber 1947). It was his hope that patterns or models would enhance productivity. Weber's concept, while somewhat mechanistic, was characterized by a division of labor within any organization based on functional specialization, a hierarchy or authority and a system of procedures based on technical competency. This model emphasized form and structure of organizations (Weber 1947). One of the most intriguing characteristics of the Weberian model was its attempt at universality. His model could be applied to a wide variety of organizations, including businesses, government agencies and educational institutions like schools. Taylor, working at the same time as Weber, is often credited with the scientific management movement (Fayol 1949), and extended Weber's concept of order in practice to increase productivity (Fayol 1949).

Other theorists reacted against the use of models. They viewed these universal models as mechanistic and impersonal and as a failure to recognize the importance of the human factor in administration. Mary Parker Follett was one of the first to do so (Medcalf & Urwick 1942). However, it was the advent of the Hawthorne experiments that truly defined the significance of the relationship of the human factor to productivity (Roethlisberger & Nixon 1939).

The Hawthorne experiments became the turning point for understanding the human element in administration. These experiments occurred during the late 1930's and early 1940's. They were conducted as a means of exploring ways to increase productivity in

industry. The Hawthorne experiments were directed at testing variables that, if identified, could conceivably increase the efficiency of workers. The experiments were conducted by Harvard professors Elton May and F.J. Roethlisberger at the Western Electric Plant (Roethlisberger & Dickson 1939). One issue being tested was whether the amount of light in a work area would impact workers' productivity. The hypothesis of the study was that productivity would rise as light levels improved.

As anticipated, productivity did increase with improved light levels. However, an unexpected outcome of the study occurred when light was later reduced: high productivity levels remained stable. The explanation for this unanticipated phenomenon was that it was the special attention accorded workers by the participation in the experiment that created the heightened productivity. Thus, the variable of attention garnered by individuals who participated in the experiments also caused productivity to increase (Roethlisberger & Dickson 1939).

Thus, through the Hawthorne experiments a new understanding was achieved: the search for a model of working conditions most conducive to high productivity was outside the realm of mechanistic models and was within the realm of human psychology. The "Hawthorne Effect," or "halo" effect, which it is sometimes called, became the stimulus for further research into behavioristic models of organizations, where administration or management was viewed as a social process rather than the mechanical manipulation of production factors.

The Hawthorne Experiments triggered varied responses by management and administration theoreticians seeking new models. Barnard, in the late 1930's wrote about the organization, not as a mechanistic vehicle but as a system composed of human beings working cooperatively (MacGregor 1960). MacGregor created a model that identified two opposing points of view about human beings in an organization that he labeled theory X and theory Y. Theory X assumed human nature strives toward disliking work, shirking responsibilities, laziness, ruthlessness and ingratitude. The administrator who subscribes to this

theory will design rigid organizational patterns and controls based on imposed authority. In contrast, theory Y's basic assumptions are that human nature is naturally playful, cooperative, social, self-directive, self-contributing and creative and tends to strive for excellence. The administrator who follows this view will design an organizational structure that places more reliance on self-control than on external supervision, giving individuals greater freedom to act and emphasizing recognition for achievement to motivate individuals within the organization. Maslow furthered these notions by creating a model of human behavior based on a hierarchy of needs, where basic physiological needs are at the bottom and needs for self-actualization is at the apex (Maslow 1954). Using this model, an administrator's perceptions of the needs of those with whom he works influence the success of the organization. All contributed to our understanding of the nature and role of administration that ultimately grew to what is now school administration of the 21st century.

Conclusion

In review, historical theories and models of management and administration have aided us in defining and understanding the role of the school administrator and have become recognized as the historic beginnings for our understanding of the role of the 21st century school administrator. From the earliest works of philosophers trying to understand the organization of society and its institutions to the development of theories of bureaucracy and finally to the modern application of social-scientific methods, leadership has been an important topic of study. While contemporary school administration and management seem to be extensions of various business models, there remains a desire to view schools as somehow different from businesses. In studying the historic attempts of theorists to understand the nature and role of administration in the early 20th century, we can better understand the complex nature of public administration and management. For it is these historic theories and models that have shaped our views of educational administration today and often provide points of resistance to the non educational models.

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GORDON: EARLY 20TH CENTURY MANAGEMENT THEORIES AND MODELS THAT SHAPED 21ST CENTURY SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

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A LEADERSHIP LESSON: YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN

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Abstract

Elements of leadership that effect and impact change are the focus of this paper via a real life story of trying to save a historic bridge. The Hunt's Farm Bridge was constructed in 1917 and was the first bridge across the Black River, a clear, spring-fed stream in the core of the Ozark Mountains that was not affected by high water. In 1999, the bridge was declared structurally unsound. Efforts to save this architectural and engineering wonder were unsuccessful. The philosophical phrase "You can't go home again," creates meaning and reflection on leadership, change, culture, and community for the author.

The Black River Valley

In his book, *You Can't Go Home Again*, twentieth century novelist Thomas Wolfe says that once you leave home, it will never be the same. A few years ago, a unique leadership experience brought new meaning to this phrase to me.

My childhood home was on the banks of the West Fork of the Black River in southeastern Missouri, the core of the Ozark Mountains. The river was in view of our house. When the spring rains came, we watched the river rise out of its banks and turn the clear water into a muddy swirl. The force of the raging river and swift current would rapidly move logs and debris. We called the logs "boats" and counted them. In the late spring and summer, we swam and fished in its swimming holes, and if lucky, my brother and I would find a fallen log and try to stand on it, moving our feet as if we were *tie hacks*, men from yesteryear who herded the logs, destined for railroad ties, downstream. According to the "old timers" who remembered the tie drives, the river was fuller and had more water in the olden days. The timber industry was booming, land was being settled, and the river was a natural highway for lumbermen to ferry their goods. My great-uncle, Bill Cook, was a tie hack, and the log drive began less than a quarter of mile from our house and continued south for approximately 55 miles via the river to Poplar Bluff, MO (D. Cook, personal communication, August 27, 2008). I could imagine a group of young men with their poles standing on the logs, striving to keep their balance as they drove the logs south.

When I was older, we moved to the small river community of Lesterville where mother taught school and my father was the elementary principal. My parents also owned and operated the first canoe rental business on the Black River during the summer months. When

the spring floods occurred, we would rise early so we could ride with Dad to look at the Black River and its tributaries spilling out of their banks. My sisters and I were known as "river rats" as most days we were playing in the Black River. The river traditions continued when we had our own children. They learned to canoe and swim at an early age. And, yes, we took them to see the flooded river before school started.

The Black River, a gentle stream in the summer months, can be a torrent in winter and spring. Reports from an archived local newspaper, The Reynolds County Courier, tell of lives lost trying to ford the river before a one-lane 528-foot Parker Truss Bridge was built in 1917 (Reynolds County Courier 1999). The bridge, originally known as the *Hunt's Farm Bridge*, was named after the benefactor who resided at and owned the Hunt's Farm. Later this farm became known as Black River Lodge, a resort on the west side of the river. As World War I was ending, the Hunt's Farm Bridge and one other in the area were constructed over the Black River for a combined sum of \$14,400 (Historic American Buildings Survey / Historic American Engineering Record 1986).

Hunt's Farm Bridge

The first bridge across the Black River that was not affected by high water was Hunt's Farm Bridge. According to the Reynolds County Courier, the bridge was the most amazing thing citizens had ever seen (Reynolds County Courier Press 1999). The engineering marvel was constructed by Richard Levi Miller of St. Louis, MO, and was a major breakthrough in travel. Mr. Gerald Angel of the Reynolds County Historical Society says that this north/south trail was the framework for highways 21 and 72 (personal communication, August 31, 2008). In later years, the *Hunt's Farm Bridge* became known to local residents as *The Black River Lodge Bridge*. No one is certain when the name change occurred.

The bridge was a landmark that never failed to excite me because of the lofty view of the river from the middle of the crossing. Many young people, usually locals, jumped off the stately old bridge into a hole of water surrounded by jagged rock outcroppings. Elders had memories of the bridge that they told to families and neighbors over and over through the years. They still talk about the "Mexican standoff" in which two residents reached the middle of the single-lane bridge at approximately the same time. Neither would back off as both felt they arrived on the bridge first. Traffic from the

lodges and resorts stacked up until the local sheriff was called to resolve the incident. Locals and guests enjoyed the panoramic view of blue sky and green vegetation as crystal clear water rushed over rock outcroppings from this vantage point over the Black River.

The bridge afforded an unparalleled view of nature and a clear, spring-fed stream in the Ozark Mountains. When canoeists were floating, there was yet another microcosm of society to view – the latest in beachwear, sunglasses and beach towels. Other views of interest were those who got stuck on the rocks because of their lack of canoeing skills or inebriation as well as those who scrambled after their canoe, paddles and/or lunch and belongings after turning over their canoe in the water.

As the years passed, the bridge continued to provide one-way safe transportation across the Black River. Travelers would rock to the clicky-clack sound of the well-worn wood planks as they crossed this historic span. In the fall of 1964, a truck loaded with cattle destroyed the west entrance to the bridge, falling through a weakened section although no harm came to humans or animals involved in the incident. People in the Ozarks didn't rush to buy new things back then; they repaired what they had. "Use it up, wear it out, make do or do without" was the motto. The center wood floorboards were replaced with concrete, the outer wood boards were replaced with new ones, the bridge was repainted, and it continued to be a local landmark.

Connecting Reynolds County residents and opening up the area to tourism for decades, the Hunt's Farm Bridge represented a link between the past and the present and brought cultural prominence to an otherwise ordinary, rural site. In 1986, a photographer for *Life Magazine*, Frank Obrele stood on the bridge and took a photo of the deep swimming hole just upstream. The photo appeared in the 1986 June edition of *Life Magazine* and the swimming hole was declared "the sixth best swimming hole in America" (*Life Magazine*). That same year, the National Park Service listed the bridge in its Historic American Buildings Survey / Historic American Engineering Record with the following paragraph:

The Hunt's Farm Bridge is historically noteworthy as a regionally important crossing of a major southeastern Missouri river – the oldest of the three spans over the Black River in Reynolds County. The Parker and Pratt through-trusses that comprise this structure are straightforward examples of Missouri's two most common through-truss configurations. What distinguishes this bridge, however, is its multiplicity of spans. Relatively few multiple-span through-trusses remain from what was once an

extensive inventory in the state. Fewer yet combine structural types, such as the two trusses on the Hunt's Farm Bridge. This structure is thus technologically important as a well-preserved, and now uncommon, example of the structural trend (Historic American Buildings Survey / Historic American Engineering Record 1986).

In 1999, the bridge was declared structurally unsound because of the weight limit it could safely carry (Reynolds County Courier Press 1999). It was to be demolished to make way for a safer bridge and a more convenient way of life, assuring travel for delivery trucks and busses from the main highway to the resorts and camps that were sprinkled on the other side of the crystal clear Black River. When I heard of this mandate in 2002, I was crushed and impetuously decided to do what I could in an effort to save the architectural and engineering wonder for future generations.

To Save the Bridge

This historic bridge had withstood the test of time with innumerable floods bashing away at its foundation, wheels of wagons and cars eroding its surface, but still it was scheduled for demolition. In the fall of 2002, my father, Don Cook and brother, Ron Cook and I began to schedule meetings with Bob Johnson, the Prosecuting Attorney, and the Reynolds County Court Commissioners to see if they would entertain the idea of keeping the bridge. I also spoke with Gerald Angel of the Reynolds County Historical and Genealogical Society. Mr. Angel was helpful in providing an oral history as well as providing clippings from the local newspaper that gave a historical account of the Hunt's Farm Bridge. At first, I just wanted to see it restored, making the necessary repairs so it could be safe. As I spoke and met with residents and county officials, I saw that the only hope was to keep it as a pedestrian bridge and overlook.

It appeared the mind set of the county commissioners, an elected group of three men--Donald Barnes, Wayne Henson, and Doug Warren--was to demolish and replace the existing structure with an easily maintained concrete bridge. The three county commissioners, elected by popular vote, had no training in road construction, engineering, or in leadership. While their decision seemed irresponsible based on the fact that none of them had training in construction or engineering, the only qualification for the position was that of being a citizen.

Patricia Pitcher, professor of leadership at École des Hautes Études Commerciales, contends that personality factors, dispositions, and styles or archetypes of leadership count more than training (Pitcher 1997). Pitcher studied links between leadership,

personality type, and organizational effectiveness. Her study of eight years focused on fifteen key executives in a global financial corporation. Her findings revealed three archetypes of leaders: artists, craftsmen, and technocrats. She found artists to be brilliant visionaries, people-oriented, open-minded, and intuitive. Craftsmen were empathetic and effective developers of people and empowered others. They were also skilled at bringing out the best in others. Technocrats were brilliant but tended to place hyper-rationality over emotions. While technocrats were excellent at managing things, they had difficulty in managing people effectively, unable to build relationships. Pitcher holds that each of the three types brings strength to an organization when properly matched to the right roles and responsibilities. Mismatched placements of the three types of leadership, according to Pitcher, are a recipe for disaster. Had the commissioners had the optimum mix of archetype leadership types, it would not have mattered that they lacked other skills. However, the combination was all wrong. I decided to approach the situation from a historical preservation perspective.

In the quest to save the bridge, I consulted the National Historic Register. We found that the bridge qualified to be on the list, but no protection was provided to structures on the National Historic Register. Don Cook, my nearly 80-year-old father and Reynolds County resident, offered encouragement and ideas. Ron Cook, my brother, contacted Missouri Representative J.C. Kuessner. Both these men attended meetings with me. The Representative Kuessner spoke with us via telephone and offered verbal encouragement. The three of us contacted some prominent citizens who we believed were in a position to offer support. However, most did not bother returning the contact.

As I reflect on this experience, several thoughts come to mind. I think about the connection to the phrase "you can't go home again," in terms of change, power, and leadership. When you go home again, it is not the same place you left. People are different. You are also different. The positional power that I had as a principal when I lived there was no longer. The trust that people in the community had in me was not the same now that I no longer lived there. Social and cultural values change. The socioeconomic situation of the community I left in 1988 had changed. At that time, the two major employers of the area were the lead mines and the timber industry. By 2002, both the lead mines and timber industry were economically repressed.

To preserve the bridge would have required a shift in the thinking of the county commissioners, local residents and a change in their shared values. My neighbors were not the same as they were when I left.

My mistake was in thinking that the river and bridge were a part of the people in the region, and that they shared my urgency to save the bridge. Their values and aspirations were not the same as mine. Culture determines truth or reality through shared values (Lyotard 1999). The shared culture, the love of the river and bridge, seemed to have waned. When I spoke with the local residents about saving the bridge, only a few indicated that they were interested in saving a historic landmark. The usual response was that it would be okay if it did not mean an increase in taxes. The overall culture of the community was not one of wishing to preserve the knowledge, culture and beauty of the past.

Many St. Louisians, living only a couple of hours north, vacationed in this area and had stood on this very bridge drinking in the evening's peaceful solitude as the water quietly gurgled and made its way downstream. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to obtain press coverage from the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. I submitted a *Letter to the Editor*. The letter was not printed, but the editor contacted me and wanted to send a reporter and photographer to Lesterville with me to do a story on the bridge.

On December 23, 2002, Joe Holleman, reporter from the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, accompanied me to Lesterville to meet with the Reynolds County Commissioners, Representative J.C. Kuessner, Don and Ron Cook, a representative from the MUSIK Insurance Company, Gil Ries, the owner of Black River Lodge, and several local residents. It had been determined that we could keep the bridge if it could be insured. The county commissioners and MUSIK representative were late to the meeting and shortly after arrival, declared that MUSIK refused to insure the bridge. I could not help but feel that our meeting was the "meeting after the meeting." I will always believe the county commissioners met with the MUSIK representative beforehand and explained that they did not wish the bridge to be insured.

Later that day, I drove back to my home in St. Louis in a snowstorm, knowing that my dream of saving the bridge would not last just as the falling snowflakes were not lasting. On January 9 the headline of the Everyday section of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* read: "Wanna Buy a Bridge?" (Holleman, Joe). From the press coverage of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, thirty interested individuals and former residents of Reynolds County offered their encouragement. Some even contacted insurance agents they knew, but none were willing to insure the bridge. In the *Dance of Change*, Peter Senge (1999) states that culture is a deep understanding of the dynamics of an organization. He further states that real change is connected to *capacity building*. Capacity building

happens when all members of an organization meet to communicate, dialogue, and problem-solve. Capacity building takes time and has leadership challenges (Senge 1999). Saving the bridge would have required a long term commitment and lasting change. Leadership challenges are those of initiating change, sustaining change, and redirecting the organization. Lasting change requires a shift in people's values, aspirations and behaviors. Change of this nature requires time.

In this situation, no local leaders stepped up to lead the charge to save the bridge. Senge refers to three levels of leadership that are needed for lasting change. Leadership level one is the imaginative local leader. Leadership level two is the enthusiastic mid-level community builder or network leader. Leadership level three is the executive leader who must create an environment of innovation and knowledge generation in addition to being accountable. These levels of leadership for saving the bridge were not available in Lesterville and Reynolds County.

Lesterville is a community, but it is not an incorporated village or town and this community lacked a unified "voice." Assuming everyone shared my feelings, I tried to lead this effort, expecting that neighbors would speak out as I did. However, they were indifferent. No one felt it was necessary to take responsibility and make commitments to the community where the bridge was concerned. They didn't care whether their past affected the present, or heralded the future. The void of leadership, my oversight, was evident in that people did not work together as a community. The void of community is evident in that no one who had community pride took on the charge to save the bridge.

Besides lacking local leadership to step up and lead the charge to save the bridge, the initiative lacked critical components for lasting change. The only publicity, prior to my letter to the editor and the article in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, was the decision to raze the bridge. Other possibilities for the bridge were not addressed by the county commissioners. For lasting change to occur, a vision is needed. Their vision consisted of a safe and inexpensive bridge. These men never asked questions such as: What might be possible with the 1917 Parker and Pratt Steel Truss Bridge? What purpose could this unusual bridge serve for the community, engineering students, tourists? No one attempted to find and process good ideas. It was almost like the culture of the community was so tightly knit that no one wanted to give a dissident voice.

Fullan refers to this as "group think" (Fullan 2002). Were the local people afraid to speak their thoughts because they might anger one of the local business

people? Or was it because of their cultural values? The community's capacity to have and speak on new ideas certainly was not tapped. Capacity building would encourage the continual flow of ideas.

Other than my emotional response and efforts, no guidance was given the public on saving the bridge. Bringing people together, involving others, and empowering others did not happen because of lack of leadership. How could local residents be persuaded to see the value in preserving the past? Contagious enthusiasm and spirit were needed to spur local residents into caring and changing their beliefs. To this day, probably few residents understand the uniqueness of the bridge. *Systemic Thinking* is also needed for lasting change. Complex situations are interrelated and have many components. The county commissioners did not encourage systems thinking. They thought only about razing the bridge. Similarly, the business owners of resorts on the east side of the bridge did not think systemically. They thought only about what was convenient for them and what the cost to save the bridge might be. While a small group of people was interested in saving the bridge, most did not choose to express their beliefs nor were they encouraged to do so. Perhaps this handful of people feared some sort of political retribution from the business leaders or the county judges.

In small rural communities, everyone knows everyone and everyone's business. It may have just been that this small group did not want to make others angry. A community forum might have provided the information and open discussion necessary to bring out the underlying issues. In most communities, members need to hear facts, ideas and have opportunities to express their voice when there are concerns or conflicts.

Just south of the site of the Hunt's Farm Bridge, a new bridge now stands. People travel it daily. I often wonder if they ever think about the old landmark bridge and that it could be standing there proudly providing an overlook and whispering tales about the "olden days" and what life was like nearly a hundred years ago.

It took about two years for me to even go see the new bridge. Each time I thought of the Hunt's Farm Bridge being gone, a sad sense of loss came over me. I jokingly told myself I was passing through one of the grief cycles identified by Elizabeth Kübler-Ross (Kübler-Ross 1969). Her work initially identified five stages; two more have been added. The seven stages are, 1. shock or disbelief, 2. denial, 3. anger, 4. bargaining, 5. guilt, 6. depression, and 7. acceptance and hope. I have worked my way through most of the stages, no longer depressed but still short of finding acceptance and hope.

Change can cause grief and grief can cause change (M. Bevel, personal conversation, 8/12/2008). In *Valuable Disconnects in Organizational Learning Systems Integrating Bold Visions and Harsh Realities*, authors Cutcher-Gershenfeld and Ford talk about the seven stages of loss from change. They are (1) shock, (2) denial, (3) awareness, (4) acceptance, (5) experimentation, (6) understanding, and (7) integration. While the seven stages are based on Kübler-Ross' work, they are a bit different. I am not sure I'll ever get to the final stage of integration. The new bridge has no view of the river, and it is unsightly. In fact, it is so ugly that it is not even named!

Deeply discouraged, I sometimes ask myself if I would even bother addressing the "save the bridge

issue" if the opportunity arose a second time. At first I think, "No, I don't live there and it would be a lot of work." Then I think, "You bet I would. Except that this time it would be a 'we' project. We would have community forums, develop a shared vision, implement committees, garner community support, and give this topic as much press as possible. We would have a historic landmark for all to see and enjoy."

Just as the bridge had to have a foundation to stand for 86 years, the leadership plan to save the bridge needed a foundation. Everything changes, even the bridge. It's true; you can't go home again – unless you do it with style, class, and a realization that you are not returning to the same place you left.

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TITLE: EDUCATING ALL LEARNERS: A NEW PARADIGM FOR INCREASED LEARNING

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Introduction

Year after year, many people in public and private organizations advance research and legislative initiatives to assist our children in getting a better education. As a reaction to these initiatives, teachers are being asked to prepare their students in a manner that would enable them to compete in our shrinking global village. In our quest for educational dominance, I pose two questions: 1. Are we truly preparing all our children to effectively compete in the global village? 2. What strategies are used or can be used to better educate all our children? In this paper, I seek to respond to the above questions with a focus on the second.

Education for all

By looking at our national educational statistics in comparison with other developed countries and our overflowing correctional facilities, the answer to the question of adequate preparation of all children appears to be easy to ascertain. For anyone whose answer to question number one is not an emphatic “No!” take a few minutes to review the data (NCES). If you are still not convinced, perhaps, a quick review of past educational reports, which consistently point to the existing gaps in the academic achievement between the rich and the poor, especially the Latino and Black minorities. A brief reflection of notable research and reports on education underscore the extent of inequity in all aspects of our educational process. In 1968, James Coleman’s report reminded us of the dichotomy in our educational system; he asserted that we have two academic systems, one for blacks and the other for whites which is clearly unequal in terms of resource allocation. Similarly, “Nation at Risk, 1983,” shows that we have not been adequately preparing all our children in respect to race and class. In addition, Jonathan Kozol throughout most of his research and writings, especially in his book titled, *Savage Inequality*, gave a grim portrait of the existing structural inequality in our school’s funding via property taxes, the performance for certain segments of our population, and some teachers’ attitudes of low expectations combined with other factors perpetuate a culture of low academic performance. John Schwarz, in his book, *Illusions of Opportunity*, emphasizes that being poor, despite efforts to obtain an education would likely affect the normal mental development of the student and result in poor health and poor academic performance. One can go back and forth to reflect on our society’s failure to provide all children a quality education, but we need to focus on the future. First, I would contend that we

accept the existence of our systemic past failures to educate our children in order to tackle these problems head-on and, thus, foster high quality education for all and essentially eradicate the perennial dichotomy in our educational system.

As far as providing educational opportunities for all our children, obviously, we have not done a good job at it, especially when it comes to the education of the poor and racial minorities. In fact some individuals continuously blame the victims and consistently sweep the problem and the root causes of the problem under the rug as if it never existed. For instance, Charles Murray in his recent book, *Real Education*, argued against providing education for aspiring students below the 88th percentile in their academic performance. Further analysis of this makes it impossible for a good analyst to read in between the lines especially when one looks at previous work and how he has targeted and questioned the intellectual ability of different segments of our population. This is not the first time Charles Murray and other like-minded individuals circumvent the plight of the poor, low academic expectations, and how the system impedes academic success of some students. This is the same Charles Murray, who coauthored the “Bell Curve” with the late Richard J. Herrnstein. Williams (1998) discredited “Bell Curve,” in his review as biased toward minority in the manner they analyzed and presented their data. William further pointed out that the authors of Bell Curve contradicted their position when they acknowledged that one cannot prejudge any one person’s IQ based entirely on race. William concluded in his review of the *Bell Curve* “that it is a simple treatise of conservative ideology, like Miller’s review, and in its biased treatment of data, its purpose is revealed as simple advocacy of a particular position.” There is nothing new about this belief. The problem is that Herrnstein and Murray, and those who blindly accept their data in the absence of scientific skepticism, misuse or misunderstand science to further their agenda. It is clear that they did everything to down play the strong circumstantial evidence that seeming contradicted their perspective. Murray’s argument seems to mirror a well-known British psychologist, Cyril Burt, who according to William (1998), essentially made his own claim with flawed research.

Murray and like-minded individuals should become familiar with the works of true transformational giants in education, such as, Jonathan Kozol, Michael Apple, Geneva Gay, and Sonia Nieto to hopefully get a better understanding of the issues and consequences of not

addressing educational challenges such as historical inequity in our school system and how it impedes the academic success of minority students. The issue of inequity, whether in terms of school funding, caring teachers, and students' performance is well documented in our system. Malcolm Gladwell, a journalist who writes for the *New Yorker*, in his most recent book, *Outliers: The Story of Success*, discussed the power of opportunity in making one successful. In light of Gladwell's analysis of the issues that face us in an effort to educate all our children regardless of their circumstances or their station in different locations, he chronicled successful people such as Bill Gates and how his opportunity propelled him to become the most successful computer entrepreneur the world has ever known. He indicated that without opportunity, there is no chance for success, whether it's in business or education. It's all about opportunity. Malcolm Gladwell's view holds true in all fields, including education. Students who are provided with opportunities including adequately trained teachers who are committed to helping students succeed will ultimately be successful. Conversely, students who do not have the necessary resources along with competent teachers will not have the opportunity to succeed in school and for the most part won't be successful.

Strategies for Improvement

Now that we have reviewed the factors that contribute to academic success or lack thereof, the remainder of this article will focus on the question of what strategies will enable us to do a better job in the education of all our children? David Ausbell was asked five decades ago, what is the most important factor in determining meaningful learning? He responded, "prior knowledge." His response is even clearer today when one factors in theory of cognition and contemporary work of educational psychologists (Blanton, 2005; Flannery, 1993; Nwoye, 1999, 2009). I totally concur with the theory of cognition that is consistent with Ausbell's view, I therefore propose a new paradigm where teachers are trained to embrace curriculum and instructional practices that are consistent with the view of cognitive theory and learning along with multicultural education. I believe that the only way we can address inequity and provide all our kids the necessary tool kit that will enable them to compete effectively in our global village is to embrace a cognitivist view of learning (Fink, 2003; Nwoye, 1999; Nwoye & Sehlaoui, 2001; Resnick, 2008). Success in life has been characterized to mean different things to different people. However, there is not much argument about factors that contribute to such success. Success for the most part is a derivative of opportunities. For one to

succeed, such an individual must have the right opportunities and be able to use them to transition to success. For instance, in community colleges, where there is open access, open access doesn't automatically equate success. There are complications from students characterized as not gifted and aren't placed within the ten to 12 percent of young adults that Murray argues should be in college. Advanced placement courses are considered for only a small segment of the population whose parents are often at the forefront of advocacy for their child's education. Obviously this problem did not start from college, but from a lack of early educational opportunities. One's experience whether at home or in school determines whether the individual succeeds academically or not.

Schools do not give enough homework, and even when they do, they do not give homework that is challenging enough to be worthy of the time and effort of aspiring learners. Tom Freeman (2005) compared parents that reflected different characteristics and attributes. On the one hand, uneducated parents who have often had negative experiences with schools, are often afraid of school and therefore tend not to question the quality of education provided to their children. It certainly would not be new for them to feel that the school is too hard on their children and that their children could never compete with other children for whom schools provide a golden opportunity. Parents should want to know why the school has no recently published books for their children to read. One parent questioned the teacher, "How could this school that purports itself to be a good school, prepare my child to be competitive when you do not have books or provide them with opportunities to take advanced placement classes their counterparts in other schools are exposed to?"

On the other hand are those parents who are often well educated and at minimum are aware of what schools should do to make their children competitive. These parents are often involved in their children's education at home and at school. At home, they continuously align homework with additional resources from computers and the library. They are often characterized as worrisome parents who do not have boundaries and are willing to go to any extent, to the teacher, to the principal, or to the school district to complain if necessary with the aim of achieving one goal— to ensure that their children are provided with all the enrichment activities to make school meaningful to them. Such parents usually live in communities with a high tax base to support the schools and thus meet the academic needs of their children. Although the schools in such neighborhoods are cared for by the school

administrators and teachers, these parents continuously work with the school to ensure that the school for their children is on the frontier of quality in terms of available Advanced Placement courses when compared with other competing schools. The parents' aim for their children's school is not only to be the best school in their district or region, but to be the best school in the world (Friedman, 2005). The advantaged school district attracts high quality teachers who not only understand the importance of curriculum and instructional strategies that are designed based on the needs of the learners, they also understand the theory of meaningful learning which compels them to structure curricula and teaching primarily to meet the academic needs of their students. This understanding gives them the impetus to not only operate on the idea of first getting to know their learners and structure curriculum appropriately but, also, to continuously innovate and embrace creativity to ensure that they meet the needs of their learners.

There have been numerous research and educational reform initiatives over the years. In 1896, the United States recognized the doctrine of "separate but equal" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896) that effectively prevented some of its citizens from participating in the educational process. In fact, in the slave states before the Civil War, it was illegal for blacks to read for fear that they could learn things that would enable them to challenge unjust laws designed to keep them in a helpless situation. In 1954, following the Supreme Court decision (*Brown v. Topeka*, 1954) banning segregation in our schools, and subsequent rulings on educational funding where schools are for the most part funded by property taxes, most schools like churches in the United States remained segregated. James Coleman's report stated that United States schools are segregated and unequal. The Nation at Risk report (1983), indicated that if another nation does what we do to our children's schools, we would consider it an act of war.

We are now in what Tom Freedman (2005) characterized as a flat world, where each country's boundaries are no longer determining what happens to their children's success academically, employment, and otherwise. The question, "What does this mean for our schools, our children and the future of our democracy?" becomes more important than at any other time in the world's history. For those like Charles Murray, who would want to repackage his racist book, "The Bell Curve," they have to think deep because this is a new platform, one in which they have to decide whether they should continue their racist behavior that for generations has resulted in low academic success rates, and thus, face stiff competition that the world has ever experienced while American Corporations will have no

choice but to take jobs to other places whose educational system does a better job at preparing all their citizens for the jobs in our flat world.

Alternatively, they should embrace true equality and thus work to realize what Thomas Jefferson characterized as the prerequisite for survival of a democratic government which includes education for all citizens.

Restructuring the Curriculum

If education today has any parallel in our national renewal, it is at the height of the cold war in 1957 when the Soviet Union leaped ahead in the space race by launching the satellite "Sputnik." There are many differences between what we have done in the past to marginalize some segments of our population and what is occurring now. But the process of marginalization cannot be continued without dire consequences. If we as a nation intend to maintain and sustain our leadership change must occur in almost every aspect of life. Fink (2003), in the book titled, *Creating Significant Learning Experience*, posed a fundamental question for all teachers, "How can I create courses that will provide significant learning experiences for my students?" In the process of addressing the above question, he urged teachers to embark on a paradigm shift that goes from a content centered strategy to a learning centered strategy that poses the question this way, "What kinds of learning will be significant for students, and how can I create a course that will result in that kind of learning?" Theorists have asked this question time and time again and that's what I intend to address in the last segment of this piece. I'll provide the conceptual and procedural framework that will help teachers meet the needs of their learners.

I advocate a systematic approach that focuses on utilizing formative assessment strategies to first ascertain what learners know and their learning styles with a goal of designing the curriculum to connect their prior knowledge to the content that will be taught in a manner that the scope and sequencing of the curriculum are consistent with the theory of meaningful learning—learning that connects learners' background experiences or prior knowledge to learning materials. The systemic approach will ensure meaningful learning in that it will involve continuous evaluation of all components of a parallel curriculum model, and factoring the scope and sequence of a curriculum based on the learners' background experiences in ways that are consistent with consumer orientation. A successful approach embodies a curriculum program that builds on prior knowledge while employing instructional strategies that treat learners with respect and provide opportunities for learners to connect learning materials

to their previous experiences. This approach embodies four components of a parallel curriculum.

A parallel curriculum offers new strategies for curriculum and instructional practices that can be employed for both heterogeneous and homogeneous classes that enabled instructors to meet the needs of all learners regardless of whether the learner is at basic or highest ability level (Tomlinson, et. al., 2001). To effectively provide children with a high quality education, we do not need to wonder what to do. We know what works. All we need to do is to take what works based on solid research of meaningful learning and instructional planning along with an execution that works. Simply put, if curriculum and instructional activities for teachers are structured with a focus on meeting the needs of learners, one that is structured according to the scope and sequence of what the learners' needs are, and then all students will achieve success. For educators and schools to achieve "success" defined here as ensuring that all our students acquire educational preparation to live a productive life, and then embrace a systemic and sequential approach to educating all our children. Let me briefly summarize the four aspects of a Parallel curriculum. They include,

1. Core Curriculum which essentially focuses on the foundational knowledge and introduction of such information as general core concepts, principles and skills of a discipline;
2. Curriculum of Connection which enables one to see

how disciplines can be connected. For instance, social studies, history, and culture can be connected to effective teaching and learning;

3. Curriculum of Practice which provides opportunities for learners to build on prior knowledge along with new information and ultimately construct new knowledge that can be transferable in an effort to deal with real world situations; and

4. Curriculum of Identity which enables one to see curriculum from self identified norms, values and how those variables influence how one's view can be shaped by his or her identity and the implications for other people with different identity.

A parallel curriculum provides curriculum and instructional specialists with a range of strategies not only to employ formative assessment to ascertain prior knowledge of learners, but, more important, provide them with the opportunity to determine the scope of curriculum and instructional practices that are aligned with learners in ways that support differentiated teaching strategies and thus foster meaningful curriculum models. The curriculum model provides teaching strategies that help teachers to address barriers that confront learners. An instructional strategy that recognizes students varying experiences, intellectual levels, learning styles, interests, language differences and respond accordingly with instructional strategies that maximize each individual's learning.

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EQUITY AND ADEQUACY: PHILOSOPHICAL, TECHNICAL, AND POLITICAL ISSUES

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Introduction

State school finance schemes have been steadily litigated since the 1970's. The earliest challenges, such as *Rodriguez v. San Antonio (1973)* and *Serrano v. Priest (1976)* were based on equity arguments. Plaintiffs sued to compel states to ameliorate spending disparities between rich and poor school districts and between specific subgroups of students. Over time legal challenges based in issues of equity became less attractive as dissatisfaction with the results of equity litigation grew, even when it was successful (Minorini & Sugarman 1999). Consequently challenges to state school funding plans turned to the concept of adequacy to support their arguments for school finance reform. Adequacy theory holds that the educational clause of the state's constitution requires it to ensure that all students attain a minimal level of educational achievement. To fulfill this constitutional requirement, advocates argue that the state must provide a level of spending for education that is "adequate" to ensure that all children reach the desired level of proficiency. Adequacy requires a level of spending tied to specified educational outcomes. While equity litigation was aimed at reducing differentials in per-pupil or per-district spending, adequacy suits seek to compel the state to adopt a level of financial support that will allow schools to bring all students to some generally agreed upon level of achievement (Costrell 2007). Equity and adequacy approaches impact state funding for public schools in different ways: reaching equity *may* result in reduced spending for some school districts or for some classifications of students while increasing levels of support for others; adequacy promises increased spending for all. Because the application of adequacy principles implies a general increase in levels of spending for most schools, it appeals to the interests of a broad spectrum of education advocates.

This paper addresses several questions surrounding adequacy theory. First, do the concepts of "equity" and "adequacy" fundamentally differ from one another? Second, can the level of adequate state funding for schools be reasonably determined? Finally, are the courts the proper forum for determining this critical public policy issue?

Equity

The concepts of equity and justice are inextricably bound together. As Alexander (2008) notes "Equity is justice and fairness and encompasses equality, humanity, morality, and right" (150.) Questions of

equity typically concern the methods by which the benefits and burdens of a given society are distributed among its members. An underlying principle of distribution is that all members of the society be treated equally unless some reason for unequal treatment exists. However, problems arise, first in determining what circumstances justify a departure from the principle of equal treatment, and then in defining the proper role of the state in correcting inequities, and finally in ensuring that the system through which the society's benefits and burdens are distributed is fair (Blackburn 2005). In modern societies with well-developed systems of mass education, the question of what is fair and equitable in the distribution of educational resources is critical. Is it necessary, for example, that the products of the educational system be equal? Does equity require a state to redistribute society's financial resources in order to create greater uniformity in the economic capacity of individuals? Is it necessary that the financial resources of individual units of government be equalized in order to provide equal access of students to educational opportunities? Finally, does equity compel the state to fiscally compensate in some manner for differences in mental, physical, social, or cultural resources in individual students? (Alexander 2008.) The connection between equity and the processes through which the state provides financial resources to its schools is clear.

There are generally four philosophical approaches to defining what constitutes a fair and equitable distribution of the state's fiscal resources for education. These are *commutative equity*, *distributive equity*, *restitutive equity*, and *positive equity* (Alexander 2008). Commutative equity is based on the belief that an individual is entitled to a thing or a right simply because it is his or hers and leaves the distribution of burdens and benefits to be determined by community custom without outside interference. It is assumed that the state plays no part in creating or rectifying unequal results in the distribution of benefits or burdens. This is basically a communitarian rather than a contractarian approach to equity (Alexander 2008.) Distributive equity is a limited concept that permits the state to address mathematical disparities in the distribution of benefits and burdens among individuals and subgroups of the population. However, this concept balances the distribution of a society's goods with the responsibility of the individual to the larger society. The greater the individual's burden of responsibility to the society is, the greater the individual's share of society's benefits. Restitutive

equity acknowledges that an unequal distribution of society's benefits and burdens may be the result of some adverse state action, for which the state may compensate. Compensation normally occurs through progressive tax and expenditure policies (Alexander 2008.) Finally, a positive concept of equity assumes that the government has a moral duty to remediate disparities among individuals in society. This concept of equity imposes an obligation on the state to assist those who are disadvantaged "even though their inferior position is not the fault of the government and may be simply due to bad luck or natural causes" (Alexander 2008, 154.) This approach to equity relies heavily on Rawls' (1971) principles of justice, which obligates the state to give primary concern in the distribution of a society's benefits and burdens to the least advantaged of its members. Each of these concepts has implications for how a society provides resources for the education of its members.

In its simplest terms, the concept of educational equity requires equal funding for all students (Satz 2008.) Although this straightforward interpretation of equity has enjoyed limited legal and legislative success, it is flawed in application. First, this interpretation fails to specify a minimum or threshold amount of spending per child. Conceivably, a strict application of this equity concept could result in reduced spending for all students, so long as the same amount per pupil is distributed. Second, this interpretation fails to recognize that the same level of funding per student does not produce equal outcomes. For example, it costs more to secure qualified teachers for poor and rural school districts than it does for urban and suburban districts. Moreover, this version of equity fails to account for the fact that students have different needs, some of which are more expensive to meet than others. Lastly, not all school districts are operated in ways that would maximize available resources. Poor management could result in inefficient spending and denial of equal educational access. Failing to take these conditions into account renders this interpretation of equity all but useless in providing equal educational resources for all students.

Recent legislative and judicial attempts to reach an acceptable level of fiscal equity have been guided by three principles. These are *horizontal equity*, *vertical equity*, and *fiscal neutrality* (Berne & Steifel 1999; Owings & Kaplan 2006.) Horizontal equity recognizes that students who are *similarly situated* should be treated equally. Vertical equity, on the other hand, requires that students who are *differently situated*, e.g., children with mental or physical disabilities or children from minority cultural or linguistic groups, should be

treated differently. Vertical equity appeals to legislators and judges because it takes into account the different needs of students. The concept has limited usefulness since, beyond acknowledging that children have different needs that may require more resources, there is little agreement on how *much more* should be provided (Berne & Steifel 1999). As an equity principle, *fiscal neutrality* holds that no relationship between the wealth of the school district in which a child resides and the quality of the education provided should exist. In other words, fiscal neutrality means that children residing in poor communities have the same right of access to educational opportunities as children residing in wealthier communities. Courts and legislators have adopted the stance that the wealth of the state rather than the wealth of the local school district should be the basis on which money for schools is generated. Some shift of the burden of financing education from local school districts to the state has occurred but wide disparities in the fiscal resources of local school districts continues to exist in most states (Rebel 2008.) The application of the principle of equity has fallen short of achieving the equality of educational opportunities hoped for.

Adequacy

Determining exactly what an "adequate" level of funding for public schools should be has proven to be a difficult task. The concept of adequacy rests on the assumption that all public school students within a state should have access to a level of resources sufficient to achieve some desired educational outcome (Costrell 2007; Minorinni & Sugarman 1999). Adequacy differs from the older concept of "equity," which relies on a norm of equal treatment and can be determined by comparing per pupil expenditures for groups of students with differing characteristics. Adequacy, however, must be measured against a standard. The standards may be subject matter oriented, as in Goals 2000 and the No Child Left Behind Act (Public Law 107-110) or aim at preparing students for citizenship in a democratic society and participation in the economic system (Satz 2008.) Establishing appropriate standards requires crafting a public consensus on three complex issues: adequate to do what, how, and for what purpose (Guthrie & Rothstein 1999.)

While the most likely participants in a conversation about what constitutes an adequate education would ideally be citizens, legislators, and state-level policy makers interacting in a public forum, the actual arena of determination has been the courtroom. Federal courts are precluded from acting in this arena by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973), which ruled that education was not a federally protected constitutional

right, leaving state courts to become the battleground for conflict over the meaning of the education provisions of the various state constitutions (Eastman 2007). Spurred on by the creation of specific learning objectives and presumably measurable curricular standards, the adequacy of state funding mechanisms has been challenged in thirty-nine of the fifty states (Guthrie & Springer 2007; Springer & Guthrie 2007). Suing states over the financing of public education has become a growth industry.

No universally applicable definition of adequacy has emerged from years of litigation. But a general consensus on what constitutes an adequate education can be gleaned from recent court decisions (Rebell 2008). In general, the judicial understanding of adequacy includes the following elements:

Students should be able to function fully as citizens of a democracy and to compete effectively in a global economy.

- Students should possess the ability to read, write, and speak English and have a sufficient knowledge of mathematics, science, geography, history, economics, and political systems to make informed choices about issues confronting themselves, their communities, and the nation.
- Students should have mastered the social and communication skills that will enable them to work well with others and communicate ideas to a group and sufficient academic and vocational skills to compete in further education or to find and hold gainful employment.
- The state is required to provide the resources needed for students to acquire this knowledge and skills, including well-qualified teachers, principals, and other personnel; strong early-childhood programs; up-to-date school facilities; and other appropriate programs and services including textbooks, libraries, laboratories, computers, and a safe learning environment.

As the Education Commission of the States (2008) summarizes the situation, schools must have sufficient funds to enable all but the most severely impaired students to reach state and district proficiency standards.

There are difficulties with this interpretation of adequacy. First, the list above is not helpful. What, for example, do students need to know to “function fully” as democratic citizens? What constitutes a “sufficient” knowledge of mathematics, science, geography, history, economics, and political systems? The specification of adequacy criteria in many states has failed to have much of an impact on the mismatch between state expectations for student achievement and levels of financial support available to districts and schools.

Many states and school districts, especially those serving poor and minority students “are not providing adequate funding or other resources necessary for students to achieve targets that the states themselves have set” (Rebell 2008, 436). Finally, adequacy decisions in state courts exhibit as much variability as the social, political, and economic context of states in which these decisions are rendered. Some courts have specified an adequate level of financial support needed to insure “basic literacy” (Picus 2000). Other courts defer to the judgment of the state legislature to determine adequacy, a task that is usually constrained by the power relationships within the state and the legislature and the amount of tax revenues available to disperse (Carr & Fuhrman 1999; Verstegen 1998). Even in states with complex accountability systems, judicial determination of adequacy provides limited guidance for policy makers and school officials. In the end, “no one knows with any degree of certainty how much money it takes . . . to meet state-derived learning standards” (Guthrie & Springer 2007, 22).

Identifying an “adequate” level of financial support

Another way of determining adequacy of funding is through the use of “costing out” models. Several approaches to modeling adequacy are in use (Baker 2004; Baker, Taylor, & Vedlitz 2004; Hanushek 2007; Guthrie & Springer 2007; Odden 2003; Reschovsky & Imazeki 2001; Rebell 2002). These are the *econometric* or *cost functions* model, the *successful schools* model, and the *professional judgment* model. These models have been used by the courts and state education officials in attempts to restructure state school finance systems with varying degrees of success. Each of the models presents a quite different version of adequacy and its potential costs.

The econometric model statistically compares student performance with available resources. This operation yields an average per pupil or per district cost of reaching specified learning outcomes. This figure can then be adjusted to account for variations in student needs and for geographically related differentials in cost. Some of the problems associated with this model are illustrated in the most recent Texas school finance case *West Orange-Cove v. Neeley* (2004). Each side in the dispute commissioned their own cost analysis (Imazeki & Reschovsky 2004; Gronberg, Jansen, Taylor, & Brooker 2004) using differing assumptions and came with quite different results.

The state analysis (Gronberg, Jansen, Taylor, & Brooker 2004) estimated that 226 to 408 million dollars in *new revenues* were needed to fund an adequate education. The plaintiff’s study (Imazeki & Reschovsky 2004) concluded that the state would need to expend

between \$1.7 and \$5.4 billion in new money to reach adequacy. The discrepancies in cost estimates arose from slightly different assumptions underlying each study. To determine per pupil costs, the state defendants used operating revenues while the plaintiffs used operating expenditures. Each side used different estimates to account for inflation. The state defendants but not the plaintiffs accounted for geographic isolation of schools. Plaintiffs included the number of minority students in their calculations; defendants did not. To determine the impact of poverty, defendants used the average number of elementary school students receiving free and reduced price lunches while the plaintiffs used district-wide numbers. One other factor may have come into play in projecting money needed to ensure adequacy. During the trial, the state appeared to assume that an accreditation rating of *Academically Acceptable* represented adequacy. Plaintiffs, however, claimed that the state was required to provide local districts with the funds needed to reach the highest level of accreditation. While the differences in the studies are relatively slight, the revenue implications are not. The wide gap in the estimates of costs required to reach adequacy led Guthrie and Springer to conclude “In their current state cost function analyses are simply inadequate for guiding changes in state education finance policy” (2007, 23).

The second model for determining fiscal adequacy is the Successful Schools Model. In this model researchers first identify school districts in a state that have been successful in educating children to specific learning standards. The average level of expenditure per pupil is calculated and assumed to represent “adequacy” for all school districts in the state. The drawback to this model is that it tends to favor suburban districts over urban and rural school districts. Difficulties can also arise in agreeing on the standards used to identify successful school districts. This validity of this model came under fire in Ohio when a change in the districts sampled resulted in lower estimates of adequate funding (Picus 2000).

The Professional Judgment Model is the third approach to estimating the cost of adequacy. This approach uses a panel of expert educators to identify successful educational practices for students at a given grade level and for students with special needs. The resources required to implement each strategy are identified and costs determined for each resource. Total costs are then added up and become the ideal per pupil expenditure. This level of expenditure is assumed to be “adequate.” The primary difficulty with this model is that the identified strategies and resources are difficult to link directly to student achievement. This model is also open to criticism of the assumed objectivity of

panels of professional educational experts, who have been accused of blatant self-interest and a bias toward higher spending for education.

After an analysis of all three models of adequacy, Hanushek concludes that “[t]here simply is not any reliable, objective, and scientific method to answer the question of how much it would cost to obtain achievement that is noticeably better than that currently seen” (2007, 97).

Adequacy in the courts

The judiciary is the least democratic component of our political system. This is especially true of the federal courts where judges are appointed for life. Even in the state courts systems, where judges are commonly elected and therefore more likely to be attuned to the political nuances of the issues before them, judges typically maintain some degree of independence from the executive and the legislative branches. Courts have only limited enforcement power over their decisions in the political arena. Governors and legislators can, and do, ignore court-mandated action in school finance matters. The limited ability to enforce their decisions means that courts rarely risk having their authority challenged and frequently refrain from imposing solutions to school finance problems that they know the governor or the legislature will not—or politically—cannot implement (Carr & Fuhrman 1999).

Courts also face institutional barriers that make them risky venues for policy making. First of all, the adversarial nature of court proceedings can result in judges acting on incomplete or inaccurate information supplied by expert advocates for each side of an issue. For example, in the most recent round of Texas school finance litigation, Judge John Dietz relied heavily on the expert testimony presented to him by both the plaintiffs and the state defendants. Although based on similar, if not exact, assumptions, each side came up with far different estimates of the amount of money required for adequacy (*West Orange-Cove v. Neeley 2005*). The judge gave more credence to the plaintiff’s study than to that of the state. It is not clear, however, how well the court comprehended the mass of data presented to it or the limitations of the methodologies and underlying assumptions on which the studies were based. Dunn and Derthick (2007) found similar situations in Kansas and New Jersey courts that also relied on the validity of single cost function study to decide school finance cases.

School finance litigation may also have unintended consequences. Sandler and Schoenbrod (2003) describe how court intervention in special education programs in New York City led to unintended incentives for schools to place non learning-disabled students in special

education, whether the students were learning disabled or not. The city's schools were financially strapped and the increase funding resulting from an increase in the number of students needing special education services brought badly needed funds to the district. A similar situation arose in Kansas where the court ordered the state to assume an increasing share of the cost of special education programs in local districts despite a lack of evidence that over identification of special education students was indeed happening (Dunn & Derthick 2007).

Because courts may consider only the legal questions before them, complex social and educational issues tend to get treated in a piecemeal fashion. Educational problems are normally bound up with other social problems—health care, unemployment, poverty, crime—that require a comprehensive approach to solve. There is some evidence that dollars spent to ameliorate these non school problems may bring better educational results than an additional dollar spent on the schools (Rothstein 2004). By their very nature the courts are unequipped to deal comprehensively with the broader spectrum of social problems that negatively impact education.

A more inclusive forum for defining adequacy

Adequacy theory, at least as currently understood, may not be the hoped for silver bullet that can solve thorny school finance problems. There are several issues to be considered. First the constitutional target for most adequacy suits is the education clause of the state constitutions. Eastman (1998; 2007) examined the origins of these clauses, which were usually added to the state constitution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Eastman concludes that these provisions were “only hortatory, and even those that contained apparently obligatory language in most cases were not interpreted as imposing any specific mandate on the legislature ...” Moreover, the interpretation of the education clauses of state constitutions as granting either a constitutional right to an education or imposing a duty on the state to fund public education at a specific level arose only to the 1970's following the “rights revolution” of the Warren court. In addition to incorrectly interpreting the education clause of a state constitution, Eastman contends that current adequacy decisions at the state level represent a shift of responsibility for determining educational policy away from legislatures and toward the courts, “posing a serious threat to the principle of separation of powers ...” (2007, 56-57).

Guthrie and Springer (2007) contend that adequacy advocates have “high jacked” adequacy theory in an attempt to bypass the complex and often messy executive and legislative venues where educational policy should more properly be made. They charge that the groups supporting adequacy litigation are the same groups that have traditionally opposed alternative approaches to education reform such as competition, performance pay for educators, and increases in educator productivity. “Adequacy advocates seldom open the door to alternative public policy solutions, such as income maintenance, housing subsidies, or health and nutrition improvement” (2007, 26). This is not to say that Guthrie and Springer are opposed to adequate financing of America's schools. Public school would certainly benefit from “the proper combination of resources, incentives, practices, and structures” (2007, 26). But the current state of research funding and the problems with costing models are not likely to produce the quality of data policy makers need to make intelligent decision. Finally, the forum for determining adequacy should be expanded from the courts to the more democratically accessible executive and legislative branches of state governments, where Guthrie and Springer argue the determination of school finance policy belongs. The reason underlying this change in approach is that:

Legislative and executive branch deliberations are far better adapted for accommodating uncertainty, deconstructing complexity, and considering the tradeoffs inherent in education policymaking. Unlike the judiciary, legislative and executive bodies might also have the capacity to consider, alongside resource investment, innovations aimed at making sure those resources are used effectively (2007, 27).

An over reliance on the courts to achieve lasting reform in school finance may not prove to be the wisest strategy.

A truly effective movement for meaningful change in how a state finances education must involve all three branches of the state government equally. Ways must also be found to include the voices of the ultimate beneficiaries of education ... parents, community members, and students themselves, all of which have a stake in the ultimate outcome of this policy decision. Unfortunately, the court continues to be the forum of choice for those dissatisfied with the current state of public school finance. Perhaps this explains why a satisfactory solution to this thorny issue continues to elude us.

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SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ENTITLEMENT, A CAUTIONARY TALE

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Introduction

Entitlement is the belief that one is deserving of or entitled to certain privileges, a belief that one is 'owed,' a euphemism for what is commonly referred to as 'spoiled.' To want things because those things are perceived to be 'deserved.' Sadly, for those who believe they are entitled there is never enough. This distorted view fosters selfishness and greed because it is believed there is a constant lack. The entitled, therefore, are chronically disappointed and dissatisfied. "It's not fair" becomes their mantra.

This type of entitlement is not what is referred to as a "normal, healthy, or appropriate" form of entitlement. Healthy entitlement, for example, involves the care of children. Infants are entitled to have their needs met. It is appropriate to place infants at the center of attention because their needs are great and they are helpless to satisfy those needs. In adulthood, healthy entitlement places reasonable expectations of fair treatment in the marketplace, such as receiving fair pay for work done, or the reasonable expectation of being treated respectfully in relationships.

The entitlement to which I refer in this paper has been called "pathological, excessive, or problematic." The entitled believe that the world owes them something for which there has been no investment in time, talent or energy in earning. Problematic entitlement is the belief that one is superior to others, not based on real accomplishments, but simply by 'being.' The entitled believe that whatever good fortune is experienced is somehow due them: it is payment just for living. Author Jim Fay writes, "[The entitled] ... believe that the world we live in owes them something, but the payment is never enough" (2005).

More severe cases of pathological entitlement are associated with intense rage. When a person feels deprived in some way, particularly when needs are not met, the entitled person may seek reparation. When the attitude is chronic and excessive, sometimes this insistence on redress can be vindictive and destructive. An extreme case of pathological entitlement, reported in *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, describes the circumstances surrounding the second degree murder conviction of a fourteen-year-old (Bishop & Lane, 2002). This boy was caught throwing water balloons on the last day of school and was suspended. He returned to school with a handgun and shot his English teacher in the head for refusing the boy's request to visit with two of his friends. Investigation of the incident revealed that in the home the boy had been treated as his mother's

narcissistic extension (one who looks to another –mother to child in this case– to have needs met) and because he was a "brilliant child" had been indulged throughout his life. Having been accustomed to having all his desires fulfilled by his mother, the boy was unfamiliar with being denied. He responded with rage at the injustice, and took what he considered to be a compensatory action.

Nearly 30 years ago authors Christopher Lasch, in his book *The Culture of Narcissism* and Marie Nelson in her book *The Narcissistic Condition* contended that society was becoming increasingly narcissistic and cautioned against the danger of underestimating the societal implications of living in a culture where its citizens are focused primarily on their self-serving desires and goals (1979, 1977). The claims set forth in their books have proven to be prophetic.

Entitlement is related to narcissism in that they are both based on a self-centered view of the world – a self-serving world that functions to satisfy the ego. According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), "A sense of entitlement is evident in these individuals' [narcissists] unreasonable expectation of especially favorable treatment. They expect to be catered to and are puzzled or furious when this does not happen" (2000). Narcissism, like entitlement, makes it difficult to acknowledge that there are others in the world with their own desires and goals. Others are devalued and serve primarily as sources to satisfy the needs of the entitled. The DSM goes on to say, "This sense of entitlement combined with a lack of sensitivity to the wants and needs of others may result in the conscious or unwitting exploitation of others. They expect to be given whatever they want or feel they need, no matter what it might mean to others" (2000).

The literature suggests many undesirable consequences of a self-absorbed citizenry. I have attempted to summarize these into the following seven points:

1. Ineffective interpersonal communication. Entitlement makes open, balanced communication impossible because communication requires that both people have the ability to express their opinions and listen to the opinions of others. Effective communication is dependent upon an individual's ability to listen carefully to all opinions and remain open to a myriad of possibilities. The entitled person, however, works from a self-centered agenda that makes them right, and therefore justified, impairing their ability to see another's point of view.

2. Unwillingness to pursue common social objectives. Frederick Kanfer (1979) suggests that continuous self-seeking lessens an individual's willingness to pursue common social objectives. Entitlement shrinks thoughts of social concern and responsibility into petty, self-serving complaints.

3. Marital discord. In her work with couples, Catherine Fichten (1984) found that a narcissistic or egotistic proclivity is a common underlying source of distress in marital partners. As previously noted, healthy communication, which includes listening to and valuing the opinions of others is widely acknowledged to be a critical component of a successful marriage.

4. Narcissistic ideologies. Fichten goes on to suggest that racism, sexism, and nationalism can be viewed as examples of a narcissistic tendency manifested at group levels (1984). With the focus of attention squarely on them, the entitled person views their race, their gender, and their nationality as superior to others.

5. Violence. As illustrated in the example of the 14-year-old murderer, individuals with the pathological form of entitlement have the capacity to commit acts of violence. When frustration, caused from having desires denied, escalates from anger to rage, violence may result. The entitled person reacts with acts of vindictiveness for what they consider to be reparation for the damages inflicted on them.

6. A vigorous indictment of the societal effects of entitlement comes from Jim Fay (2005). "As the cancer of entitlement grows ever stronger in our culture, it threatens to extinguish what we want most for our children – genuine happiness and success – while it simultaneously succeeds at tearing our families apart ... entitlement is one of the major reasons why over half of the marriages in this country end in divorce, and why at least a fifth of the intact marriages are filled with unhappiness. Entitlement is the reason our schools are in shambles, our families are falling apart, and our children are less motivated to succeed than they have ever been. It is the reason why suicide among school-age kids continues to increase at dramatic and alarming rates."

7. Jim Fay includes my final consequence: Conflict in schools.

For 13 years I taught in a parochial middle school where I regularly experienced the effects of the entitled attitude. This attitude was fueled, I believe, by consumerism. Parents were paying for their child's education, so they should be able to purchase the treatment their child received, specifically preferential treatment. Their child was special, and given enough time, the world would come to know it. They wanted their child to experience no pain, no discomfort, and no consequences for his or her poor choices. In their view

that was what they were paying me for ... to provide an education for their child (with good grades, of course) and protect that child from the disappointment that goes along with poor choices—like not studying—with resulting bad grades. A reality of life is that feeling sad, disappointed or rejected at times is an inevitable part of the human experience. What the parents were asking of me was to deprive their child of the opportunity to develop the positive life skills of personal responsibility and accountability. Because entitlement fosters the major misconception that our children's behavior, character and eventual success are dependent on something other than themselves inhibits the child from accepting the responsibility for his or her action or inaction.

There is ample agreement that the etiology of entitlement is rooted in the home. Kernberg (1976) *proposes* that narcissism develops as a consequence of parental rejection or abandonment. This position holds that because of disinterested or unavailable parents, the child defensively withdraws and believes that he can only trust and rely on himself. In contrast, Millon (1981) sets forth an opposing perspective that he calls the "social-learning theory of narcissism." This view presents narcissism as developing not as a response to parental devaluation as proposed by Kernberg, but rather as a consequence of parental overvaluation. According to Millon, such unrealistic overvaluation will lead to self-illusions that "cannot be sustained in the outer world."

My experience supports Millon's theory. Over the years I sat through conferences with scores of parents who attempted to convince me that their child should not be required to suffer the consequences of his or her choices. The parents presented themselves to me as an advocate, but they conflated *advocating* on behalf of their child with *defending* their child's actions. They were interfering with the wonderful learning experience that was available to their child. They were trying to shield their child from the discomfort that is sometimes associated with the consequences of their choices. They wanted their child to "feel good" about himself, and disappointment would be too painful. I explained that allowing their child to face consequences was their child's life work, not theirs. To bail them out was to deny them the opportunity to do their work and experience failure ... to learn from their mistake so it would not be repeated. To abnegate this experience was to delay the lesson, and risk a higher cost the next time. Some parents got it, and some did not. Those who did not blamed me for their child's bruised (or completely destroyed) self-esteem. In a recent article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* Thomas Benton wrote,

“I see too many students who are certain that any academic failure is the fault of the professor rather than the student” (2008).

The students Dr. Benton is referring to were probably in my class.

Too many parents have bought into the notion that self esteem must be instilled in their child with random, unearned, undeserved praise and privilege. In addition to scholarly literature, the topic of entitlement has been filtering into the main stream media.

In her article published in Time Magazine, Nancy Gibbs writes “They [children] feel good about themselves for no reason” (2005). Judith Warner’s article, published in The New York Times refers to a social pathology dubbed “affluenza.” Quoting the New York University Child Study Center she writes, “It’s [affluenza’s] symptoms are apathy, laziness, or failure to commit to and achieve goals, ... overindulgence, and attitudes of entitlement” (2008). Ms Warner goes on to quote Harvard psychologist Dan Kindlon,

“Indulged children are often less able to cope with stress because their parents have created an atmosphere where their whims are indulged, where they were always assured ... that they’re entitled and that life should be a bed of roses” (2008).

Along with undeserved praise, the other side of the self esteem coin is the attempt to protect the child from himself: from hard work, from his errors, and the consequences of his inevitable poor choices. The reality is that there is no short cut to self esteem. It develops through hard work. It must be earned. No amount of praise can create it.

In his book *From Innocence to Entitlement*, Jim Fay cites research conducted by Dr. E. P. Seligman with 10 to 12 year olds which concluded that to emphasize how a child *feels* at the expense of what the child *does* – mastery, persistence, overcoming frustration – creates a child who is vulnerable to depression (2005). Fay’s book also refers to four large-scale studies that have concluded that in this culture of raising children to feel good about themselves, the actual esteem of American children has never been lower. Fay goes on to assert, “As Americans have made feeling good and boosting self-esteem in children a primary aim, the incidence of depression has skyrocketed and feelings of self-esteem have actually plummeted” (2005).

Norman Vincent Peale is quoted as saying, “The trouble with most of us is that we would rather be ruined by praised than saved by criticism.”

So what? So entitlement affects society by shaping bias, interferes with effective communication, lessens an individual’s willingness to pursue common social objectives, causes marital discord, has the potential for

violence and creates conflict in schools. What can be done about it? As an educator, what, if any, is my responsibility? How can I intervene to protect society from yet another self-centered soul? It is my belief that the school setting provides the ideal opportunity to arrest the entitled attitude. By seeing it for what it is, steps can be taken, changes can be made that will prevent the entitled attitude from continuing so that the societal implications are never borne out. Here are some suggestions to prevent the perpetuation of the sense of entitlement within the school setting:

1. Students can be held responsible for their actions and allowed to experience the consequences of their behavior.
2. Students can be allowed to experience failure. Failure is a wonderful learning experience. It teaches us how to succeed.
3. Students can be shown empathy in their times of failure and disappointment. Their emotions and experiences can be valued by adults.
4. All children do not have to make the school team to protect their self esteem. Self esteem is earned through actual achievement. It is not given gratuitously. Children have a keen sense of justice and know the difference. They know when they do not have the requisite skills for a team and to pretend they do is insulting, humiliating and demoralizing.
5. Students can be acknowledged, commended, and praised for a job well done. In other words, recognized for earned accomplishments.

The societal implications of an entitled attitude are sobering, and the classroom provides an ideal opportunity to identify and address the attitude before it has the opportunity to progress. We can teach our children to communicate effectively, and stress its importance in producing healthy personal and professional relationships. Society as a whole is at risk when its citizens are not able to listen to others and respect differing opinions. To become a nation of non caring citizens is to condemn our culture to people who lack empathy for others, people who lack understanding for the plight of the less fortunate, the marginalized among us. If our society claims to value harmony in our homes, in our classrooms and on our city streets, as well as peaceful international relations, then we must be vigilant in our efforts to see the entitled attitude for what it is: a potentially toxic force to our children and therefore to society.

In conclusion a quote from Jim Fay (2005) – a quote that speaks to his idea of the role of society – his vision, if you will. I think Fay is really on to something. His approach addresses, and is proving effective, in homes and in classrooms, in arresting the increasingly

narcissistic society that Lasch and Nelson warned about nearly 30 years ago. Fay writes,
Our job as a nation, a community, and a family is to aid our children in becoming citizens with great

integrity, people whose words have meaning, friends and neighbors whose actions can be trusted, people endowed with esteem.

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KEEPING MEN OFF BARSTOOLS: CHILDREN'S ACTIVISM IN 19TH CENTURY TEMPERANCE SCHOOLBOOKS

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Introduction

Children's participation in the temperance movement is exemplified by *The Temperance Readers* (1889-1893), a unique series of children's books that offer reading and math lessons while also espousing the evils of alcohol. The female author, activist and educator, weaves temperance advocacy with literacy instruction to suggest to 19th century child readers that their temperance activism is tantamount in significance to their reading, writing, and mathematical literacy (Worley, Otto & Bailey 2008; Bailey 2008). Indeed, the texts portray children as formidable weapons in the battle for a temperate society and temperate men: youthful male characters eschew alcohol with remarkable self-restraint and female characters coax men from their barstools with alluring visions of tidy homes (Worley, Otto & Bailey 2008; Bailey 2008). With such spelling words as "saloons," "enemy," and "bottle," and math problems that tally the economic costs of alcohol, the lessons socialize their young readers for social action, asserting that even "little girls *can* do something" (Wright 1891, p. 26, emphasis added; Worley, Otto & Bailey 2008; Bailey 2008).

In this era in which alcohol abuse had potentially devastating effects for women's daily lives, this educator, Julia McNair Wright who also wrote as Aunt Sophronia, like thousands of other social reformers at the time, mobilizes temperance as a symbol of women's liberation and a movement to which children can—and should—contribute (Worley, Otto & Bailey 2008; Bailey 2008). In this paper, I analyze specific techniques intended to spur children's participation in the temperance movement. In what follows, I first describe the historical context in which temperance readers were produced. I then describe techniques the readers use to spur temperance activism: constructing children as future citizens, highlighting women's agency, and representing the body. I include examples from the readers to illustrate these patterns.¹

Historical context

Scholars suggest that the 19th century temperance movement was the "most popular, influential, and long-lived social reform movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century" (quoted in Sanchez-Eppler 1995, p.3). The primarily female activists responsible for its momentum and longevity believed temperance reform was imperative for advancing women's rights offering the opportunity to develop public personas, overcome their limited formal education, and participate

in an important social movement (Mattingly 1998; Bordin 1982). Women, committed to the temperance cause, stamped the 19th century landscape in a cloud of petticoats and primers and enveloped the common schools, Sunday schools, and a host of evangelical presses in their temperance fervor. Women striving to protect home and hearth from the perils of alcohol and socialize their children for a temperate life turned to educational texts to deliver temperance messages. As early as 1814, school books included images of mysterious jugs filled with "ardent spirits" (Erickson 1988, p. 334) and newspaper stories included lamentations on "drunkenness" (Carpenter 1963, p. 43). As the publishing industry expanded in the 1840s and 1850s, readers were encouraged to consume books rather than alcohol (Martin 1995). Attendees at one temperance conference asserted, "the demand of the present is books, BOOKS, BOOKS! Men *must* have books, women *will* have books and children *should* have books" (quoted in Sanchez-Eppler 1995, p. 11). The American Tract Society's earnest efforts to contribute to a "Benevolent Empire" resulted in the publication of more than five hundred different tracts between 1825 and 1850 (Schantz 1997, p. 426). Temperance was a prominent theme in such texts.

Children were considered particularly important weapons in the battle for temperance. Frances Willard, the formidable leader of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (hereafter WCTU), argued, "the great hopes of...temperance reform lies in the thorough training of the youths of the land" (Erickson 1988, p. 337). Reformers utilized symbolic and sentimental figurations of children to "enforce [middle-class] social norms" (Sanchez-Eppler 1995, p. 1) and to create textual worlds free of liquor and its human hostages. Children were variously constructed as innocents needing protection from the lure of spirits, as potential instruments of social change, or as victims whose suffering justified women's activism in the public sphere.² Women channeled their hopes for a better society into inculcating temperance ideals in their children—beings whose guidance was firmly within women's socially-prescribed sphere of influence. In the 1870s and 1880s, grassroots organizers began to tap the potential of the common schools to recruit large numbers of American youth to the "temperance army" (Erickson 1988, p. 339). The WCTU created an inexpensive curriculum, provided lists of texts for reformers to promote, trained women in rhetorical

techniques, and established an array of juvenile organizations (Erickson 1988). In 1879 crusader Mary Hatchett Hunt launched an ambitious initiative, her grass roots campaign to incorporate Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) in the public schools. By 1901, schools in all states had incorporated her “scientific” curriculum detailing the physiological consequences of alcohol (Zimmerman 1999). The zeal with which reformers produced temperance curricula throughout the century speaks to their hopes that education might not only divert children from a drinking fate but forge citizens that would lead America to sobriety.

Temperance pedagogy

Scholars have found much brewing in the formulaic plot lines of 19th century temperance literature and their representation of children as potential temperance crusaders. Indeed, as Sanchez-Eppler (1995) argues in her analysis of incest images in temperance texts, such “narrative formulas index cultural obsessions” (p. 1). Temperance curriculum is often strident, repetitious and fatalistic; schoolbooks assure youth that certain ruin will result from their first sip of alcohol and detail this fate through horror stories of destitute women, suffering children, fractured families and social decay. In the texts under study, one lesson asserts, “If you wish to be weak in body, dull in mind, and bad in action,” then, “use strong drink” (Wright 1892, p. 6). Another lesson warns, “you know what ‘red rum’ is spelled backwards? M-u-r-d-e-r” (Wright 1992, p. 32). These dire warnings confronting children delving into spelling lessons illustrate researchers’ assessment of the temperance movement as a moral and “symbolic crusade” against the “scapegoat” of rum (Gusfield 1986). In the 19th century, alcohol use became a symbolic site on which social tensions among varied groups vying for political ground were played out: rural and urban dwellers, Catholics and Protestants, immigrants and native-born Americans, men and women, and the laboring and middle classes (Zimmerman 1999; Gusfield 1986, p. 139). Some have argued that reform literature reflected Protestants’ desires to “enforce” middle-class “morality on the urban poor” (Schantz 1997, p. 427). Middle-class white women aware of their economic and political vulnerability and eager to bolster the fragile power they wielded in the domestic sphere found temperance a worthy outlet for their anxieties. The greater the domestic threat, scholar Sanchez-Eppler (1995) suggests, the greater stridency with which “women advocated a domestically based campaign of moral suasion to transform the public soul” (p. 6).

“Transforming the public soul” (Sanchez-Eppler 1995, p. 6) involved an array of pedagogical techniques.

Reflecting a trend evident since the 1800s to “eliminate gloomy material” from children’s primers (Carpenter 1963, p. 41), *The Temperance Readers* nestled some of their weighty warnings amid lighthearted stories, illustrations, and spelling lessons. This collection of texts consists of specific readers (first through third readers) progressing in difficulty that are oriented to children of differing skill levels. Their lessons are short, simple, moralistic, and entertaining. For example, in *Mother Goose for Temperance Nurseries* (1892), temperance messages are delivered through the familiar and comforting vehicle of nursery rhymes. In the following lesson, Little Boy Blue blows his horn, but does so to warn of the approaching enemy of alcohol:

Little Boy Blue! Come, blow up your horn, the enemies march since early morn; whiskey and cider, beer and rum, all kinds of wines, how fast they come. Where’s the boy will soon be a man? Let him sign the pledge as quick as he can (Wright 1892, p. 53).

Cloaked in the familiar cadence of a rhyme that a child might memorize and repeat, the lesson alerts children to the tide of liquor that may wash over them and to sign the pledge for self protection. Authors of the temperance readers intend ambitious outcomes for children working through their lessons: simultaneously learning to read, to rhyme, and to reject liquor.

Forging Future Citizens

Such figures as Little Boy Blue, Little Jack Horner, and Simple Simon who will “soon be men” that appear in the texts illustrate a common pedagogical technique used to incite children to action for the temperance cause: the construction of a still innocent but rational and gendered child subject who, while still developing, will soon bear adult responsibilities. This tendency to project future adult roles onto the bodies of child characters is evidence of a conception of childhood prominent in the 19th century. Whereas little distinction was made between children and adults in previous centuries (Aries 1962), after the middle ages, the construct of “childhood” emerged as a constructed period of development necessitating such agents as a home, spirited play, schooling, and loving parents. The narrator of the Little Boy Blue lesson emphasizes the looming responsibilities of male adulthood when it asks, “where’s the boy will soon be a man? Let him sign the pledge as quick as he can.” With a trace of urgency, the lesson advocates harnessing the still-malleable will of boys to temperance before they cross the threshold into autonomous manhood. Texts portray alcohol as threatening to the autonomy and rational judgment necessary for responsible citizenship.

Striking illustrations of children enacting both

troubling and laudable adult roles are evidence this pedagogical technique was intended to spur youth to action. Some images violating sentimental conceptions of childhood innocence seem intended to unsettle and disturb: a boy drinking in a saloon as policemen approach, six-year-old boys courting six-year-old girls, young female beggars dressed in rags after drinking their money away, cherubic wives of liquor-sellers dressed in fur coats. As children practice their nursery rhymes and copy spelling words, these illustrations remind readers their current choices will determine the character and quality of their adult lives. Indeed, one lesson warns boys that unless they avoid liquor and tobacco, their futures will be bereft of female companionship—a woeful prospect delivered cheerfully in rhyme. In the lesson, a young lad addresses a “pretty maid” and the six-year-old parasol-carrying-maiden retorts,

I see from your face, sir, that you smoke and chew,
and so, if you please, sir, I'll have none of you
(Wright 1892, p.44)

Whether young readers can grasp its implications, the message conveys to young males that alcohol and tobacco use have intimate and social consequences for their adult lives and relationships.

Other lessons portray promising adult roles that will accompany a liquor-free life. For example, when a character in one lesson asks “Willy boy” to go boating, he replies that he is “off to the polls to see people voting” (Wright 1892, p.55). Willy boy foregoes an amusing day at the lake to witness the democratic process in action, a process in which he as a developing male citizen will eventually take part. The texts are thus relentless in condemning alcohol and its consequences for human health and the responsibilities of citizenship. Texts instruct children to copy such phrases as “Gin May Kill You” (Wright 1889, p.9) and to “leave off drinking—before you begin” (Wright 1892, p. 10). One lesson asserts, “strong drink fills jails, hospitals and poor houses” (Wright 1892, p. 18) and another warns, “where is death? He lies asleep in every cup of wine” (Wright 1892, p. 56). Readers are encouraged to avoid this fate through signing the temperance pledge—a commitment worthy of a future citizen and appropriate practice for the ballot box. This common 19th century practice symbolized, with nationalistic flair, an individual's “pledge of allegiance” to the temperance cause.

Female Agency

In these gendered pedagogical worlds, women and girls often possess boundless influence, constructions perhaps intended to remind female readers of their feminine and domestic powers to better children's lives

and further the temperance cause. The texts portray teachers, mothers, and widows wielding the “well-regulated home” to “displace an anti-domestic, dissipating” and masculine “alcoholism” (Sanchez-Eppler 1995, p. 15). *The Temperance Readers* were published specifically as an “aid to the mothers and teachers of our land who wish to inculcate Temperance prejudices and Temperance principles” (Wright 1889, p. 3). Consistent with the philosophy of republican motherhood and the 19th century family's function to mold “bodies and souls” (Aries 1962, p. 412), reformers at the time argued, “All reform must begin ... with the women first. It is the mother who stamps her sons. Make the women of the nation wise and virtuous, and the man will be so too” (Mattingly 1998, p. 163). The domestic realm appears as a veritable cauldron of brewing activism and a tonic for social disease. In one lesson, a nice lady opened the “Holly Tree Inn” to deter working men from saloons. Her inn provides a bright warm atmosphere where men “could get tea, coffee or soup near their place of work” and amuse themselves with games, books, papers, and musical instruments (Wright 1891, p.31-32). Such renderings suggest that warm and comforting domestic spaces have sufficient power to muffle the call of the grog shop.

The potential for women's domestic spaces to effect social change depends on the power and labor of women who inhabit them. Women's efforts to further temperance are revered in a lesson titled, “What can little girls do?” In this lesson a little girl named Anna expresses admiration for the work of a female temperance crusader: “I'd like to be Mrs. Gray. See what she has done. She has started all the temperance work in this place; she has caused three saloons to be shut; she has saved ever so many boys from being drunkards” (Wright 1891, p. 27). Similarly, in a version of the nursery rhyme, the “old woman who lived in a shoe,” the protagonist is sad because of “very bad laws.” However, rather than succumbing to despair at the lack of regulations governing the alcohol industry, she chose to work “night and day in the Temperance cause” (Wright 1892, p. 25). The message to young readers is that women's convictions, labor, and domestic spaces matter in the temperance movement.

Girls often share women's power in the domestic sphere. In one lesson, three young female characters strategize how they can contribute to the temperance cause. After discussing the possibilities, one vows to ask her father and brother to sign the pledge and another commits to making her family home more inviting with flowers. Such actions reflect the early temperance movement's emphasis on tactics of moral suasion to keep men off of bar stools and safe at home rather than

the protests, efforts to close saloons, and legal reform that characterized the later movement. However, the “little acts of activism” (Worley, Otto & Bailey 2008, p. 15) represented in these temperance schoolbooks demonstrate to young readers that their temperance advocacy is both possible and necessary.³ Even the smallest acts can make a difference, as the following temperance nursery rhyme indicates:

Little Miss Muffet
 Stood by the buffet
 Making a pudding so fine,
 Along came the cook,
 With a very big book,
 Says she, “my dear, put in some wine.”
 “Wine, brandy, and gin,
 Shall never go in,”
 Says Muffet, “to [any] cooking of mine (Wright 1892, p.9).

Here a wily servant tries to slip wine into the pudding and although the illustration reveals Miss Muffet is smaller in size and younger in age than the servant, she nevertheless stands firm in her principles to cook without spirits. This temperate twist on a familiar nursery rhyme suggests to young female readers that implements of domesticity —stovetops and ladles, pudding and cookbooks—can function as powerful weapons they might wield for the greater social good.

Corporeal Pedagogy

The corporeal consequences of “dissipating alcoholism” (Sanchez-Eppler 1995, p. 15) represented in the texts provide children further opportunities to ponder the dangers of alcohol while they arm themselves both for sobriety and literacy with an arsenal of temperance-related vocabulary words, among them: pray, saloons, pledge, choke, decay. The texts often contrast healthy, temperate bodies which function to fulfill God’s will with intemperate bodies riddled moral decay and its accompanying infirmities. For example, in one lesson, a curly-headed youngster in a pleated skirt happens across an old man lying in the mud. An empty jug lies near his lifeless form (Wright 1889, p. 9). Similarly, another reader portrays young female beggars from the “Army of King Alcohol” staggering into town barefoot, adorned in rags, their faces drawn, their bodies slumping. Such infirm and damaged bodies contrast strikingly with perky, well-dressed youth whose manner and dress reflect their dedication to sobriety. The texts often present girls and boys’ robust complexions as evidence of a moral spirit and temperate life. For example,

Cheeks, cheeks, cheeks red as roses
 Each one looks like a bunch of posies!
 What makes your cheeks so jolly and red?

Bread and butter and early to bed (Wright 1892, p. 51).

Here the author draws from social hygiene discourse to recast the stereotypical signifier of the “red nosed” drunkard on to the body of a child as a symbol of health. The body signifies a healthy lifestyle and nourishing food.

The texts’ frequent mobilization of infirm and healthy bodies to signify moral essences and behavioral ideals bear traces of eugenicist discourse that surfaced in the wave of temperance reform occurring after 1870. The eugenicist effort to “improve the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally” (Stoskopf 2002, p. 126) is evident in the lessons’ use of whiteness as a signifier of purity and health and alcohol as a force that interferes with physiological processes. The representation of children’s bodies reflects a curricular imagination that conflates abstinence with whiteness, purity, and health in an effort to control and direct children’s behavior. In one lesson, little MacDuff and his nurse Kate wander across (yet another) drunken man in the mud. MacDuff asks whether Kate can clean the man as she had with MacDuff earlier. She responds, “No, I can-not... that man has used bad drink and it has put more dirt and black in his heart than he has on his clothes” (Wright 1899, p. 54). Here alcohol pollutes the clothes, the heart, and the body, penetrating beneath the surface layers of the body to color it with darkness that not even water, with its rejuvenating and holy powers, can remove. Toward the end of the century, temperance literature’s suggestion that wine and gin held power to awaken a deep, physiological thirst increasingly began to foreshadow 20th century theories of addiction threatening to normative domestic, reproductive, and social processes.

The temperance readers’ pattern of championing the salubrious effects of a wholesome country life and warning against the cities’ vices betray subtle xenophobic undercurrents conveyed through the bodies of child characters. One lesson reads,

Oh, who is so merry, heigh ho!
 As the boy who lies in the dairy, heigh ho!
 He drinks nice fresh milk,
 He has skin soft as silk,
 And his cheeks are as red as a cherry, heigh ho!

This boy’s body, his cherry red cheeks, his strawberry mouth, and his soft skin, reflect his whiteness and innocence. He drinks milk, works on a dairy, enjoys health, and will someday take his place as a voting citizen to labor for the good of the social order. Cider and wine are not part of that order. Elsewhere the readers suggest water’s restorative and life-giving power for babies in bath tubs, fish in ponds, and vegetation and

insects in gardens. Gradually, interest in alcohol's relationship to physiological processes began to creep into public discourse and underscore the connections among temperance, purity, salvation, social hygiene, morality, and racial/ethnic hierarchies.

The school books examined here are educational tools in a long and vigorous social reform movement in which women were not only leaders but through their educational and activist efforts forged new social roles for women in American society (Mattingly 1998). Gender was central to temperance efforts, and as illustrated here, central to temperance pedagogy intended to sway young children to healthy and temperate adult lives. In *The Temperance Readers*, literacy and temperance are compatible, indeed,

necessary components of a quality education for young children. The texts utilize such pedagogical tools as nursery rhymes and spelling lessons, images of children as future citizens, representations of women as temperance agents, and representations of children's bodies as healthy or infirm to convey to child readers the dangers of alcohol and their responsibility to work for a temperate social and political order. To activists, children signified redemption from moral and social decay. Although the themes woven throughout these readers are more than a century old, they reflect pedagogical practices sobering in their timelessness: the creation of compelling and dangerous curricular worlds in hopes of controlling children's behavior and spurring social change.

ENDNOTES

1. This paper draws phrases and ideas from a paper I presented at the 2008 Educating Women conference in Chicago, Illinois entitled "What Girls Can Do: Lessons of Activism and the Creation of Self" (Bailey 2008) as part of a symposium titled "Enduring Lessons: Women's Writing and the Creation of Self" with my colleagues Virginia Worley and Stacy Otto (Educating Women Conference, Hull House). It also draws from a collaborative paper we developed for a special issue on that conference that is currently under review (Worley, Otto, & Bailey 2008). The writer of the texts under study is a distant ancestor of the author (Bailey 2002). The phrase, "little girls can do something," appears in Wright 1891, p. 26.
2. Temperance literature is riddled with examples of women and children suffering from men's alcohol use; Mattingly (1998) argues that temperance rhetoricians were successful at inspiring public support because they framed their activism as home protection.
3. Sanchez-Eppler (1995) includes an example from an 1873 temperance text in which little girls lament their powerlessness because they are "only little girls" and not men and try to do "something" to effect change (6). This seems to reflect a pattern in temperance literature of advocating girls' actions and activism.

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A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND FAMILY DYNAMICS EDUCATION

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Introduction

The advent of the Women's Liberation Movement (1960-1975) inspired social changes for women in the areas of sexuality, contraception, reproductive choice, education, professionalism, and marriage. These changes allowed women a greater choice over the outcome of their lives. They determined if and when they married, and to whom. They determined the number of offspring, and whether to pursue higher education. They could choose to be active (or not) in the paid labor force. This self-determination has changed transformed family dynamics.

Traditional sex roles in agricultural America during the late 1700s and early 1800s assigned women three major tasks: the responsibility to have and care for children, to run a household under the supervision of a husband, and, if necessary, help the husband with the farmstead. Managing the household was a "full-time job" of cleaning, cooking, supervising and educating children. Female children were taught their domestic responsibilities at a very young age. Many women had little or no formal education. Higher education was largely available to females. This being so, women were taught to be wives and mothers (Dunleavy 1982).

However, not all women were content to play this role. Termed "feminists," they advocated the idea of equality between the sexes. They desired equal education and equal careers. These women were often criticized by society, namely their male counterparts. These outspoken women were seen as sinful, unfeminine, and as preachers of the devil's words. Their outspoken conduct led to high schools and colleges opening their doors to females by the end of the 1800s (Dunleavy 1982).

The Twentieth Century

As the 1900s progressed, sex roles had changed little despite with women achieving the right to vote in 1920. Industrialization introduced women into the workforce. However, their jobs were in textile factories using their domestic skills; a majority of women remained in the passive state of wife and mother. The absence of men during World War II allowed women to help run their country, taking the factory jobs men left behind. They found strength in working for the war effort. When the men returned, the media of the 1950 glamorized home and hearth, a welcome sight for men to settle down with families. By the 1960s women were disenchanted with their limited role in the suburbs.

The feminist movement continued, became

organized, and finally exploded as the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Social and political changes occurred, proving women could be outspoken and competitive in society (Dunleavy 1982). The momentum of the movement was fueled by the writings of Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), inviting women to challenge traditional roles. At this time, there was a marked shift in the ratio of males to females of marriageable age. The 1965 and the 1970 census reported an increase in the number of never-married and divorced for both sexes. This change in demographics, referred to as *the marriage squeeze*, led to questioning what was traditional and what actual conduct was for young women (Heer & Grossbard-Schechtman 1981). The marriage squeeze for women ended in the 1980s and was replaced by the marriage squeeze for men in the 1990s-2000. With the trend reversed, sociologists questioned whether women would abandon their liberated stances and return to the traditional stay-at-home role of wife and mother. However, the constant factor in determining the choice of marriage/family remains the availability of birth control.

Traditionally, the legal norm in American society was that sexual intercourse should be confined to persons legally married to each other (Heer & Grossbard-Schechtman 1981). History supports a pronatalist attitude. Traditional culture and norms indicate that the role of wife and mother were the cornerstones to being a woman. Many women were taught to believe their entire life purpose was to marriage and procreation. It was previously viewed that women with no children were seen as unfortunate, psychologically flawed, selfish, deviant, unfeminine, and unnatural (Gillespie 2003).

The benefits of contraception and the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s liberated women from the traditional sex practices. Biology was no longer destiny. The mandates of motherhood were greatly reduced by the ability to control their body. Women had a choice. The traditional female role became less desirable and its benefit was questioned. Women began to change their personal goals from domestic duties to intellectual pursuits and careers outside the home (Heer & Grossbard-Schechtman 1981).

Women could be sexually liberal if they chose. In fact, in a 1971 nationwide survey of unmarried females it was found that 28% of 15 to 19 year olds had

experienced sexual intercourse. A 1976 study found a substantial increase in never-married female sexual activity. The use of birth control gave women the option of sex without marriage and procreation (Heer & Grossbard-Schechtman 1981).

In addition, the labor force was changing. More married women worked outside the home, to use their skills for securing economic stability. The passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963 forced employers to reevaluate pay scales by gender. They had to hire and train women in traditional male jobs (i.e., firefighters, police officers). Equal pay for equal work was the mantra of the day.

Some questioned whether the demand for labor-force participation was antinatalist. The National Organization for Women (NOW) Manifesto pushed the issue further, wanting maternity leave rights and social security benefits, and deductions for child care expenses (Fong 1976). By the year 2003, there was a radical departure from the hegemonic understandings that to be a woman is inextricably bound to motherhood. Indeed, an increasing number of women rejected the pronatalist cultural imperatives of femininity that conflate woman with mother; this highlighted the emergence of a positive feminine identity separate from motherhood (Gillespie 2003). Whereas “child-free” had been the state of nannies, nuns, lesbians, poor, and single women. Now, there are increasing numbers of women that articulate their rejection in ways not available to previous generations (Gillespie 2003).

Contemporary Issues

Although women are the majority of educators within schools, they still lack a presence in the administrative aspect of education. Women are steadily becoming qualified to fill these positions, but it is men that are hired and hold those higher administrative positions within the school systems, ignoring the benefits that employing females in this position can provide (Trinidad & Normore 2004).

In community college arenas, females are well represented in terms of students, faculty, administrators and staff. However despite being well represented in numbers, there is a definite role disparity between those females and their male counter parts. Employing faculty on a part-time basis is the most prevalent way community colleges fill their employment needs. When comparing full and part-time positions within these settings, research implies a gender likeness in these positions (Eagan 2007 as cited in Drake 2008, p. 768). There are, however, some concerns when looking at tenure for full-time, female faculty, especially where minority females are concerned, in that African American women find the tenure process “ambiguous,

inappropriate, unrealistic, or unfairly weighted” (Gregory 1999 as cited in Drake 2008, p. 768) within the University system.

In comparing both two and four year institutions, gender disparities have also been noted, especially when linked to their leadership positions. Females were less likely to hold presidency or dean positions. “Women in academic leadership have also been held to traditional male norms and standards of behavior” (Drake 2008, p. 770).

It should be considered though that female proclivities towards employment in two year institutions can be attributed to benefits for female lifestyles choices. Within community colleges women experience stress, pressure, and challenges in balancing family and career (Bonner & Thomas 2001 as cited in Drake 2008, p. 771).

According to the Department for Professional Employees 2008 Statistics:

- “82% of all elementary and middle school teachers, and 98% of all preschool and kindergarten teachers are women”.
- Female elementary and middle school teachers earned more than 10% less than similarly employed men, despite comprising 81.7% of the field”.
- Women have been earning more bachelors degrees than men since 1982 and they have been earning more masters degrees than men since 1981.
- Women are expected to earn 58% of all bachelors and masters’ degrees conferred in 2008”.
- Women are expected to earn more than 46% of the first professional degrees conferred in 2008, up from 2.6% in 1961.
- Women are expected to earn 44% of all doctoral degrees in 2004, while in 1961 they earned only 10.5% of all doctoral degrees.”

With changes in the workforce and the language of gender roles/ rights, Sociologists were curious about how the media influenced females. In early TV, June Cleaver of *Father Knows Best* was the optimal housewife and mother. *The Brady Bunch* showed us the role of a woman as a nanny. Studies conducted in the 1990s concluded that *social class* affects ideas of mothering and motherhood (Dunleavy 1982).

For the last forty years, women from all social classes have a common concern regarding reproductive choice and mothering. In the 1970s the National Organization for Women (NOW) had a large voice, demanding that the penal laws governing abortion be repealed (Fong 1976). Today, it is the political agenda of each state. In some states, progress for some women has been in the form of lesbian marriages. Massachusetts has recently sanctioned lesbian

**WATKINS: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND FAMILY DYNAMICS
EDUCATION**

marriages. Women can choose via artificial insemination or adoption. Apart from the state rulings, many employers have recognized the well-being of gay partners and their children by extending health insurance benefits to them. This new employment policy has been practiced since 2002 when the ACLU made some proclamations allowing lesbian partners who are not the birth mothers could be stay-at-home moms with insurance benefits (ACLU 2007). This arrangement/option would have been unimagined in earlier generations.

When women work outside the home, generally, there is a decreased fertility rate. Today, many countries, address this reality in the form of formal policy and subsidy for young mothers. Sweden has had a long reputation for being pronatalist. Eastern Europe has supported mothers and children by granting mothers a two and one-half year maternity leave. France and Germany have also been generous to promote stability and growth (Fong 1976). For these countries being antinatalist threatens national pride.

Conclusion

To synthesize these points the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s, allowed women to question motherhood as a validating state of being, this in turn affects the prevalence and outcome of the traditional family. They have rallied for equal rights and equal pay, equal opportunity and equal training. They have seen "glass ceilings", and fought for maternity leave. They have analyzed the family support models in other countries. Community college access, women's clinics, female leaders in government have supported the new landscape for women of the twenty first century. They have access to contraception and more supportive

federal laws.

The Women's Liberation Movement has enhanced society as a whole. It has educated people to the power and capabilities of the female sex. Margaret Sanger is a women's hero. She fought for reproductive health and choice. Modern society still needs education and acceptance regarding this issue. The government needs to realize biology is not destiny; that they have no business mandating reproductive rules.¹ Perhaps a female president could change the ideals and regulations set forth by men. Women still need more choices, and they still need to be respected for those choices.

Since the 1970s, women's roles and choices have been transformed by the collective voice of activists. The stereotype of a happy homemaker with the "average 3 children" was questioned. Women's position under the "glass ceiling" in corporate America has also been under scrutiny. Events since the 1970s have been and are crucial to women's well-being. The automatic response to a female's desires and dreams is no longer "a given". She can be single with or without children. She can be single or married and a professional. She can be antinatal and professional. One can be pronatal but make the decision not to procreate due to genetic disorders in her family, or the responsibility of caring for an elder parent. She can be pregnant by design and not by accident. She can delay parenting for her career. Households and perspectives on parents and parenting have wide range of definitions. Today, women can define their style and family dynamic with a comfort level not known to previous generations. Control and choice affect how life with or without family is lived and loved.

ENDNOTE

However, the government is concerned with the statistic that four out of 10 births are now to single women. Pamela Smock, sociology professor at University of Michigan, describes that the stigma is gone when women swap "shotgun marriages for shotgun cohabitation." (Newsweek 12/4/06)

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HOW THE BULLDOGS GOT THEIR GROOVE BACK: THE TRANSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY SCHOOLS FROM LABORATORY SCHOOL TO CHARTER SCHOOL

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Introduction

This paper examines the background of the charter school movement in Colorado and specifically targets the University Schools in Greeley, Colorado for review. Laboratory, Demonstration, Model, or Training, schools were first attached to Normal Schools to provide experience for teacher candidates. The number of schools attached to colleges and universities has been declining as Normal Schools became Teachers Colleges, State Colleges, and State Universities. The University Schools in Greeley, a K-12 school, is an institution now in its 117th year of service to Greeley and the surrounding area. Originally instituted in 1891 as a laboratory school for the Colorado State Normal School, the school continued to serve the major teacher education institution in Colorado through its iterations as the Colorado State Normal School (1890), the Colorado State Teachers College (1911), the Colorado State College of Education (1935), and the University of Northern Colorado (1970). When the university lost interest in the University School, a group of parents and interested citizens organized to keep it open. For the University Schools to continue it first became a charter school operated cooperatively by the university and the local school district, then as an independent charter school with a separate governing body

Background

When the school first opened its doors in 1891, there were 42 pupils and one teacher, Mrs. Sarah Alice Glisan. The philosophies of Jean Jacques Rousseau, Johan Henrich Pestalozzi, and Fredrich Froebel were used in the foundation of the new school (Smith, 1986). In the early days of the school, freedom from formalism was stressed. Since this was the era of emphasis upon discipline and daily drills, the school's studies of literature, nature, and geometry were shocking to parents. It caused some parents to withdraw their children from the school. A kindergarten was added to the school at the Colorado State Normal School in 1892, becoming the first kindergarten in Colorado and among the first in the nation. Other innovations over the years included the first high school driver's education program, and the first middle school west of the Mississippi. The school also served as the initial field-testing site for the BSCS Biology and Chemistry study. The nationally known Houghton Mifflin reading series was piloted and refined in the laboratory school by Paul McKee, Elizabeth Lehr, and others. Over its one hundred-seventeen year history, the school has had

many outstanding teachers. Perhaps the most famous was author James Michener, who served as a high school history teacher from 1936 to 1941.

University schools, as an institution, were generally founded toward the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century. These schools were a common fixture on the campuses of many state normal schools and served as laboratories for generations of teacher education students over many decades. However, these schools faced a wave of closings in the 1960's and 1970's (DePencier). According to Olwell (2006), "These schools were done in by a broad range of suspects, including boards of trustees, university presidents, faculty, and deans of education. Reasons for closings vary, but folkways about their closing include costs, changing role of education schools, lack of distinctive curriculum, and the need for racial equality"(p.1).

A 1981 review of membership of the National Association of Laboratory Schools (Page & Page, p.6) found 123 member institutions. A current review of the National Association of Laboratory Schools website shows a national membership of 48 institutions (<http://www.edinboro.edu/cwis/education/nals/nalsnatinstitution.htm>). Therefore, while the ultimate closing of the University Schools by the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley was part of a national trend, the University Schools held out longer than many sister institutions.

The University Schools continued its relationship with the University of Northern Colorado through the end of the 2001-2002 academic year. At the end of that year, the institution was decommissioned as a unit of the University of Northern Colorado and was reconstituted as a public charter school, under the auspices of Weld County Public School District #6 in Greeley. This followed two years in which the University had actually held a charter for the school with the public school district. However, at the end of the 2001-2002 school year, the University of Northern Colorado completely washed its hands of involvement with the school, and the University Schools became one of the first university schools to be so closed and subsequently reopened as a public charter school.

Recent Context

Colorado has become one of the national leaders in the charter school movement. According to the president of the Colorado League of Charter Schools (J. Griffin, personal communication, May 7, 2007), Colorado had

135 charter schools in operation during the 2006-2007 school year, with approximately a dozen more ready to begin operation during the 2007-2008 school year. The 2006-2007 Colorado charter school enrollments consisted of approximately 52,000 students, which constituted just under 7 percent of Colorado's K-12 public school-aged population (K. Grable, personal communication, May 7, 2007). The Colorado charter school movement can trace its beginnings to 1993, the year that Colorado lawmakers passed SB 183, which authorized the creation of charter schools (Walsh, 1993). Under this bill, Colorado's charter experiment was to end after five years with no more than 50 schools chartered. However, due to the continuing success and popularity of the program, the state raised this cap to 60 schools in 1996 and allowed the cap to expire, altogether, as of July 1997. Unlike the original 1993 charter statute, the 1998 law reauthorizing the program did not contain a sunset provision. Thus, in a period of five short years, what began as an experiment became an accepted option for Colorado parents. The fact that Colorado had been an open enrollment state since 1991 undoubtedly smoothed the pathway for the growth of charter schools.

It was into this fertile climate that the University Schools moved, in 2002, as a full-fledged Colorado charter school. The remainder of this paper is dedicated to a review of the transition of this institution from a university laboratory school to a public charter school. In this review, the researcher attempts to answer two basic questions. As the University Schools moved from a declining group, in which it had been a national leader and had been held in high esteem, into a growing group, in which it would have to reestablish its credentials, both locally and on a statewide basis, would the inherent nature of the institution change? Second, just how did the institution overcome what should have been overwhelming odds to obtain a new charter and then build a new school facility to house its K-12 program?

Methodology of Study

The investigation utilized a qualitative approach in addressing the research questions posed above. Specifically, twelve interviews were conducted in Denver and Greeley, Colorado during May of 2007. Among those interviewed were the president of the Colorado League of Charter Schools and his assistant, two former and one current University Schools teachers, the current director of the University Schools and a former director who oversaw the transition from laboratory school to charter school status, the president of the Weld County District #6 Board of Education, former university administrators, and University Schools parents. Each interview lasted between two and

three hours and focused on the events leading to the decommissioning of the laboratory school and the rebirth of the institution as a charter school. The initial interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and were subsequently transcribed for analysis.

The two individuals from the Colorado League of Charter Schools were asked questions regarding the charter school movement in Colorado, and nationally, as well as the role that the University Schools is playing, and is likely to play in the future, in the Colorado charter school movement. The teachers and directors were specifically asked to address the research question regarding whether the nature of the institution had changed as a result of its transition from a laboratory school, with a rich history of innovation, to a public charter school, serving a somewhat different clientele. Of course, the director that presided over the actual transition of the University Schools from laboratory school to charter school proved to be a goldmine of information. The school board president, who was also the former dean of the College of Education, brought the unique historical understanding of the forces within the university that challenged the schools survival as well as the battles involved in granting the charter to the University schools by the public school district. The former associate dean of the College of Education and the former academic vice-president of the University of Northern Colorado added further historical context to the study. Finally, the two parents, both of whom became founding members of the charter school board of governors, provided critical insight into how close the school was to actually closing at the turn of the twenty-first century and how laboratory school parents banded together in political action to save the school.

None of the individuals interviewed during the course of this study requested anonymity. This may be due, in part, to the fact that only two of these individuals are still working for the university and the president that ultimately decommissioned the laboratory school has left the scene. In the researcher's professional judgment, the willingness to talk openly was also a testament to the great affection that all of the respondents questioned in Greeley had for the University Schools. Virtually all of the players in this story held strong ties to the institution. The former director taught in the school for many years and his children attended the school. After serving other Colorado school districts as an administrator, he returned to complete his career by overseeing the transition of the University Schools from laboratory school to charter school. The former academic vice president's children had attended the school. The current school board president and former dean's son had attended the school. One of the associate

HUNT: HOW THE BULLDOGS GOT THEIR GROOVE BACK: THE TRANSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY SCHOOLS FROM LABORATORY SCHOOL TO CHARTER SCHOOL

dean's sons had attended the school. One of the parent members of the charter school board of governors was a graduate of University High. Two of the three teachers interviewed had sent their children to the University Schools. The school board attorney that drafted the charter for the University Schools on behalf of Weld County School District #6 was a University High graduate. Even the president of the university responsible for decommissioning the school was the parent of a son that had attended University High. Finally, the author of this article is one of the former directors of the University Schools.

Saving the School

A number of events contributed to saving the school. The first parent interviewed about key events was Cyndy Giaque, an attorney. She had been a typical laboratory school parent up until she began hearing rumors of the school being closed by the university. In the very late 1990's, the University of Northern Colorado had obtained a charter for the University Schools from Weld County School District #6. The president of the university, a former United States Senator, told the laboratory school parents that shifting to charter school status would ensure the school's existence for many years to come. However, when another parent told Mrs. Giaque about the accountability committee meeting (each public school in Colorado has an accountability committee—a type of parent advisory committee) that transpired in June of 2000, she became provoked. The other parent said that the president of the university had come to the accountability committee meeting and said that he had made the decision to close the University Schools. He told the parents that they had one year to make other arrangements if they wanted to continue the school. In response, Mrs. Giaque, said to another parent, "I saw him walking through the halls and he asked me whether I had heard what had happened? I couldn't believe it. In 2000, my daughter had just finished first grade. Anyway, I just thought what am I supposed to do now? I had researched all over and wanted my daughter at this school." (C. Giaque, personal communication, May 8, 2007).

Cyndy Giaque was definitely of the opinion that the president timed his announcement of the school closing for a time when school had already been dismissed for the summer and when many teachers, students, and parents were unavailable to respond the summer. Within two weeks, a core of parents called a community meeting that was held in the gymnasium of the high school. Cyndy Giaque described the meeting, with more than 600 parents in attendance, as follows, "There was a huge rally at school. They passed a box around ...

maybe more boxes than one. A few thousand dollars went in after all was said and done. It was a good thing because we needed the money just to get things done." (C. Giaque, personal communication, May 8, 2007). At that meeting, a core of parents was approved by those in attendance to lead the fight to save the school. This core of parents ultimately became the initial board of governors for the new charter school. Among this core of parents were another attorney, three major business owners, and a couple of university employees. Cyndy Giaque agreed to draft and negotiate the required new charter with the public school district.

A second parent interviewed was Ron Eberhard. Mr. Eberhard was a 1974 graduate of University High, and his own children began attending the University Schools when they reached the sixth grade. Mr. Eberhard worked for a private business at the time of the transition, but subsequently accepted a position as director of public safety for the university. He attended the same parent meeting in the high school gymnasium previously mentioned and was one of the parents asked to join the board of governors. That very evening a series of parent subgroups was established, and Mr. Eberhard joined the finance committee. He said, "For the first few months, we met two or three times a week, all evening, to pull together details." (R. Eberhard, personal communication, May 10, 2007). Both Mr. Eberhard and Mrs. Giaque mentioned two other parents that were instrumental in saving the school. One was Rebecca Coppes Conway, another attorney, and the other was Tom Roche, a local builder. Mrs. Coppes Conway was the key organizer for the campaign to save the school. In describing some of Mrs. Coppes Conway's leadership qualities, Mrs. Giaque said, "She's in your face. She takes care of business and she is brilliant and this needed to get done and it needed to get done quickly. She was perfect because she would say 'who wants to do this and do that, and you do that,' and she just took charge." Mrs. Giaque went on to comment, "She would say, we don't have time to sit around and sing Kumbaya." (C. Giaque, personal communication, May 8, 2007).

While Mrs. Coppes Conway was instrumental in driving the overall effort forward, Mr. Roche was the key individual involved in finding a new home for the school. Several existing structures were considered, including a building owned by Monfort (Swift Packing Company), another owned by State Farm Insurance Company, and yet another facility owned by Hewlett-Packard. None of these options worked out for the parents. Ultimately, the parents decided to buy property and to build a completely new school. Initially, Tom

Roche demonstrated his courage and foresight by purchasing the option on the property and retaining it until the board of governors could arrange financing. Then, he sold the property back to the board of governors below fair market value. The board of governors was able to purchase the property and build the school by selling bonds. They were able to sell the bonds by incorporating a three-person private University Schools Building Corporation. Ironically, one of the three signatories of the building corporation was the vice president and chief counsel of the University of Northern Colorado, and a University Schools parent. That individual, Kay Norton, assumed the presidency of the University of Northern Colorado in 2002.

The final step in saving the University Schools was to find a way to pay for the bonds that would make a new school site and building possible. Normally, under Colorado law, charters were granted for five years. The board of governors had determined that they would pay for the bonds out of the state aid that they received from Colorado based upon student attendance. However, the bonds would need to be sold over a thirty-year period in order to make the payments fiscally achievable. Initially, when the parents had negotiated a charter with Weld County School District #6, they had negotiated a ten-year charter. When the decision was made to sell bonds over thirty years, Tom Roche told Cyndy Giaque that she would merely have to go back and renegotiate with the district. Cyndy reported the conversation with Mr. Roche as follows, "Right after we got the charter passed for ten years, I mean within a week, Tom Roche called and says we need a thirty-year charter. I'm like ... you know, we're not magicians here. You know, we just got this passed and it was difficult. It wasn't fun." (C. Giaque, personal communication, May 8, 2007). After additional intense and extended negotiations, the charter was changed, the bonds were sold, the school was constructed, and it opened on August 25, 2002. The attorney that negotiated the charter on behalf of Weld County School District #6 was another University High graduate.

Did the School Change?

One individual providing the best insight regarding possible changes in the nature of the school was Ms. Jeanne Lipman, who began her laboratory school career in 1975. She officially retired in 2001, but continued to substitute teach in the high school and was re-employed as the Webmaster in late 2002. The other individual was Mr. Gregory Pierson, who served as a teacher and dean of students in the school early in his career. He left the University Schools for a time to serve as an administrator in other Colorado districts, returning in 2001 to preside over the transition and move of the

institution.

When questioning Jeanne Lipman about the changes that she had seen as a result of the transition from laboratory school to charter school, she said the following,

We moved over here with much of what we had created in the 1990's such as individualized learning. I should say, self-directed learning, which is one of the things we tried to stress, along with team teaching, interdisciplinary education, our portfolio program ... there is a whole list. You can actually see some of our key features still on the website because we advertise that we do them, but we actually do fewer and fewer all the time (J. Lipman, personal communication, May 9, 2007).

Jeanne Lipman expanded upon the change theme when she implied that many of the board of directors had come from a public school background and mentality. She went on to say,

We are not told to be innovative and make sure kids get educated. Instead, we are told that we have to follow the state guidelines and we can't be innovative anymore. We can't do research anymore. So all of this is gone from what we used to be, and I have to add that you can quote me on that point if you want to (J. Lipman, personal communication, May 9, 2007).

Gregory Pierson, the former director admitted that some change in the nature of the school had occurred. However, taking a somewhat different approach than Ms. Lipman, he was of the opinion that much of this change had been positive. For example, he indicated that, "The school has become more diverse and more representative of the Greeley community and the surrounding area." (G. Pierson, personal communication, May 10, 2007). The changing demographics of the student body were due, in large part, to the need to increase student enrollments. Increasing student enrollments was necessary in order to increase the amount of per pupil state aid generated, which was needed to help pay for the building bonds. This increased enrollment logically led to the need for increased staffing levels among the teaching ranks. To quote Ms. Lipman, "Part of the issue is the new faculty that have been hired since we have been in this building, because we look for a different kind of faculty member than we used to look for at UNC." She continued, "Although they are young, creative and intelligent, the people we have hired don't understand the innovation and the experimentation since they have grown up in the public system and have been prepared to work in that system" (J. Lipman, personal communication, May 9, 2007).

**HUNT: HOW THE BULLDOGS GOT THEIR GROOVE BACK: THE TRANSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY SCHOOLS FROM
LABORATORY SCHOOL TO CHARTER SCHOOL**

When the University Schools left the campus of the University of Northern Colorado at the end of the 2001-2002 school year, there were 37 full-time faculty members and just over 600 students. By 2007, those numbers had grown to 78 full-time faculty and more than 1000 students. While the carryover faculty members from the laboratory school days, such as Jeanne Lipman, have attempted to maintain the folkways and traditions of the old school, their impact has been limited by the rapid growth in both new faculty and new student families.

While most of those interviewed would say that the nature of the University Schools has changed, those same individuals would admit that the University Schools is still a great educational institution. Due to the inspired and aggressive action of a group of University Schools parents, the Bulldogs were able to survive and move forward.

Conclusions

It is clear that a very exceptional group of committed parents was able to bring creativity and political pressure to bear to save the University Schools and to ensure that future generations of Bulldogs would graduate from University High. This group of parents was able to marshal adequate resources and personnel to work with the university administration to gain a year's extension in the old school facility if needed (it was not), to work with the administration and board of the public school district to negotiate a new charter, and to find land, sell bonds, and build a new school. This same group accepted the resignation of the previous director of the University Schools, and was able to recruit and hire Gregory Pierson as the appropriate individual to serve as the new director and to shepherd the transition of the University Schools from a university laboratory school to a public charter school.

It is also clear that the University Schools benefitted from a very talented core of parents throughout this process. However, this brings to mind a number of legitimate questions. First, was it inevitable that such a

high-powered group of parents would be able to save the school? In the researcher's judgment, the answer to this question is no, the survival of the school was not guaranteed. All of the parents interviewed indicated that there were very disparate personalities among the group of parents that ultimately comprised the governing board of the new charter school. These strong-willed individuals, very successful in their own lives and careers, often clashed over the direction the school should take in the future. Also, the parents were battling the inertia of a public school system that was not totally sold upon the need for a charter school initially consisting of former university laboratory school parents. There was a strong sentiment on the part of at least two school board members that this would become an elitist school that would "skim off" some of the better students from the public school system.

A second legitimate question is whether this particular group of University Schools parents was so unique that the statement could be made, "so what." In other words, were they so exceptional that it would be unlikely to find another set of parents so committed to actively engaging in the life of their children's schools in other locations? Again, in the professional judgment of the researcher, the answer is that while these parents were exceptional, there are equally exceptional parents throughout this nation. When energized, such committed parents can play a pivotal role in improving our nation's schools. Enhanced administrative understanding of the power of and need for parental involvement, and leadership in promoting such involvement could revolutionize our nation's schools.

Perhaps one remaining question is whether a public charter school that was once a laboratory school has an obligation to be more than the very best school possible for its students and families. Is it enough to know that the school was saved, albeit in a modified form, or is there still opportunity there for continuing service to Colorado and the nation?

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HABITS OF EXPECTATION: SEEING THE INVISIBLE, RE-VISIONING PARTICIPATION

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Abstract

One out of five people suffers from high levels of communication apprehension (CA). High CA students may experience so much anxiety at the thought of communicating in the classroom, outside the classroom with teachers or professors, with friends/family, and in other social interactions, that they will actively avoid situations involving communication, regardless of negative consequences. Few educators know about CA or its effect on student learning. These students have learned to become “invisible” in the classroom and other situations. Most teachers believe in the efficacy of classroom participation, and actively promote participation by creating grading schemes to require comments from all students. They do not realize this practice may constitute a form of “violence” for students with high CA. Not physical violence, but what we might call hegemonic violence, which comes from the wielding of power or force that results in another’s discomfort, uneasiness, or incompetence. This paper looks at CA through the lens of Foucault, in particular, power/knowledge relationships, dividing practices, objectification, and subjectification and calls for a re-visioning of what constitutes “participation” for the high CA student.

Introduction to Communication Apprehension

Researchers have studied communication apprehension (CA) for more than seventy years; however, if you ask teachers and educators about CA, very few have heard of it. Those who have heard of CA typically respond that it has something to do with fear of public speaking. Communication apprehension involves far more than a fear of giving a speech. CA is defined as “an individual’s level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons” (McCroskey 1977b, p. 77, 1984, p. 13). Seven decades of research consistently reflect that 20% of the United States’ population suffers from high levels of CA, and work to avoid oral communication in every area of life. This includes the classroom, social interactions, interpersonal, career advancements, and professional relationships (Daly, Caughlin, & Stafford 1997; McCroskey 1977b, 1982; Richmond 1984, 1997; Richmond & McCroskey 1998).

Studies also reflect there is no single reason why some individuals experience debilitating levels of communication apprehension. The basis for high CA may be a learned response or behavior (Ellis 1962), lack of skills (Phillips 1968), affect related (Wolpe 1958), imagery based (Assagioli 1973, 1976), or biological (Beatty, McCroskey, & Heisel 1998). Hall (2002) found

students with high levels of communication apprehension shared similar life experiences, which they believed contributed to the development of high CA. All of the participants told stories about significant family members who used communication as a form of aggression or punishment toward him or her. The participants named the problem as “shyness” instead of “fear,” and found that CA was a disruption to normal life. This study suggests a relationship between inborn tendency/biology, environment, behavior, and communication apprehension.

Communication Apprehension and Class Participation

Many college professors value class participation, going so far as to include it in course syllabi and developing often elaborate grading schemes and rubrics for measuring the quality, quantity, and dependability of contributions (Jones 2008; Petress 2006). Participation is most often viewed as discussion (Jones 2008), as well as group and individual presentations. Researchers and educators agree that learning is not a passive process. Jones (2008) notes the intent behind class participation expectations and requirements is often accountability, involving more learners, and stimulation of thinking or recall; however, there is rarely any mention of the effect of such requirements on the student suffering from high communication apprehension. Participation literature spends a great deal of space speaking to the desirability of evaluating class participation by counting positive and negative behaviors and student progress against quality of classroom participation (Petress 2006). Implications for practice center around unstructured discussions versus stimulated and structured discussions (Jones 2008). Little attention appears to be given to the effect of such strategies on the high communication apprehensive student.

Melanie Booth-Butterfield (1986) concluded in her study of the effects of communication task structure that low and high communication apprehensive students have “distinctly different needs regarding communication learning and performance” (p. 342). In her study of CA and learning style preference, Dwyer confirmed that

- 1) higher CA is associated with a preference for reflective observation and thoughtful evaluation (Analytic Evaluator) (Bourhis & Berquist 1990), and
- 2) lower CA is associated with a preference for active experimentation through risk-taking, trial and error, and personal involvement (Innovative Explorer) (Bourhis & Berquist 1990; Bourhis & Stubbs 1991). (1998, p. 144)

This study also found that high CA women prefer watching and doing and may do better with coaching and guidance to help overcome anxiety. Low communication apprehensive students prefer self-direction and trial and error. They do well in the activities that are often the most discouraging and difficult for high CA students.

Lederman (1983) conducted interviews with high communication apprehensive individuals to collect information about their feelings about talking and not talking, the relationship between feelings and behavior, and difficulties associated with talking. The study found that the participants did “not have a preference for talking, feel some fear associated with talking, and admire others who seem more able to talk easily” (p. 235). These students make a distinction between “being quiet” and “listening.” These students thought they spoke less than did others. They did not talk when they felt fear or were uncomfortable about talking; however, there were times when they simply preferred to listen. “There was silence which grew out of anxiety; there was silence which grew out of confidence” (Lederman 1983, p. 236). Study participants also indicated they “found it difficult to talk in general, ... that difficulty was associated with the specific situation, or topic, or other persons” (Lederman 1983, p. 236).

Discussion and participation are valuable for student learning and learning is an active, constructivist activity. On the other hand, students suffering from high levels of communication apprehension avoid communication situations they find uncomfortable or threatening. Many of these students will choose to be silent, or even absent, when faced with participation and/or presentation expectations. These students are adept at “becoming invisible” in the classroom. They do not want to be noticed, regardless of the cost. If they have a choice, these students often drop a course that has unexpected or highly uncomfortable communication requirements.

Communication Apprehension through the Lens of Foucault

This dichotomy between CA and class participation leads to an analysis of communication apprehension and classroom participation through Foucault’s lens of power and knowledge, most particularly, as it relates to dividing practices and objectification/subjectification of the subject. Instructors are the power in the classroom. They make the assumption that students benefit from participation in classroom activities. I say make the assumption, because most instructors have not made a study of the effects of participation; they have discussion because it seems like a good idea, and most of the students appear to benefit. Studies have shown that teachers often have negative perceptions of quiet

children (McCroskey & Daly 1976, Fall), and that teachers “do not realize why they [teachers] respond as they do” and, for the most part, “these negative expectations exist below the level of conscious awareness. This suggests that teachers’ behavior toward quiet children probably is habitual rather than adapted to the individual child” (McCroskey 1980, pp. 239-240). McCroskey reports that when he asked teachers what should be done “to help a child that is quiet, the most frequent suggestion of the teachers ... is to ‘give them more speaking experience.’ While this may be helpful to some, it is very likely to be harmful to most” (McCroskey 1980, p. 240). This description may be equally applicable to the quiet college student.

We “see” those students who engage with us as “normal” and those “others” as unwilling, uninterested, dull, or worse – we do not regard them at all. These “other” students retreat from the visible to become the invisible and forgotten. We are engaged in a dividing practice, albeit, it would appear it is the high communication apprehensive student who initiated the division. In an oblique fashion, the teacher is combining the procedures of power and knowledge over the dominated group, in this instance, students with high levels of communication apprehension, by creating assignments and expectations that *all* students *must* participate orally and in groups in order to receive a grade.

Brookfield (1990) notes that “... discussion seems democratic and participatory” (Brookfield 1990, p. 88); however, he also warns that by coercing participation from students, many will choose to be absent mentally or physically (Brookfield 1986, in Gulati 2008). “Requirements for compulsory participation may simply be extending the need for learners to conform to the defined learning structure, thus normalizing the learning experiences based on the dominant discourse and interpretation of constructivism” (Gulati 2008, p. 187). Differences between high communication apprehensive students and the rest of the class may also create power differences among students, as well as create an environment that is not perceived as safe by those who prefer to remain silent (Gulati 2008).

Objectification and Subjectification of the Subject

Foucault’s second method of creating objectified subjects is the practice of classification; the third method is subjectification (Rabinow 1984). While objectification involves “... the objectivizing of the productive subject, the subject who labors, in the analysis of wealth and economics” (Foucault 1982, p. 208, in Rabinow 1984, p. 9), subjectification looks at the ways in which an individual turns him/herself into a subject.

This self-formation has a long and complicated genealogy; it takes place through a variety of “operations on [people’s] own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct” (Foucault 1980). These operations characteristically entail a process of self-understanding, but one which is mediated by an external authority figure, be he confessor or psychoanalyst. (Rabinow 1984, p. 11)

The concept of subjectification could relate to how students come to have higher levels of communication apprehension. Hall’s (2002) phenomenological study of high CA students concluded that all of the students in the study reported that communication had been used to punish or ridicule by parents/significant others and authority figures. One adult learner in this study cried during the interview as she related a story from her childhood. As a preschooler, an older sibling repeatedly told her that she was stupid and would never amount to anything. When she entered the first grade, the teacher told her to sit on the back row. She sat on the back row, and, said at that moment, she knew her sibling was right. She belonged on the back row of life. The teacher confirmed her worst fear. This woman repeated the story throughout the interview, and cried each time she retold it. This was a self-defining moment for this child – a self-understanding she carried forward throughout her education and life experiences (D.C. Hall, personal communication, August 1 2008). We develop our self-understanding and self-concept through our experiences and through the “naming” by others, especially authority figures. As Youdell (2006a) notes we should not take “‘who’ students are biographically and as learners ... for granted (‘that’s who the student is’), or taken as either discrete (‘learning has nothing to do with background’) or inevitably linked” (p. 33). Students do not arrive in our classrooms and leave the “who” of themselves outside. For Foucault, the subjectification of the individual is twofold: he or she is not only a “subject,” but he or she is subjected to power via discourse – what Foucault sees as productive power in the subject, and the subject’s location in productive power (Youdell 2006b). “The subject acts, but she/he acts within/at the limits of subjection” (Youdell 2006b, p. 517). In other words, the high CA student can choose his/her actions; however, he or she is constrained by the productive power wielded by the instructor.

According to Judith Butler (1995) (Davies 2006), subjects can look at their situation and see the possibilities for action, and for subverting the very powers that seek to act upon them. The student suffering from high communication apprehension may refuse to speak, choose to be absent when presentations are scheduled, or drop the course.

High communication apprehensive students arrive in our classrooms subjectivized as “shy student,” “stupid student,” “lazy student,” etc. Communication has been and is used as a site of power, domination, and punishment. Turning to Foucault (1991), we see the high CA student is “rendered a subject and subjected to relations of power through discourse” (Youdell 2006a, p. 37). We, as teachers, contribute to this discourse when we fail to recognize or “see” the individual who does not exhibit behaviors we have decided are normative for the activity of participation. We “expect low communication apprehensive students, as opposed to highs, to do better in all academic subjects, to have a much more promising future in education, to have much better relationships with their peers” (McCroskey 1977a, p. 31). Low to moderate communication apprehensive individuals often dominate classroom discussions – insisting upon instructor interaction. They tend to sit in the center of the classroom, and closer to the front. “[L]ow communication apprehensives are twice as likely to sit in this high interactions area (20 percent of the total seats) as they are to sit anywhere else (80 percent of the total seats), high communication apprehensives are four times as likely to sit outside this interaction area as they are to sit in it (McCroskey & Sheahan 1976)” (McCroskey 1977a, pp. 32-33). McCroskey suggests high CA students try to withdraw from the gaze and attention of the teachers and others.

Empowering Students – A New Performative

High communication apprehensive students want to succeed in the classroom, just as do moderate and low CA students; however, high CA students often do not present as the normalized “good student,” “engaged student,” or “friendly/participating student.” High CAs see themselves, and the instructor sees a student who cannot or will not perform the actions leading to teacher-defined success. Even when these students try to “play the game” of participation, they do so with great anxiety and believe they do not measure up. As teachers, we believe we are guiding all students through activities that will enhance and construct knowledge. When we do this, we are engaging in technologies of domination because we believe that by “controlling the conduct of individuals, submitting them through the exercise of power to certain ends so as to lead useful, docile and practical lives” (Marshall 1996, p. 111) is a purpose of education – preparation for the “real” world. “The traditional interaction-oriented instructional system presents a severe handicap to these students” (McCroskey 1977a, p. 33); however, the answer is not to make all classes a lecture-only environment. This, according to McCroskey (1977a), creates problems for the non-high CA students who often prefer interaction.

What can the college instructor do? The regular classroom is not the site for treatment and/or intervention. "Requiring the student to participate will only aggravate the student's problem. Requiring the student to give formal presentations could have disastrous results. But the classroom teacher can avoid hurting the [high] communication apprehensive student" (McCroskey 1977a, p. 33). Identifying the high communication apprehensive student is the first step. The Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA) measures the CA trait (Levine & McCroskey 1990) and measures communication in the contexts of dyad, group, public speaking, and meetings. It has a 94% validity rating, is free, and simple to score. While this step may indeed be another way to objectify the student, power and knowledge are not necessarily repressive, "... power can be positive in its effects" (Marshall 1996, p. 135). The students in Hall's (2002) study said naming the problem helped them feel that what they experienced was not abnormal and that they were not alone. These individuals were subjectified, in a new, and perhaps more productive/positive manner. The student has not changed, but the performative – "that discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names" (Butler 1993, p. 13, in Youdell 2006a, p. 36) – has, in effect, reconstituted the subject. The student has a new "name" which may contribute to his/her process of self-understanding (Rabinow 1984).

Secondly, we should examine the outcomes we hope to achieve when we require participation. If, as Jones (2008) notes, we are seeking accountability, involving more learners, and stimulation of thinking or recall – a constructivist approach to learning – might not a renaming or reconstituting of the activity enable or encourage us to re-vision the path to achieving these

outcomes? Engagement or Contribution, rather than the concept of participation, might aid in this re-vision. Instructors should create a safe environment where all aspects of engagement and contribution are welcomed and valued. Journaling and online chats might be used. Students may be given a choice between oral and written formats within the traditional classroom setting. Brookfield (1990) recommends assigning roles to group members within a classroom setting on a rotating basis. McCroskey (1980) recommends encouraging, not requiring, spoken performance. Forcing spoken performance "will increase apprehension and reduce self-esteem" (p. 245).

Power only exists within relationships (Marshall 1996). Often we will not be aware of such power until there is resistance. "Violence and consent are to be seen as instruments of power and distinguishable from power. Violence merely breaks or destroys, whereas power *makes*: modern power is no longer power over life and death, but the power to *make* life" (Marshall 1996, p. 122). Low to moderate communication apprehensive students will consent to our participation requirements. Conversely, we may unknowingly engage in hegemonic violence when we require or force the high CA student to participate. Let us engage in a performative discourse by identifying and reconstituting the "shy student," "stupid student," "lazy student," and by re-visioning participation. In so doing, not only do we make possible for the "invisible" student to become "visible," we begin a process of "interrogating and rendering visible the subjectivating practices that constitute particular sorts of students tied to particular subjectivities, and by extension, particular educational (and wider) trajectories" (Youdell 2006b, p. 526). Let us be about *making* life.

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MATTHEWS: HABITS OF EXPECTATION: SEEING THE INVISIBLE, RE-VISIONING PARTICIPATION

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TEACHER PHILOSOPHY, TECHNOLOGY, AND FIELD EXPERIENCE: FACTORS AFFECTING LEARNING GAINS FOR STUDENTS IN A SOCIAL STUDIES CLASS.

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Introduction

Educators who employ a constructivist philosophy are feeling pressured in this age of accountability to discontinue teaching in a way that provides time for exploration, reflection, and cooperative learning. There is anecdotal evidence to support that hands-on experiences outside the classroom are shrinking. There is also well documented research showing that a number of factors—including pressure to boost standardized test scores, alignment to standards, formalized school curricula, and limited school budgets—are leading to constructivist approaches being scrutinized in the competition for instructional time. However, the greater question here is, What is the impact of these changes on student learning? This paper will explore two types of constructivist teaching—integrated technology, and field trips requiring active engagement on the part of children. The paper will present the results of a study of elementary social studies classes to show that hands-on, constructivist activities (including technology integration and field trips) enhance student learning and are a necessary part of instruction.

Constructivism

Constructivism is a philosophy about learning that suggests learners need to build their own understanding of new ideas based on what they already know (Strommen & Lincoln 1992; Kanuka & Anderson 1999). Taking a constructivist approach to teaching, therefore, would require the teacher to allow learners to inquire, reflect, problem solve and collaborate with others (Scheurman 1998) all in effort to construct new knowledge. Furthermore, for knowledge to be actively constructed the learners must do something. Learning is not simply a passive process (Strommen & Lincoln 1992; Kanuka & Anderson 1999). Additionally, the constructivist philosophy suggests that engaging students in real-world problems helps students generate their own ideas and interpretations (Sahin 2003). Finally, teaching according to a constructivist philosophy requires that teachers act as facilitators to guide the students in their inquiry rather than act as givers of knowledge (Cooper 2002; Scheurman 1998).

A number of scholars have supported the use of constructivist philosophy to enhance student learning. Strommen & Lincoln (1992) state that “Mutual tutoring, a sense of shared progress and shared goals, and a feeling of teamwork are the natural outcomes of cooperative problem-solving, and these processes have been shown to produce substantial advances in learning”

(pg.468). Further, they state that constructivism is designed to facilitate learning by nurturing students’ active cognitive abilities. Kim (2005) found constructivist teaching to be more effective for academic achievement of students. Kim’s study also found that students have a preference for constructivist style teaching. Finally, Karaduman and Gültekin (2007) found that implementing constructivism increased the academic success and retention levels of students.

In addition to research supporting the constructivist philosophy, there is research that directly links constructivism with the teaching of social studies. Rice & Wilson (1999) cite research that shows social studies instruction has typically involved teacher lectures, memorization of facts, and other passive types of learning. However, the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) provides curriculum standards that recommend students process information on several levels, apply new information to prior knowledge, use critical thinking skills, or make informed decisions. According to Rice & Wilson (1999), all of these things may not be possible through a traditional direct instruction style of teaching, but can be accomplished with constructivism.

The benefits of constructivism may also be enhanced by the integration of technology. Kanuka & Anderson (1999) have indicated that constructivism has become a popular philosophy for many teachers who employ technology integrated learning. Additionally, Lee (2006) found that infusing educational technology into a constructivist pedagogy allowed students to think, create, and visually demonstrate their work. Further, Lee (2006) stated that using technology allowed students to work collaboratively and autonomously at the same time. This may increase motivation as well as enhance student learning. Finally, Judson (2006) supports the idea that the use of technology is not a goal of constructivism but it can enable the dynamics associated with constructivism.

Means and Olson (1994) outlined five characteristics of improved classroom teaching methods that, when incorporated with technology, would greatly increase student learning. 1) Providing students with authentic, challenging tasks that had purpose beyond completing the lesson 2) having all students complete tasks that require advanced skill, 3) having students work in collaborative groups made up of students with varying ability levels, 4) having the teacher facilitate learning and provide necessary scaffolding, or assistance, for

students to learn difficult concepts, and 5) ensuring that the learning occurs throughout a project rather than one lesson. Although this article was focused on authentic learning, rather than constructivist philosophy, many of the five of the characteristics also meet constructivist philosophy principles. The authors further explained that rather than technology being the focus of the lesson, it had to be a supporting factor and a means by which students could manipulate, organize, and present information they had learned (Means & Olson 1994).

Participants

This research study involved four elementary school classrooms (67 students) in a public Midwestern school over the course of half an academic year (January to May). The school population was approximately 50% Caucasian and 50% African American. Additionally, approximately 70% of students qualified for free or reduced lunches. The school also had a mobility rate of almost 70%, therefore students consistently moved in and out over the course of the school year.

The students were chosen by convenience sampling. Prior to the beginning of the school year, the principal divided the students into four equal, but nonrandom, groups based on gender, race, behavioral concerns, and reading achievement scores. Those four groups, or classes, served as the test groups for this research.

The Lewis and Clark Unit

The required curriculum in this school included a unit on Lewis and Clark and their explorations. All of the students were pretested prior to beginning the unit. The pre/post test included both multiple choice and short answer questions. All students completed the pretest, received instruction as well as participated in a variety of activities, and finally completed the post test. For the purposes of this research study, classrooms were assigned to specific treatment groups (see Table 1). The control class learned about Lewis & Clark through conventional classroom teaching only. Class two learned about Lewis & Clark in the classroom and also went on a traditional field trip. Class three learned about Lewis & Clark in the classroom and also watched a virtual field trip. Class four learned about Lewis & Clark in the classroom, went on a traditional field trip, and created a virtual field trip from their experiences. Each of the classes was formatively assessed by the teacher throughout classroom discussions and activities. Age appropriate literature was used by each classroom teacher to read aloud and promote classroom discussions and learning. One variable that could not be controlled was the difference between teachers in each of the classrooms.

Table 1. Treatment group assignments

	Classroom Instruction	Traditional Field Trip	View Virtual Field Trip	Create Virtual Field Trip
Class 1	X			
Class 2	X	X		
Class 3	X		X	
Class 4	X	X		X

Results

As a result of the learning activities that they experienced, 97% of students achieved learning gains through the Lewis and Clark instructional unit and varied activities. Further, a one way ANOVA determined that there was a statistically significant difference between groups (Sig. = .010). The thesis of this study was that hands-on, constructivist activities (including technology integration and field trips) would enhance student learning, therefore, a between groups comparison was needed to determine which group experienced the greatest learning gains. ATukey’s post-hoc analysis was conducted to determine where differences existed. Results determined that class one and class four scored statistically significantly higher on the post test than class 3 (Sig. = .039 and .024 respectively). No other differences between classes were found.

Discussion

Both class one (classroom instruction only) and class

four (classroom instruction, traditional field trip, and creation of a virtual field trip) scored higher on the post test than class three (classroom instruction and viewed virtual field trip). The fact that class four scored higher than class three would lend further support to the research on constructivist philosophy. Students experienced greater learning gains as a result of doing something – in this case creating the virtual field trip. However, the second statistically significant difference seems to reject the research. Classroom one experienced classroom instruction only and did not construct a virtual field trip, yet the students scored higher than classroom three and scored equally as high as classroom four. One reason for this difference may be explained by the classroom teachers. As noted earlier, one variable that could not be controlled for was the difference between teachers in each classroom. Upon comparing the classroom teachers, it is noted that all of the teachers who participated in this study were well qualified and experienced. The teachers of classroom one and

**THOMECZEK: TEACHER PHILOSOPHY, TECHNOLOGY, AND FIELD EXPERIENCE: FACTORS AFFECTING
LEARNING GAINS FOR STUDENTS IN A SOCIAL STUDIES CLASS**

classroom four were more recent college graduates with five and seven years teaching experience respectively. Both of these teachers actively used constructivist teaching prior to this experiment and continued with constructivist teaching upon the completion of this experiment. The other two teachers (Classroom two & three) were not as eager or accepting of different teaching philosophies than they had used in the past. They were veteran teachers with more than 20 years experience but they did not employ constructivist philosophy prior to this experiment and returned to their traditional teaching styles following the experiment. It is the author's opinion that because these two teachers were uncomfortable with constructivist style teaching and did not follow this philosophy prior to the experiment that their students were not accustomed to this style of teaching and as a result the students in these two classrooms did not experience a constructivist environment long enough to achieve learning gains from this type of environment.

Additionally, although class three scoring statistically significantly lower than class four was not a surprise based on the research, it is important to mention that there may be more than one reason for this difference. The obvious answer is that class four had a more authentic hands-on learning experience with the creation of the virtual field trip which led to greater learning gains. However, it is possible that teacher differences had an impact in this situation as well. Research regarding both traditional and virtual field trips indicates that what makes learning from field trips most meaningful is the teacher planned activities in the classroom both before and after the field trip (Cox-

Petersen & Melber 2001). Additionally, the information learned during a field trip (virtual or traditional) must be closely linked to the classroom curriculum to optimize students' learning (Cox-Petersen & Melber 2001; Klemm and Tuthill 2003). Given that the teacher of classroom three was unfamiliar with constructivist style teaching, perhaps she misunderstood the impact that a virtual field trip could have on student learning and therefore didn't plan adequate activities before and after the viewing of the virtual field trip which would have provided the necessary link between classroom learning and the virtual field trip.

Finally, one may infer that it was the technology that created the learning gains in this study, since class four, who experienced the most technology, made greater learning gains than class three. However, it is important to remember that in this study class one, who experienced no technology, had similar learning gains to class four. It is the author's opinion that this is a positive result. Multiple research sources indicated that the key to enhancing learning experiences for students did not lie in the integration of technology. Rather, learning gains were brought about by connecting the learning experience to the classroom curriculum (Klemm and Tuthill 2003; Cox-Petersen and Melber 2001; Gibson 2002; Means and Olson 1994). Therefore, the utilization of constructivist philosophy and the student-centered, collaborative, hands-on activities provided by the teachers were the essential elements to improving the learning experiences of the students. This would support the author's original position that constructivist activities in social studies classes do enhance student learning and, in fact, are a necessary part of instruction.

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REAL EDUCATION IN VIRTUAL SPACE: LOOKING AT A MULTI-USER VIRTUAL ENVIRONMENT THROUGH A DEWEYAN LENS

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Abstract

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) is presenting a multitude of new landscapes in which education can take place. This examines multi-user virtual environments, focusing on one instance of these, Second Life. John Dewey's philosophy as articulated in *Democracy and Education* is employed as the primary basis of my theoretical framework, this theoretical framework is then applied to explorations of Second Life. This results in a Deweyan attempt to understand the meaning and implications of this environment by exploring it. The environment of Second Life provides an "actual empirical situation as the initiating phase of thought" (Dewey, 1916-1997, p. 42).

An introduction to Second Life

Second Life is one of many "virtual worlds" that are accessible through the Internet. Following is a brief exposition of what constitutes a virtual world from the online *Virtual Worlds Review*:

A virtual world is an interactive simulated environment accessed by multiple users through an online interface. Virtual worlds are also called "digital worlds," "simulated worlds" and "MMOG's." [massively multiplayer online games] There are many different types of virtual worlds, however there are six features all of them have in common:

1. Shared Space: the world allows many users to participate at once.
2. Graphical User Interface: the world depicts space visually, ranging in style from 2D "cartoon" imagery to more immersive 3D environments.
3. Immediacy: interaction takes place in real time.
4. Interactivity: the world allows users to alter, develop, build, or submit customized content.
5. Persistence: the world's existence continues regardless of whether individual users are logged in.
6. Socialization/Community: the world allows and encourages the formation of in-world social groups like teams, guilds, clubs, cliques, housemates, neighborhoods, etc.

(<http://www.virtualworldsreview.com/info/whatis.shtml>)

One key concept that is important to understand is that of the "avatar," which is a visual representation of oneself in the virtual world environment. In order to enter the environment of a virtual world such as Second Life and be a part of it, one must create an avatar for oneself. The avatar represents, in effect *is*, one's

presence in Second Life. One's avatar is how one appears to others in Second Life, and one moves through and experiences the environment of Second Life as this avatar.

From a Deweyan perspective, two points seem to be key. First, what is the nature of the environment in which the individual is interacting such that one can learn by the consequences of one's actions within that environment? Second, what is the nature of the social interactions one is involved in? These two things are not separate, of course, for Dewey, as all things are interconnected, but they can be abstracted out of the interconnected whole for the purposes of thinking about them. One's social interactions are a part of one's total environment. For the purpose of thinking about Second Life, it seems useful to think separately about the nature of what appears as the physical environment, the virtual spaces through which one's avatar moves, the virtual ground upon which one's avatar stands, and what one sees as one moves one's avatar through the world. What are the implications, for example, of the fact that one can fly and teleport from place to place within the world of Second Life? As for the other people with whom one interacts, they are real people who are represented by avatars. There are implications for our social interactions. For example, if someone's avatar strikes another's avatar, the one whose avatar is struck suffers no physical harm, but if one says something to another that hurts the other's feelings, that hurt seems to be as real as the hurt that would arise in a face-to-face interaction.

The environment exists in interaction with the individual

For Dewey, the environment is inextricably bound up with the individual who is in interaction with it. "The words 'environment,' 'medium' denote something more than surroundings which encompass an individual. They denote the specific *continuity* of the surroundings with his own active tendencies. (Dewey, 1916-1997, p. 11)

From the beginning, not only my perception of what I saw and heard in Second Life, but also the particular places I sought out in which to see and hear, were shaped by the specific agenda that I brought to Second Life, as well as by my personal background and interests. Because I was interested in Second Life primarily for purposes of education, the places I chose to go and the sorts of conversations I tried to engage in were different from what they would have been if I was exploring Second Life in search of entertainment and

socialization for fun. In addition to my explicit agenda, the educational potential of Second Life, the places I chose to go were influenced by my own personal tastes and preferences. I enjoy being near the water, for example, and, because of my ethnic heritage, I am interested in Greece. When exploring Second Life, I spent a lot of time on its virtual coastline, of which there is quite a bit, and I was drawn to areas of Second Life that replicated parts of Greece.

Also, I like to set somewhere public, a bar or a café, and talk with people. I looked for and inquired about this sort of place with others in Second Life. One of the first places I found and a place where I spent a good deal of time was a café/bar called Barcelona. The visual atmosphere there was appealing to me. Why was it appealing? It may be helpful to distinguish two quite different ways in which this environment could be analyzed. One approach that some might suggest would be to assess the sensory impressions from the environment in what would be presumed to be their most basic state, examining such things as the geometric shapes that are visible and the colors that fill them. Using a Deweyan framework to investigate the implications of this particular environment that I found and to which I often returned countered the sensory analysis. Dewey wrote,

An object, stone, orange, tree, chair, is supposed to convey different impressions of color, shape, size, hardness, smell, taste, etc., which aggregated together constitute the characteristic meaning of each thing. But as matter of fact, it is the characteristic use to which the thing is put, because of its specific qualities, which supplies the meaning with which it is identified. A chair is a thing which is put to one use; a table, a thing which is employed for another purpose; an orange is a thing which costs so much, which is grown in warm climes, which is eaten, and when eaten has an agreeable odor and refreshing taste, etc. (Dewey 1916-1997, p. 29)

According to Dewey's view such aspects as the geometric shapes and the colors are not primary—they are abstracted out of the experience as we analyze it. What is actually primary is our experienced encounter with this environment, in which the emotions and memories we bring to the experience are inextricably bound up with the sensory impressions we take in. What we experience first is this whole.

Following Dewey, I will analyze this environment as I experienced it, with the memories, preferences, inclinations, etc. that I brought to the experience being inextricably bound up with the colors, shapes, and sounds that were presented via the Second Life program. Thus, what I saw immediately were tables and

chairs along the wall, seating areas that were similar to others I had experienced. I gravitated toward these, since I was looking for a place to sit, with the hope of engaging in conversation. This area in Second Life succeeded in creating the look of tables and chairs at a café that resembled others I had seen at other times and places sufficiently for me to see them as potential locations for me to approach and seat myself. I was drawn to sit down at a table both by its resemblance to tables I had seen before and by my personal penchant for sitting at cafes. The Second Life program was also designed to make the act of sitting one's avatar in a chair relatively simple. One simply clicks on a location on the chair that says "sit."

I was at the café looking for conversation, and particularly looking for conversation that would be related to the educational potential of Second Life. Therefore, I gravitated toward a table where I saw with three chairs, two of which were already occupied. My thinking was that two people seated at a table with a third chair available were open to the possibility of having someone join them. Also, because I was interested in conversation about education, and not just getting to know someone, attempting to join two people seemed better than approaching someone who was alone. Working together with my own inclinations in this situation was a property of Second Life itself, that it was a place where people came to meet strangers. Thus, I was more comfortable approaching these two people and asking if I could join them than I would have been in a café in the physical world. This leads to the second aspect of the environment of Second Life that I want to explore, the nature of the social interactions that work to constitute the environment as one experiences it.

The environment is social

One important point that Dewey makes about one's social interactions that is particularly relevant to a computer-mediated, virtual environment such as Second Life, is that the quality of social interactions does not depend on direct, face-to-face contact, and is not diminished by physical distance. Dewey writes:

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).

Dewey goes on to say that the social environment is constituted by the activity of its members toward each other,

The social environment consists of all the activities

of fellow beings that are bound up in the carrying on of the activities of any one of its members. It is truly educative in its effect in the degree in which an individual shares or participates in some conjoint activity (Dewey, 1916-1997, p. 22).

As a result of joining the table in the café, I met two people who were very helpful to me over the ensuing months as I continued to explore Second Life and tried to learn more about it. One of the two, who turned out to be pursuing a master's degree in educational technology, was particularly helpful to me. In return, I was able to be of help to her, advising her regarding the qualitative research project she was engaged in as the final project for her degree. The friendship that developed with this person is illustrative of both of the points from Dewey quoted above.

This woman had two avatars, one was a male wolf and the other a female human. She used the male wolf avatar most of the time, deliberately concealing her gender. She did this because she experienced condescension and the dismissal of her ideas in conversations about technology with men because she was a woman. She found that when she appeared as a male wolf, she was taken more seriously. From a Deweyan perspective, this opportunity to experiment with the self we project into the environment provides an opportunity to learn about the society in which we are interacting with others. Since the society of Second Life is populated by people from the larger society, it seems that we learn about the society at large through our interactions in Second Life. Clearly, this woman's ability to appear experimentally as a different gender and observe a difference in the way she was treated provides insight into sexism in our society and how it operates.

I chose to appear in Second Life with an avatar that resembled my physical self, to the point of adding a beard to my avatar when I grew one in the physical world. It was my experience too that how I appeared affected how others thought of me. On one occasion I was complimented for appearing in Second Life as the age I was, and not trying to come off as markedly younger. This reaction was due, I inferred, from the fact that my avatar has gray hair. Following Dewey's ideas about how we ought to reproduce the society in the school with the aim of creating a better society, it seems that Second Life provides opportunities to explore the specific ways that physical appearance, including the effects of sexism, ageism, racism, and other forms of bias, is involved in our interactions, and to utilize this increased understanding to work toward a more

democratic society.

Implications for educational use of virtual environments

It seems that some implications for the educational use of virtual environments such as Second Life can be drawn from my initial exploration of Second Life in the context of Dewey's philosophy, particularly the two interrelated ideas of the environment existing in interaction with the individual and the social nature of the environment. For one thing, it seems clear that those wanting to use virtual environments for education will have to examine and understand the particular students with whom they are intending to work as well as attempting to examine and understand the virtual environment they intend to use. In fact, based on Dewey's ideas as they have been understood in this paper, the virtual environment literally comes into being in interaction with particular individuals; thus, it is a different environment when it is engaged in by different people.

For example, as I discussed in my description of my initial encounter with the virtual café/bar called Barcelona, similarity between the virtual environment and environments that I knew from the actual world was a key factor facilitating my acclimation to the virtual environment. Thus, one thing that will be helpful to know for educators wanting to utilize environments such as Second Life with their students will be the places with which these students are familiar and comfortable in the physical world. In particular to find or create specific details in virtual places that mimic or echo places to which students are drawn or enjoy frequenting in their everyday environment will likely enhance the educational experience.

A factor related to similarity between the virtual and everyday environments that was also discussed in my description of the café/bar, Barcelona, is ease of use. I mentioned in particular that the Second Life program made it easy to seat my avatar in a chair. Ease of use works hand in hand with similarity. I don't have to think a great deal in order to sit in a chair in the actual world; thus, it eases my acclimation to a virtual world if sitting there does not require a lot of effort. Educators intending to use virtual environments such as Second Life will want to investigate ease of use for their students. It will be important to bear in mind that, as with other factors in the virtual environment, ease of use is relative to the particular people using the environment. Educators will thus need to assess ease of use with regard to specific students, based on the knowledge and experience these students bring to the situation.

Perhaps the most important point for educators to consider when examining a virtual environment for use with their students are the other people the students are likely to encounter and with whom they will interact in that environment. As I discussed with regard to the two people I met in Barcelona, especially the one with whom I developed a mutually beneficial friendship, the people I met in Second Life were a critically important part of the quality and value of my experience there. The educational concern about whom students might meet and interact with in the virtual environment goes beyond the much discussed, and important, concern with student safety. Of course we want to ensure that students are safe. But we want more than that. We also want to attempt to bring students into contact with others who are going to bring knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are likely to enhance the educative value of the experience. As with other factors, what sort of people will be most beneficial depends on the specific students and educational aims one has, so educators will have to investigate the population of any virtual environment in the context of their own students and

goals.

Finally, as I explored in my discussion of avatar choices and how people's responses to one's avatar can reveal characteristics of our actual society, such as sexism and how it operates, it is important for educators to think about what, and how, students can learn about society through interactions in the virtual environment. In a sense, this is the linchpin to the overall question of the educational value of virtual environments: what can be learned from them that applies to our lived experience in the actual world? Of course, as with all things seen through a Deweyan lens, the separation between the virtual world and the actual world is one of convenience. In truth, our experience in a virtual world such as Second Life is part of our experience in the actual world. At a time when more and more time is spent by the young, and the not so young, interacting with each other through a variety of electronic means, including social networks such as Facebook and MySpace, it seems that the intersection and interaction of the "virtual" and the "real" needs to be more thoroughly explored.

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THE LAW AND EDUCATION: THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AT 140

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Introduction

As the nation celebrates its first African American president, continuing the expansion of diversity within the United States, it is timely to examine the thread of historical contribution to this event. After the Civil War, the ravaged south was humiliated, defeated, and destitute. As President Barack Obama seeks to build bipartisanship into his early cabinet appointments, so the 39th Congress, conflicted with decisions as to how to punish the south and yet provide protections for Blacks, worked slowly toward compromise. One hundred and forty years ago, this compromise resulted in the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution.

Post Civil War Issues

Reconstruction ... is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations ... no one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mold from disorganized and discordant elements. Abraham Lincoln, Speech of April 11, 1865. (cited in *History of a Free Nation* 1962)

Bragdon (1962) points out that reconstruction of the south was a complex process involving giving rights to Blacks, and finding a way to bring southern congressman back into the union. There were continuing conflicts between the president and congress. Lincoln and Andrew Johnson who followed him in the Presidency favored a compassionate policy to bring the south back into the union. Lincoln proposed that when 10 percent of southern voters in the 1860 election would pledge loyalty to the United States they would be brought into the union. As Bragdon noted, Congress with Radical Republicans favored harsher treatment of the south. Radical Republicans proposed putting the south under military rule and requiring a majority of a southern states electorate to take a loyalty oath as a condition for a state's readmission to the union. Until he was assassinated Lincoln, tried to engage in compromise. After Lincoln's death, President Johnson tried to implement a compassionate route to southern reentry into the union. The conflict between the executive branch and Congress continued until Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress. President Johnson came within one vote of impeachment on May 16, 1868 with a senate vote of 35 to 19. Bragdon notes Congressional ethics when one of the Senators, Lyman Trumbull, explained his rationale for voting against impeachment.

It is not a party question I am to decide. I must be governed by what my reason and judgment tell me is

the truth and the justice and the law of this case.... Once set, the example of impeaching a President for what, when the excitement of the hour shall have subsided, will be regarded as insufficient causes, and no future President will be safe who happens to differ with a majority of the House and two thirds of the Senate ... what then becomes of the checks and balances of the Constitution so carefully devised and so vital to its perpetuity? They are all gone (p.487).

The Fourteenth Amendment

The Civil War amendments were designed to protect Blacks, to extend their freedom and rights. The Thirteenth Amendment freed the slaves and the Fifteenth amendment, ratified in 1870, guaranteed property rights in theory if not in practice. But it is to the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, we must look for the most important legislation. The Fourteenth Amendment provided for due process and equal protection. In the years following adoption of the amendment the Supreme Court limited the implementation of the act. Radical Republicans worked to ensure that the amendment included protection for Blacks. Representative John A. Bingham of Ohio revised early drafts to include "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws" (Irons 2006). The amendment finally adopted by Congress added a sentence at the beginning of the amendment "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside" (Irons 2006).

The 39th Congress Committee of Fifteen, nine house members and six Senate members, often dividing into subgroups to resolved issues, reported out their amendment in March 1866. The majority on the committee were Republicans (Long 2005). Thaddeus Stevens was instrumental in creating the Committee with one Senator and two Congressmen who were Democrats. Their chief concerns were to assure civil rights of all citizens, and readmit congressmen from southern states who would take a loyalty oath to the union and who had not participated in the insurrection (Hofstadter 1982).

The amendment was ratified by a majority of the states by 1868 with several more southern states ratifying it by 1870. The Fourteenth Amendment had

five sections. The first section as noted was the most important and has been a major focus of Supreme Court decisions on race and affirmative action as well as questions dealing with due process and equal protection of the laws. Section 2 dealt with all persons in each state having the right to votes except Indians who were not taxed. Section 3 eliminated anyone who engaged in insurrection or rebellion from serving in any branch of the federal, state government. This action may be reversed by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress. Section 4 refuted all debts of the confederacy, and any obligations and claims were illegal and void. Section 5 gave Congress power to enforce all sections of the Fourteenth Amendment. Almost all the jurisprudence of the past 50 years on the Fourteenth Amendment has focused on two clauses, due process and equal protection of the laws. Final ratification of the amendment was in 1868. It was not until 1870 that the last remaining southern states ratified the amendment.

Implementation of the Fourteenth Amendment

Early Supreme Court rulings such as the *Slaughterhouse Cases* limited the scope of the 14th amendment. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) continued to limit the due process and equal protection clauses. Justice Henry Brown, speaking for the majority, noted that Jim Crow laws fostering separation of the races in public places including railroad cars in Louisiana and elsewhere did not discriminate on racial grounds but simply recognized a distinction between the races which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color. As was typical of public opinion during that era, Brown drew a distinction between political and social equality. In strong dissent Justice Harlan noted that “our constitution is color blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law” (Irons 230). The *Civil Rights Act* of 1875 designed to protect the rights of citizens was neutered by the Supreme Court in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883). The high court left civil rights to the individual states. Several thus continued limiting rights of minorities, continuing a philosophy of discrimination. Justice John Marshall Harlan took issue with the Supreme Court decisions limiting minority due process rights and noted “today, it is the colored race which is denied, by corporations and individuals wielding public authority, rights fundamental in their freedom and citizenship. At some future time, it may be that some other race will fall under the ban of race discrimination” (Irons: 215). Later there were Congressional acts that discriminated against Orientals.

Modern Application of the Fourteenth Amendment

Over the years, as public opinion changes, and as

increased arousal of social consciousness has occurred, the high court rejected the separate but equal clause in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in case after case, mostly in higher education. *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka* (1954) and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1955) rejected separate but equal philosophy and sought integration of public schools forthwith. As early protests against implementation of the Fourteenth Amendment limited its fulfillment and promise, so there were protests against school and social integration. Black codes, Jim Crow Laws, closing some public schools, mass protests against integration in public schools in the south including Little Rock, Arkansas, were attempts to prevent paradigm shifts. The full force of the federal government assured a commitment to fulfillment of the Fourteenth Amendment’s due process and equal rights provisions.

In more recent years, the Fourteenth Amendment has been the focus of Supreme Court reverse discrimination cases. President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1961 referred to correcting past historical injustice through affirmative action. Although affirmative action was not a term used in the Fourteenth Amendment, it was embedded in the spirit of the constitutional act. Reverse discrimination cases from *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) to the latest Supreme Court affirmative action case *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007) have led to the strict scrutiny and narrow focus in implementing affirmative action. As Barack Hussein Obama takes office January 20 2009, it is to the 39th Congress that one must look for the legal underpinnings of political, economic and religious freedom for all citizens regardless of race, religion, or ethnicity. It is clear we are all prisoners of the age in which we live. Sandra Day O’Connor, former Supreme Court Justice, noted in the *Gratz v. Bolinger* and *Grutter v. Bolinger* (2003) cases that diversity is a compelling state interest and that 25 years in the future we may not longer need affirmative action to correct past historical injustice. It is difficult to predict the future, but it is clear that much progress has been made in fulfilling the full implementation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Legacy of the Fourteenth Amendment

The 39th Congress members, appointed in 1865, who completed work on the amendment in 1866, and those who were originators of the Fourteenth Amendment were ordinary men who did extraordinary feats in their era. Bill Long (2005) from Pennsylvania identified the committee composition. Thaddeus Stevens, age 75 was committed to full equality of blacks, Elihu Washburne of Illinois was an anti-slavery Whig before formation of the Republican party, Justin Morrill of Vermont, was

known for the Morrill Act for land grant colleges, John A. Bingham from Ohio, an experienced lawyer was drafter of the ideas of section one of the Fourteenth Amendment, Roscoe Conklin of New York, was a forceful politician, George Boutwell, former governor of Michigan opposed what the south had done with the Blacks and disliked southerners. These made up the Republicans on the house side of the committee. Two democrats, Henry Grider of Kentucky who died before Congressional adjournment in July 1866, and Andrew Rogers of New Jersey filled out the house members of the committee. There were six Republican members of the Senate, William Fessenden of Maine, a moderate Republican, James Grimes of Iowa, also a moderate, Jack Howard of Michigan was the most radical of Senate Republicans. George Williams of Oregon switched from Democrat to Republican for election to the Senate, and Ira Harris of New York, age 63 served only one term. The lone democrat was Reverdy Johnson from Maryland.

These men from different parts of the country worked through extremes of left and right opinions to achieve one of the most important amendments to the constitution, which has evolved into creating more due process and equal protection rights for Americans

including minorities, women, and even enemy combatants in recent Supreme Court rulings. Whether we can achieve unity within diversity, and a more just, compassionate society in the future depend on how well we continue to fulfill not only the legal components of the Fourteenth Amendment but also the spirit of the law as well. Our Supreme Court Justices continue to analyze and expand our laws not only in their rulings but also in their writings. Justice Anthony Brewer has worked to expand human rights and identifies his philosophy in his book, *Active Liberty*. Sandra Day O'Connor during her tenure has always been the swing vote on expanding the full scope of the Fourteenth Amendment. Her *Majesty of the Law* includes her philosophy. "A nation's success or failure in achieving democracy is judged in part by how well it responds to those at the bottom and the margins of the social order.... Freedom and equality ... takes work and time and constant effort."

Conclusion

Our nation is blessed with freedoms few other nations have achieved. Democracy requires civic participation and civility. We will continue to work through issues and can be grateful and proud of our diversity as the first Black American takes the reigns of the Presidency.

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FOLLOWING PLATO'S ADVICE: PEDAGOGY AND TECHNOLOGY FOR THE FACEBOOK GENERATION

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Introduction

Traditional approaches to teaching and learning are quickly losing their ability to challenge, motivate, and engage students in ways that are compatible with their digital lives in a techno-centric society. Today, students expect more from a class than merely lectures and books; they want a dynamic, stimulating, and interactive engagement with course material. Some have even argued that students today require more stimulation in education than ever before, partly because constant exposure to technology changes the very ways in which learning occurs in the brain. Whether or not this is true, the fact remains that our students are already familiar with using technology for learning.

If we are to teach this new generation of learners accordingly, we will do it best if we meet them on their terms, less we risk their failure to learn through an unfamiliar medium and style.¹ Many recent agendas in higher education stress the need for making technology a significant component of the curriculum—to better pedagogy and to adapt to broadening, student expectations and diverse learning styles. Many of these initiatives, however, are ill-fated. Sometimes they are too little too late. Often they require considerable faculty support and substantial development training, for which faculty time and patience is limited and funding scarce. For some, the very attempt to integrate technology into courses is perceived as distasteful and counterproductive to traditional means of education. Regardless of the reason, many of these initiatives are slow to gain speed at an institutional level.

Nevertheless, entrepreneurial instructors are at the forefront of the technological pedagogy revolution in large numbers. Their experiences with technology are proving fruitful and are becoming contagious. Unfortunately, while a great deal of research highlights the benefits of technology in pedagogy, few scholars focus on the philosophy of education required to utilize technology in ways that are both effective pedagogically and grounded philosophically. In this paper, I argue for a Platonic approach to using online course management systems, or “courseware,” that is consistent with some of Plato’s goals and philosophy of education, while respecting his critique of rhetoric and writing—the innovative technologies of his day. Specifically, this

paper shows how courseware systems promote interactive, personalized, and holistic learning experiences. As an example, the paper will report on the implementation of a courseware system in the Basic Course Program in the Communication Studies Department at The University of Rhode Island.

Plato’s Critique of Technology

Although many people assume that the discourse of pedagogy and technology is a fairly recent phenomenon, in fact, Plato inaugurated this discourse in the fourth-century B.C.E. by criticizing the use of technology for teaching and learning purposes. For example, in *Phaedrus* he makes clear that writing—the burgeoning technology of his day—is a poor substitute for the lively, give-and-take exchange of face-to-face dialogue. It is, therefore, an inadequate medium for the character, Lysias, to teach through and for the student, Phaedrus, to learn from. Metaphorically, Plato describes writing as a bastard child who stands indefensible in its father’s (author’s) absence because it is incapable of replying to questions from readers.² Unlike face-to-face dialogue, writing cares not who its readers are, moving promiscuously in the hands of any recipient.³ As a result, Plato considers written text to be a “dead logos” which lacks physiological vitality and conscious discretion. The experience of reading dead logos, then, is passive and depersonalized.

In addition to written text lacking the qualities and characteristics of live discourse, it also fosters and results in forgetfulness, which Plato explains through his invocation of the Egyptian myth of Theuth and Thamus. Legend has it that Theuth delivers to the King of Egypt, Thamus, the art of letters and explains that it “will make the Egyptians wiser and will improve their memories; for it is an elixir of memory and wisdom...”⁴ Thamus is not persuaded.

For this invention will produce forgetfulness in the minds of those who learn to use it, because they will not practice their memory. Their trust in writing, produced by external characters which are no part of themselves, will discourage the use of their own memory within them. You have invented an elixir not of memory, but of reminding; and you offer your pupils the appearance of wisdom, not true wisdom, for they will read many things without instruction

**ROTH: FOLLOWING PLATO'S ADVICE: PEDAGOGY AND TECHNOLOGY
FOR THE FACEBOOK GENERATION**

and will therefore seem to know many things, when they are for the most part ignorant and hard to get along with, since they are not wise, but only appear wise.⁵

Writing is an aid to memory, not memory itself, and a passive medium that instills in readers the “appearance” of wisdom but lacks the qualities to teach true knowledge. Unlike the holistic and lively exchange and engagement of ideas characterized by a discourse between active and present interlocutors, writing fails to activate permanent and deep learning.

Writing also stands in as a synecdoche for rhetoric more generally and gives Plato an opportunity to argue for the importance of method. Rhetorical training and education, Plato argues, lack a systematic method, which having one, could turn rhetoric into a real art.⁶ Such a method—like the one Plato attributes to Hippocrates’ medical practices—accounts for the nature of the human body and studies— “scientifically”— how to adapt and draft discourse accordingly.⁷ Without such a method, however, rhetoric is merely a knack or technique for persuading and pandering to general audiences.

We can discern three principles about education through Plato’s critique of writing and rhetoric. First, that education must be interactive, for which the method of dialectic is most effective. Second, that interactivity is contextualized, and discourse that springs from it is personalized to an individual. Contextualized learning through the dialectical method stimulates and requires the activation of all one’s senses, thereby making it a holistic style of learning. Lastly, when learning occurs holistically, true knowledge and wisdom are instilled.

A Method and Philosophy for Pedagogy and Technology

Plato uses these principles in reconciling, on the one hand, the limitations he perceives in writing and rhetoric, and on the other hand, the inevitability that philosophy will need both to reach large audiences, especially into the future. The dialogue form enables Plato to mimic—as closely as possible—the dialectical method in action so that readers are not passive participants in the dialogue but actively encouraged to enter into the discourse, always finding in it new directions and ideas. In this way, Plato circumvents the limitations of writing and rhetoric and, hence, his own critique of them.

In much the same way that Plato comes to terms with writing and rhetoric, we must do the same with modern communication technologies. By drawing on

Plato’s critique, we can implement technology appropriately and effectively in the curriculum, making it interactive, personalized, and holistic. As Plato teaches us, technology must be harnessed for learning and utilized methodically, if it is to be used at all. Like poor writers and rhetoricians, however, who fail to realize the potentials and limitations in their art, so too must we navigate cautiously the use of technology, applying a proper method for its implementation into the curriculum.

The University of Rhode Island Basic Course in Communication

For obvious reasons, courseware systems might not live up to Plato’s ideal. However, they do offer instructors a way to strengthen education, and to promote the interactive, personalized, and holistic form of teaching and learning that Plato endorsed. This is why instructors at The University of Rhode Island adopted and implemented an online “courseware” system into the Basic Course Program in Communication Studies.

Every year, approximately thirty-seven hundred students are enrolled in more than one-hundred fifty sections of Communication Fundamentals at the University of Rhode Island. Communication Fundamentals is a course that surveys the contemporary field of Communication Studies and teaches students the necessary skills and abilities to become effective communicators and critical consumers of discourse. The course enrolls students from every discipline because it serves both as part of the University’s General Education Program and as the introductory course for the Communication Studies major.

In an effort to challenge and engage students, as well as to ensure the consistency of the curriculum across all sections, and to capture data on student usage of technology, the Basic Course Program partnered with a higher education book publisher to develop and implement an online courseware system that synchronizes with and plugs into the university’s WebCT learning management system. This courseware system offers an alternative approach to traditional teaching and learning by supplementing lectures and readings with interactive, online readings, automatically-graded assessments, personalized study plans, online quizzes, and other features that benefit student learning and instructor pedagogy.

The online courseware system at The University of Rhode Island is delivered in a zipped, electronic file or “shell” which is replicated in the learning management

system accounts of all instructors and enrolled students. In addition to providing a consistent and standardized portal and platform for the course, the shell automatically formats the instructor's learning management tools (i.e., homepage, gradebook, quizzes, chat room, discussion boards, course schedule ...) and offers a link to the course's "interactive readings."

Through the "interactive readings" link, students access all of their course texts in a digital format with added highlighting and note taking capabilities. Video and audio clips—both stock and from student speeches in the program—are interspersed throughout the text. At the beginning of every chapter, students are prompted to take a pretest that is automatically graded and which generates a personalized learning plan for them. Similarly, students encounter a post-test at the end of every chapter. Throughout chapters lie "quick check" quizzes, and an interactive table of contents and glossary provide easily-accessible sourcing for all course readings.

Quantitative and anecdotal data suggest that student learning is dramatically increasing since implementing the courseware system. For students, the courseware systems moves education closer to the Platonic ideal by making at-home reading an interactive engagement with course materials while personalized learning plans adapt to unique and particular students needs. Online assessments and activities ensure that reading is about more than recall and that learning takes place holistically, not just partly and passively. Only time will tell if deep, lasting learning is taking place, but preliminary data suggests that students who use the courseware system most outperform those students who use it least.

Instructors are quick to buy in when evidence for courseware effectiveness abounds. For instructors, the courseware system provides daily data on student usage of the system and the results from their online assessments, graphed against the frequency of their log ons. It also provides them with a way—even at mid-semester—to tweak readings, add notes next to pertinent paragraphs in the readings, and even upload to parts of the reading links to current event articles or other URLs. True, such a system leaves more time for instructors to focus on their lectures. But it also provides them with additional ways for keeping track of and assessing student performance and progress. Most important, the courseware system extends to outside the classroom the interactive, personalized and holistic style of education that time often does not allow in the classroom.

Faculty buy in for a system like this is undoubtedly

tough. Research shows that many faculty are hesitant to mix technology and pedagogy. To be sure, the courseware system takes a few minutes of getting used to, and instructors who are unfamiliar with learning management systems, like BlackBoard and WebCT, will have to learn how to log on to their accounts and perform basic point and click functions. The rewards, however, far outweigh the learning curve, and dedicated instructors will be the first to realize this. Courseware systems offer us a dynamic interface to extend learning outside the classroom and to better monitor and reward students in the classroom. The ease at which one can revise the system and its readings encourages instructors to keep materials up-to-date, and to provide students with contemporary theories and critical, timely issues.

For administrators, the courseware system provides an easy way to deliver a large curriculum in a standardized and consistent manner, with data to prove the effectiveness of teaching practices and the impact that technology has on student learning. What is more important, developing a courseware system takes little more than collaborating with a book publisher, at no cost to your institution—besides time and patience. In fact, a large enough program, or one that develops a prototype used by other schools, may be eligible for substantial royalties.

Conclusion

This paper proposes a method for making technology a significant component in the curriculum by drawing on Plato's goals for education and adapting and realizing them in the twenty-first century, technologically-advanced, classroom. Plato's advice is that teaching and learning should be interactive, personalized and holistic, and courseware systems offer us a way to ensure this. Evidence from the implementation of a courseware system in the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Rhode Island proves that supplemental instruction through advanced, pedagogical technologies promotes deeper and longer-lasting learning. Whether by answering questions about audio and video clips that they play, or typing notes next to paragraphs and highlighting important material, students move away from the passive realm of reading and into the interactive world of digital pedagogy. Unlike the digital pedagogy of yesterday, courseware systems can be personalized and tailored to suit the individual and unique learning needs of our students. Altogether, the interactive and personalized features of the courseware system, coupled with in-class instruction, offer a holistic approach to learning which will ideally foster true knowledge. Instructors who are hesitant to implement

**ROTH: FOLLOWING PLATO'S ADVICE: PEDAGOGY AND TECHNOLOGY
FOR THE FACEBOOK GENERATION**

technology into their pedagogy will find reassurance in the data.

For a PowerPoint demonstration of the courseware

system demonstrated in this article, please visit www.com.uri.edu/comfund or contact Adam David Roth at: adamroth@uri.edu.

ENDNOTES

1. James Zull. *The Art of Changing the Brain*. As Zull argues, we must become aware of our student's prior knowledge base and the abilities of their brain so that we can teach in ways that promote deep and lasting learning and knowledge.
2. 275d-e.
3. 276b.
4. 274e.
5. 275a-c.
6. 277b-c.
7. 270-272b.

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A CURRICULUM CONCERN: PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS
AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

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Introduction

When the Texas Education Agency's Director of Science Curriculum, Chris Comer, was placed on administrative leave in October 2007 and resigned the next month, it caused a controversy that was reported on television and in newspapers, including the lead editorial for December 4, 2007 in the *New York Times*. The Associated Press headline read "Evolution Debate Led to Ouster, Official Says."¹ The *Austin American Statesman* reported that Comer "resigned after being accused of creating the appearance of bias against teaching intelligent design."²

In an interview with the authors of this paper on February 1, 2008, Mrs. Comer stated that she often received emails from science organizations or science teachers about events of interest with the request that she forward them to the list serve of organizations to which she belonged. One email in October 2007 requested that she forward information concerning a presentation to be given by Barbara Forrest who had written a book titled *Inside Creationism's Trojan Horse* and who had been a witness in *Kitzmiller v. Dover*, a case that concerned Intelligent Design. Comer forwarded the email with only the text "FYI."³

When Lizette Reynolds, Texas Education Agency (TES) senior advisor on statewide initiatives received the email forwarded to her by someone not named, she wrote Comer's supervisors, "This is highly inappropriate. . . . I believe this calls for termination or, at the very least, reassignment of responsibilities. This is something that the State Board, the Governor's office and members of the Legislature would be extremely upset to see because it assumes this is a subject that the agency supports."⁴

When asked how long Reynolds had been with the agency and why she was so influential, Comer said that Reynolds had joined the agency January 2007 about ten months before this incident coming to TEA from the U.S. Department of Education and that previously she had served as the deputy legislative director for Governor George W. Bush.⁵

Not everyone disapproved of her actions for in December 2007 Comer was honored by the Science Teachers Association of Texas for her twenty-nine years as a classroom teacher and her nine years with the Texas Education Agency.⁶ Also in December 121 biology professors sent an open letter to TEA supporting Comer. The universities included UT-Austin, Texas A & M,

Rice University, Sul Ross, Texas State University, University of Texas-Pan American, Baylor University, Texas Tech University, University of Houston, University of North Texas, University of Texas-Arlington, and Angelo State University. In their letter they state:

December 10, 2007

To Robert Scott, Commissioner of Education for Texas,
As biology faculty at Texas universities, we are deeply concerned by the forced resignation of Chris Comer, the director of science curriculum for the Texas Education Agency (TEA). Ms. Comer's ouster was linked to an email that she forwarded announcing a lecture by Barbara Forrest, a philosophy professor and distinguished critic of the intelligent design movement. A few days after sending the email, Ms. Comer was told she would be terminated. The memorandum she received from her superiors claimed that evolution and intelligent design are a "subject on which the agency must remain neutral".

It is inappropriate to expect the TEA's director of science curriculum to "remain neutral" on this subject, any more than astronomy teachers should "remain neutral" about whether the Earth goes around the sun. In the world of science, evolution is equally well-supported and accepted as heliocentrism. Far from remaining neutral, it is the clear duty of the science staff at TEA and all other Texas educators to speak out unequivocally: evolution is a central pillar in any modern science education, while "intelligent design" is a religious idea that deserves no place in the science classroom at all.

A massive body of scientific evidence supports evolution. All working scientists agree that publication in top peer-reviewed journals is the scoreboard of modern science. A quick database search of scientific publications since 1975 shows 29,639 peer-reviewed scientific papers on evolution in twelve leading journals alone.² To put this in perspective, by reading five papers a day, every day, it would take sixteen years to read this body of original research. These tens of thousands of research papers on evolution provide overwhelming support for the common ancestry of living organisms and for the mechanisms of evolution including natural selection. In contrast, a search of the same database for "Intelligent Design" finds a mere twenty-four articles, every one of which is critical of

**TEVIS AND MCBRIDE: A CURRICULUM CONCERN: PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS
AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS**

intelligent design³. Given that evolution currently has a score of 29,639– while “intelligent design” has a score of exactly zero—it is absurd to expect the TEA’s director of science curriculum to “remain neutral” on this subject. In recognition of the overwhelming scientific support for evolution, evolution is taught without qualification—and intelligent design is omitted—at every secular and most sectarian universities in this country, including Baylor (Baptist), Notre Dame (Catholic), Texas Christian (Disciples of Christ) and Brigham Young (Mormon).

Evolution education is more than an academic question. Biotechnology is a key player in our economy, and biotech firms move to places with well-trained biologists. Evolutionary biology has made fundamental contributions to drug synthesis, medical genetics, and our understanding of the origins and dynamics of diseases. Principles of evolution are at the basis of human genomics and personalized medicine and are applied daily by people working in medicine, agriculture, engineering, and pharmaceuticals. In contrast, anti-evolutionary ideas like intelligent design have yet to produce any medical or technological advances.

Even if the scientific evidence were not so one-sided, there remains the fact that intelligent design is a religious concept. In the 2004 court case *Kitzmiller vs. Dover*, Judge John E. Jones III (an appointee of President Bush) concluded that “not one defense expert was able to explain how the supernatural action suggested by ID [intelligent design] could be anything other than an inherently religious proposition” and that the school board was trying to present “students with a religious alternative masquerading as a scientific theory.” Teaching intelligent design in public school science classes clearly violates the First Amendment of the Constitution, as emphasized in the 1987 Supreme Court decision *Edwards v. Aguillard*. The Texas Education Agency has a constitutional duty to keep intelligent design out of public school science classes, and leave religious instruction of children to their parents.

In *Kitzmiller v. Dover* Judge Jones concluded that the school board exhibited “breathtaking inanity” when it tried to adopt “an imprudent and ultimately unconstitutional policy.” The TEA appears to be flirting with an equally unsupportable policy. There can be no neutrality on an issue that is scientifically and legally clear-cut: evolution should be taught at the K-12 level in the same fashion that we teach it in universities, an accepted and rigorous science, not juxtaposed with a religious idea however politically popular. The agency

should work to bolster evolution education in Texas rather than undermining it.⁷

On July 3, 2008, *USA Today* and the *Dallas Morning News* reported that Comer had filed suit against the Texas Education Agency and its Commissioner for unconstitutionally requiring her to be neutral about creationism and for firing her without due process. Comer’s situation brought national recognition to the issue of recognizing Intelligent Design as science below the eight-year review of science standards for Texas public schools by the State board of Education was to begin. Seven of the fifteen member Texas State Board of Education, including the chair, were cited by the Fordham Institute as likely to support conservative standards.⁸

Science Education in Texas

Texas has a long history of text book controversy. Many remember the Gablers who for years attended every state text book hearing and found a following for their conservative views. The National Center for Science Education (1982) called them “the most effective text book censors in the country.”⁹ In 1961 their son found an omission in a text book, and his parents began about forty years of reviewing all Texas text books for secular humanism.¹⁰ In Texas a single committee selects the texts rather than each school district. The public may speak in the hearing. Then, the approved texts are provided to the school districts for their selection.

Although the Gablers were of modest means, their project was funded not only by them but also by their supporters, and after 1973 by their foundation, the Educational Research Analysts. By 1974 they had successfully lobbied for the inclusion of “evolution as a theory rather than a fact” in the Texas Education Policy Act. Their organization of a foundation served as a model for others who supported creationism. Their power was in numbers and in having an official organization that could receive donations from all over the country.

Court Cases

As time passed the courts became the arena for where the creationist/Intelligent Design proponents did battle. The proponents of intelligent design and creationism were usually funded by such organizations as the Discovery, Access Research Network, Biologic Institute (Center for Science & Culture at) Discovery Institute, Intelligent Design & Evolution Awareness (IDEA) Center, Intelligent Design Network, International Society for Complexity, Information, & Design, Physicians and Surgeons for Scientific Integrity, Intelligent Design Undergraduate Research Center,

ResearchID.org.¹¹

Controversy over evolution is not new. Most people know that the Scopes Trial is also called *the Monkey Trial*. Without going back to ancient times in the history of the controversy some of the more recent court cases will be reviewed. In 1968 the Supreme Court struck down an Arkansas law that banned teaching evolution. Shortly thereafter Arkansas and Louisiana developed curricula which presented both evolution and creationism. In 1982 the teaching creationism as science again went before the courts in *McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education*. The judge ruled that creationism was not a science. Then in 1986-1987 the Supreme Court ruled that "Louisiana's law calling for the balanced treatment of evolution ('evolution science' and creation-science') violated the First Amendment because "it lacks a clear secular purpose' and it 'impermissibly endorses religion by advancing the religious belief that a supernatural being created humankind.'"¹²

At this point the term creationism began to disappear as well as the word "God" and intelligent design began to take its place. Instead of mentioning God or religion an intelligent designer emerges. In 1990 Bruce K. Chapman founded the Discovery Institute which is funded by "more than \$4 million per year from numerous foundations, most with religious missions. . . . Its goals are to see ID theory as the dominant perspective in science."¹³

By 2005 Intelligent Design was part of the curriculum in Dover, Pennsylvania. However, eleven parents sued the school board over the reading of the required statement that is presented here in part to the students:

The Pennsylvania Academic Standards require students to learn about Darwin's theory of evolution and eventually to take a standardized test of which evolution is a part.

Because Darwin's Theory is a theory, it is still being tested as new evidence is discovered. The Theory is not a fact. Gaps in the Theory exist for which there is no evidence. A theory is defined as a well-tested explanation that unifies a broad range of observations.

Intelligent design is an explanation of the origin of life that differs from Darwin's view. The reference book, *Of Pandas and People* is available for students to see if they would like to explore this view in an effort to gain an understanding of what intelligent design actually involves.

As is true with any theory, students are encouraged to keep an open mind. The school leaves the discussion of the origins of life to individual students

and their families. As a standards-driven district, class instruction focuses upon preparing students to achieve proficiency on standards-based assessments.¹⁴

Judge John E. Jones, a George Bush appointee, ruled as follows, striking ID a severe blow:

[I conclude] that the Board's ID Policy violates the Establishment Clause. In making this determination, we have addressed the seminal question of whether ID is science. We have concluded that it is not, and moreover that ID cannot uncouple itself from its creationist, and thus religious, antecedents. [...] The citizens of the Dover area were poorly served by the members of the Board who voted for the ID Policy. It is ironic that several of these individuals, who so staunchly and proudly touted their religious convictions in public, would time and again lie to cover their tracks and disguise the real purpose behind the ID Policy. With that said, we do not question that many of the leading advocates of ID have bona fide and deeply held beliefs which drive their scholarly endeavors. Nor do we controvert that ID should continue to be studied, debated, and discussed. As stated, our conclusion today is that it is unconstitutional to teach ID as an alternative to evolution in a public school science classroom.¹⁵

Differences in the Methods of Obtaining Evidence

In spite of Judge Jones' decision, science teachers must learn to deal sensibly with the challenge of teaching evolution as part of the science curriculum while at the same time, judicially handling the requests and demands of ID proponents, some of whom may be, from time to time, in their classrooms and their communities. To do this effectively they must understand differences between the two positions. One of the most fundamental differences deals with what is acceptable evidence to scientists and to creationists, for it is from this evidence that each establishes its position.¹⁶

Both creationists and scientists seek to explain the origin and development of life on earth. However, both groups differ fundamentally in their methods of obtaining the evidence upon which their positions are based. Consequently, the evidence obtained by one group is not acceptable to the other. Intelligent design seeks to bring creationism into the discipline of science. To do so legitimately, however, it must follow the methods and procedures of science including the gathering of valid scientific data from evidence obtained using scientific methods. At this point, it has not, and therefore does not qualify to be taught in the public schools as part of the science curriculum.¹⁷

Differences in the methods of obtaining evidence

between science and religion can be seen in the following example from a biology handbook for college students.

The process of acquiring scientific information employs the postulating and testing of hypotheses. Hypotheses are possible explanation for phenomenon observed. For example if the fern in your dormitory room dies unexpectedly you may hypothesize that God killed it. If you do, your hypothesis would not be susceptible to testing through the scientific method, although your hypothesis might be verified by revelation through prayer or meditation. This method of acquiring information lies outside the scope of science. Science limits itself to the study of the physical universe.¹⁸

The methods of science are limited to studying the physical world through the application of scientific method. Scientific method is based on empirical evidence gathered through careful observations in which physical data is gathered through use of the five senses and technology that extends the five senses, and their interpretation. Correlations are identified between things that are observed, and how they vary, relative to each other. When correlations are identified that imply cause and effect relationships, they are investigated through scientific experimentation. Variables suspected of causing changes in other variables are isolated and manipulated, and their effects on other variables are noted. Identifying causal relationships enables us to predict and control things in our physical environment. However, the information derived through experimentation is not viewed by scientists as final truth. It is viewed as the best and most accurate interpretation and explanation based on the current evidence. This derived information must also be related to the body of existing scientific knowledge and must be subject to confirmation by replication. As new evidence arises and new experiments conducted, scientific interpretations and explanations may change.¹⁹

Religion seeks truth through methods and tools of the spiritual world. Evidence comes from sources not relevant to gathering data in the physical world. Methods such as faith, prayer, revelation and scripture study are important and acceptable means for seeking information and truth. The empirical and experimental methods of science are not a requirement.²⁰

The theory of evolution represents a scientific approach to seeking knowledge and truth about the origin and development of life on earth. Creationism represents a religious approach to the same thing. Since there can be no conflict between correct science and

correct religion, then any conflict that exists occurs where error exists in one or the other or both.²¹

Although both approaches are based on the quest for knowledge and truth about the origin and development of life, the fundamental differences in their methods of seeking knowledge and truth can make their findings and conclusions unacceptable to each another. For the Creationist, evolutionary theory begins with a conclusion based on evidence derived from religious origins that are different from and not within the realms of evidence derived within the physical world.²²

Therefore, their conclusions are unacceptable to science. This does not, however, mean that their conclusions are necessarily invalid and untrue as evidenced by the many deeply religious scientists of all faiths. It does mean, however, that their conclusions are not derived from sources and methods that qualify them to be scientific. Therefore, their conclusions are unacceptable to be taught as science in the public schools. Although intelligent design is an attempt by the creationism community to establish a valid area of science that could be taught in the public schools, it lacks at this point a rich body of knowledge derived from scientific method and published in peer reviewed scientific research journals.²³ This does not imply that it could not happen, just that it has not happened, and therefore, intelligent design does not qualify at the present to be considered an area of scientific study nor a valid scientific theory addressing the origin of life on earth.

Handling Controversy Sensibly

Creationism and science both have much to offer students. Both present students with ways to seek truth and to understand the origin of life. But, both use different methods for obtaining truth. Rather than debating one another, creationists and scientists should seek to help their students come to understand and appreciate their unique methods for seeking truth and the advantages and limitations of both methods.²⁴ Henry Eyring , an eminent scientist and religious leader stated, "Here is the spirit of true religion, an honest seeking after knowledge of all things of heaven and earth. . . . That understanding is a problem not alone for the laboratory; many of its answers will be found in the realm of the spiritual."²⁵

John Staver , a past president of the Association for the Education of Teachers of Science gave the following counsel to science teachers:

Teachers should also commit to teach for understanding, not belief. Teachers need to focus on helping students understand that scientific theories and scientific inquiry are specialized tools. Teachers

should help students understand further that using the tools of science does not require the rejection of existing tools such as personal religious beliefs ... [science] teachers should employ proactive, student-centered instructional strategies such as the Learning Cycle model for guided inquiry instruction. Such instructional methods engage students in scientific inquiry as they work to understand the facts, hypotheses, laws and theories that such inquiry has produced.²⁶

The following scenario taken from *Inquiry and the National Science Education Standards* illustrates how this can be accomplished:

Several of the children in Mrs. Graham's fifth grade class were excited when they returned to their room after recess one fall day. They pulled their teacher over to a window, pointed outside, and said, "We noticed something about the trees on the playground. What's wrong with them?" Mrs. Graham didn't know what they were concerned about, so she said, "Show me what you mean.

The students pointed to three trees growing side by side. One had lost all its leaves, the middle one had multicolored leave--mostly yellow--and the third had lush, green leaves. The children said, "Why are those three trees different? They used to look the same, didn't they?" Mrs. Graham didn't know the answer.

Mrs. Graham knew that her class was scheduled to study plants later in the year, and this was an opportunity for them to investigate questions about plant growth that they had originated and thus were especially motivated to answer. Although she was uncertain about where her students' questions would lead, Mrs. Graham chose to take the risk of letting her students pursue investigations under her guidance. After all, they had had some experience last year in examining how seeds grow under different conditions. She hung up a large sheet of butcher paper where all the students could see it and said, "Let's make a list of ideas that might explain what's happening to those three trees outside." A forest of hands went up:

(a) It has something to do with the sunlight. (b) It must be too much water. (c) It must not be enough water. (d) The trees look different. They use to look the same. (e) It's the season, some trees lose their leaves earlier than others. (f) There is poison in the ground. (g) The trees have different ages. (h) Insects are eating the trees. (i) One tree is older than the others.

When the students were satisfied that they had

enough ideas, Ms. Graham encouraged them to think about which of their ideas were possible explanations that could be investigated and which were descriptions. She then invited each student to pick one explanation that he or she thought might be an answer. She grouped the students by choices: There was a "water group", a "seasons" group, an "insects" group, and so on. She asked each group to plan and conduct a simple investigation to see if they could find any evidence that answered their question. As they planned their investigations, Mrs. Graham visited each group of students and carefully listened as they formulated their plans. She then asked each group to explain their ideas to their classmates, resulting in further refinement. Using this quick and public assessment of where they were, she was able to help them think about the processes they were using to address their question and consider whether other approaches might work better.²⁷

The teacher set aside her science periods the next three weeks, and helped her students carry out their investigations. She guided them as needed but allowed them to do their own work. She helped them make careful observations and document their results in their science journals. As each group carried out their investigation, they shared their results with the rest of the class:

For example, the "different ages" group answered their question fairly quickly. They contacted the PTA members who were involved in planting that part of the playground and found the original receipts for the purchase of the trees. A check with the nursery indicated that all three trees were identical and of approximately the same age when purchased.

The water group decided to look at the ground around the trees every hour that they could. They took turns and jointly kept a journal of their individual observations. Since some students lived near the school, their observations continued after school hours and on weekends. They missed some hourly observations, they had sufficient data to report to the class. "The tree without leaves is almost always standing in water, the middle tree is sometimes standing in water, and the green tree has damp ground but is never standing in water."²⁸

After all groups had completed their investigations, the teacher brought the students together to discuss their results and to seek a plausible answer to their original question:

As different groups gave their reports, the class learned that some observations and

**TEVIS AND MCBRIDE: A CURRICULUM CONCERN: PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS
AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS**

information—such as those from the group investigation whether the trees were different—did not explain the observations. The results of other investigations, such as the idea that the trees could have a disease, partly supported the observations. But the explanation that seemed most reasonable to the students, that fit all the observations and conformed with what they had learned from other sources, was too much water. After their three weeks of work, the class was satisfied that together they had found a reasonable answer to their question. At Mrs. Graham's suggestion, they wrote a letter to the custodian telling him what they had found. The custodian came to the class and thanked them. He said he would change his watering procedure and he did. Mrs. Graham then asked the students how they could find out if their explanation was correct. After some discussion they decided that they would have to wait until next year and see if all the trees got healthy again. The following year, during the same month that they had observed the discrepancy, all three trees were fully clothed with green leaves. Mrs. Graham's former students were now even more convinced that what they had concluded was a valid explanation for their observations.²⁹

In Summary

Controversy exists between evolution and creationism, and public school science teachers and their students are caught up in this controversy. Science teachers have a responsibility to help students understand and deal intelligently with this controversy

as they teach evolution to their students as part of their science curriculum. To meet this responsibility, they would do well to remember the words of Thomas Jefferson inscribed on the walls of the Jefferson memorial in Washington D. C.:

Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint.³⁰
I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.³¹

Jefferson also stated:

I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not [to] take it from them, but to inform their discretion.³²

To “inform the discretion of their students”, and enable them to deal sensibly with the controversy between creationism and evolution, science teachers must help their students understand the issues involving evolution and creationism; the perimeters of the controversy; the meaning of separation of church and state as it relates to the public schools; and the methods of science. Then, they must model for their students the methods of science by engaging them in interesting, relevant scientific inquiry. In so doing, science teachers will free their students' minds, empower their reasoning skills, acquaint them with the issues, excite their intellectual curiosity and lead them into personal study of those issues of interest and relevance to them.

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GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND THE CRISIS OF PERCEPTION: DECONSTRUCTING THE TYRANNY OF INSTITUTIONALIZED THINKING

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Introduction

This paper addresses the relevance of Greek philosophy to issues of our own age. What *are* the issues of our age? What makes these issues difficult to understand, much less accept? What wisdom can be gained from Greek philosophy regarding our critical challenges, and where might we go from here? Embedded in the paper is a critique of four interrelated aspects of the modernist perspective that help perpetuate many contemporary problems. These aspects include: (1) *separation or fragmentation*, (2) *domination*, (3) *unconsciousness or invisibility*, and (4) *inactivity or ineffective action*.

The Issues of Our Age

The significant issues of our age are becoming increasingly problematic, and hence increasingly recognizable. Few credible scholars still question whether a lethal combination of social and environmental factors threatens not only our way of life but the very health of the planet. Global climate change has been influenced by rapid growth in the human population, in conjunction with excessive patterns of human consumption.

Simultaneously, we have witnessed increased social tensions. Within the last decade alone, we have observed aggressive corporate globalization, unprecedented acts of terrorism, contentious military involvement in nations like Iraq, skyrocketing costs of food, oil, and healthcare, loss of jobs in industrialized nations, and vitriolic intolerance among religious fundamentalists. Nor are the effects of these tensions isolated among the poor. Today, many of the wealthiest nations on earth rank among its leaders in terms of stress and anxiety, substance abuse, violence, divorce, and suicide.

I won't belabor the details. Many are familiar with the alarming statistics reported in sources such as Al Gore's (2006) *An inconvenient truth*. I will make only two additional points. First, many ecological philosophers believe social domination and environmental degradation have co-evolved (Bookchin 1990; Leopold 1949; Merchant 1992; Warren 1997; Shepard 1982; Spretnak 1997). The literature suggests that "anthropocentrism," the view that humans are separate from and above all other life and that humanity is the standard and arbiter of all earthly value, is a primary root of ecological destruction (Mackie 1998).

The second point involves a personal experience. In

1996 my family relocated from the State of Maryland, on the eastern coast of the United States, to the State of Oklahoma, in the southern Midwest. During our second year in our new location, we began to lament what seemed an extraordinarily dry spring and summer. Temperatures soared for five consecutive weeks, and we received not a drop of rain. We watched with dismay as the grass withered and streams and ponds gradually dried up around us. However, we were aware that Oklahoma is historically arid, and we were assured by our new neighbors that these patterns were well within the norm. During subsequent years we learned to expect dry summers, and we were seldom disappointed. Then, late in the spring of 2007, it began to rain. The rain continued day and night, baffling residents and experts alike. The rain persisted for more than a month, causing unprecedented flooding. By the end of the downpour, Oklahoma had registered measurable rainfall during all thirty days of June. While this is only a single case, it is precisely what Gore documents. A major symptom of global climate change is the radical redistribution of precipitation.

Why These Issues are Difficult to Understand and Accept

Although these problems are increasingly recognizable, they remain difficult to comprehend and accept. This is due to the fact that the material circumstances surrounding contemporary issues are often supported by ideal assumptions that have become so ingrained as to have become institutionalized, and hence invisible to the community. Unseen perceptual and attitudinal influences hinder the development of awareness needed for effective personal, social, and political change.

Theoretical physicist Fritjof Capra (1996) argues that modern Western civilizations are experiencing a "crisis of perception" involving a mechanistic and hierarchical *view* of the world that is inconsistent with the *nature* of the world. He suggests that life and society might more accurately be understood as a vast horizontal web of interconnected and interdependent relationships, systems, and systems of systems. According to Capra:

The more we study the major problems of our time, the more we come to realize that they cannot be understood in isolation. They are systemic problems, which means that they are interconnected and interdependent. For example, stabilizing world population will be possible only when poverty is

reduced worldwide. The extinction of animal and plant species on a massive scale will continue as long as the Southern Hemisphere is burdened by massive debts. Scarcities of resources and environmental degradation combine with rapidly expanding populations to lead to the breakdown of local communities and to the ethnic and tribal violence that has become the main characteristic of the post-cold-war era. Ultimately these problems must be seen as just different facets of one single crisis, which is largely a crisis of perception ... (M)ost of us, and especially our large social institutions, subscribe to the concepts of an outdated worldview, a perception of reality inadequate for dealing with our overpopulated, globally interconnected world. (1996, 3-4)

Capra describes the historical development of this perceptual crisis as follows:

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.... the notion of an organic, living, and spiritual universe was replaced by that of the world as a machine, and the world machine became the dominant metaphor of the modern era.... Galileo banned quality from science, restricting it to the study of phenomena that could be measured and quantified.... Descartes created the method of analytic thinking, which consists in breaking up complex phenomena into pieces to understand the behavior of the whole from the properties of its parts.... The conceptual framework.... was completed triumphantly by Isaac Newton, whose grand synthesis, Newtonian mechanics, was the crowning achievement of seventeenth-century science. (19, 20)

Of course, the mere existence of analysis and hierarchy is not the problem. The problem is not with their *existence* but with their *prevalence*. Our greatest challenges today involve gross imbalances that have gradually evolved over the centuries. Because they have developed slowly, there is a widespread lack of awareness that these imbalances even exist, much less that they pose a problem. Nonetheless, heavy reliance on dualistic thought has increasingly emphasized isolation and competition at the expense of connectedness and community. Unfortunately, there is but a short distance between *dualistic* thinking and *hierarchical* thinking, and hierarchical thinking has provided an intellectual foundation for domination and control.

Part of the problem with any system of thought is that it can prevent its adherents from seeing their actions for what they are, rendering “invisible” the conceptual foundations of the issues they face. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966), authors of *The Social*

Construction of Knowledge, explain that humans often construct explanations that legitimize their *own* perspectives while discrediting *others’* perspectives. With the passage of time, these explanations come to be seen as objective facts rather than social constructions.

This is the process of “reification”:

Reification is the apprehension of the products of human activity *as if* they were something else than human products—such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will.

Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world. (p. 89)

Once subjective beliefs are construed as “objective reality”—as simply “the way things are”—further examination is considered pointless. As long as no serious threat is posed which challenges the perception that existing beliefs are objectively real, it is possible to act confidently and unreflectively on the basis of these assumptions. Unfortunately, the issues of our age *do* pose a serious threat—a threat that is challenging the very core of our thinking.

A defining moment in Robert Pirsig’s (1974) *Zen and the art of motorcycle maintenance* occurred when the protagonist, a troubled philosophy student at the University of Chicago, realized that the chairman of his committee, brilliant though he may have been, failed to perceive construction *as* construction. In the post-structural idiom, he failed to recognize human authorship as “text,” perceiving it instead as objective reality. Failure to recognize construction as construction is a liability of literalist thinkers in general.

Unfortunately, many literal thinkers hold influential positions in business, politics, and even academe. A vivid example involves US Senator James Inhofe, from my own oil-producing State of Oklahoma. Former Chair of the US Environment and Public Works Committee, Senator Inhofe received nearly \$290,000 from oil and gas companies—including ExxonMobil—for his 2002 reelection campaign. Regrettably, Inhofe insists that global warming is a vast international “hoax” designed, among other things, to destroy the American way of life. Human ecologist Paul Shepard (1982) argues that such thinkers have been “arrested in adolescence” with regard to their socio-environmental development. Secluded in privilege and seized by fear, they are seemingly oblivious to the global conditions that have compelled countless others to begin questioning their most fundamental beliefs. Part of the problem is that critical reflection requires more than intelligence. It also requires courage. Clearly, there are still powerful groups and individuals who continue to act with confidence on the basis of unexamined assumptions.

The challenges today are significant. How can we

**HOUSER: GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND THE CRISIS OF PERCEPTION:
DECONSTRUCTING THE TYRANNY OF INSTITUTIONALIZED THINKING**

encourage the examination of problematic perspectives when they are seen as objective facts rather than social constructions? How can we expect the populace to question outdated beliefs when its leaders are unable or unwilling to do so themselves? How do we proceed when honest misconceptions are exacerbated by deception and fear promulgated by self-serving politicians and corporate media (Berger 1972; Mc Chesney 1999)? As we seek contemporary solutions, it will be important to utilize insights from the past.

Greek Philosophy and the Issues of Our Age: Where Might We Go from Here?

What insights can be gained from ancient Greece regarding the issues identified in this paper? First, with regard to the conceptual fragmentation of modernist thought, it is difficult not to think back to the debate of the Natural philosophers. Thales was mistaken to conclude that all consists of water, but he was not wrong to suggest the things of the world share something in common. Indeed, scientists today believe all matter consists of energy. Nor was Parmenides wrong to suggest the power of reason can expose *illusions* of change, nor Heraclitus to insist that the power of the senses can reveal the *realities* of change. Empedocles' remarkable reconciliation underscored the existence of dynamic relations between reason and experience and stability and change. The history of the entire debate suggests that natural phenomena are not readily reducible to universal laws, and it refutes the notion that *any* single method of thought is sufficient to comprehend the totality of the world in which we live.

Second, with respect to social and environmental domination, the Pre-Socratics are again instructive. As Xenophanes famously observed, human views are human creations. This applies not only to what we consider "knowledge," but also to the gods we have created in our own images. Here, the notion of hubris comes to mind. Hubris entails outrageous arrogance. It was considered by the Greeks an affront to the gods. Hubris was vividly described by Homer. Achilles desecrated the honor of Hector, dragging his vanquished body behind his chariot, denying proper burial. In today's "enlightened" world, hubris might be associated with the tenacious perception, still fostered in many societies and major religions, that fully half the human population is incapable of functioning without paternal supervision and control. Hubris might further be applied to the outrageous belief that a handful of countries is capable of determining what is best for the rest of the world.

Third, ancient Greek philosophy is replete with discussions of the challenges of self-understanding.

These relate to contemporary concerns involving the absence of critical and reflective consciousness. Here it is easy to think of Socrates' assertion: "The unexamined life is not worth living." For Socrates, knowing oneself *was* good, regardless of circumstance. Here again, we might recall the Natural philosophers. Espousing the unity of opposites (the path up is the path down), Heraclitus saw merit in struggle and strife, insisting that these are what come together to make up the world. Contradiction was not an evil to be avoided, but an opportunity to be embraced. Today, it is often difficult to see, much less critique, the institutionalized assumptions underlying modernist thinking. An earnest desire to know ourselves, including our outdated theories and unexamined assumptions, could go a long way toward addressing contemporary problems of invisibility and reflective unconsciousness.

Finally, Greek philosophy can speak to the fears that often preclude meaningful change. In addition to preventing us from seeing things as they *are*, dominant perspectives can also limit our ability to see things as they *could* be. This was the case with Phaedrus, a man of obvious means. Walking into the countryside, Phaedrus and Socrates locate "a fair resting-place, full of summer sounds and scents" (Plato 1952, 116). Settling beneath a "lofty and spreading plane-tree" near a stream "deliciously cold to the feet" (Plato 1952, 116), Socrates speaks of many things, including the persuasiveness of rhetoric and the notion of madness:

Of madness there were two kinds; one produced by human infirmity, the other ... a divine release of the soul from the yoke of custom and convention.... (The) ... last kind of madness ... is imputed to him who, when he sees the beauty of earth, is transported with the recollection of the true beauty.... Every soul of man has in the way of nature beheld true being. (Plato 1952, 126)

Socrates asserts that every being, by virtue of its existence on earth, has experienced the essence of the good embodied in nature. While powerful rhetoric may suggest otherwise, the soul does not forget.

If Socrates could comment on our present situation, he might suggest that we, too, have been misled by eloquent but misguided rhetoric, by the powerful text of modernity. This text has somehow persuaded us that we are not *part* of the larger community of life, but rather *separate* from the larger community of life. Since we are *separate* from the community, we are capable of standing *above* the community. Standing *above* the community, we are able to exercise dominion *over* the community. But as we exercise dominion over the community, we notice the community is beginning to

crumble. In horror, we see that we are *not* outside or above or over the community, and that we are beginning to crumble as well. Socrates would say the soul is awakening.

Where do we go from here? How can we address the vicious combination of fragmentation, domination, invisibility and inactivity that continue to plague us today? Three possible implications can be drawn from this discussion.

First, we can begin to discuss the serious limitations of fragmented thinking and social and ecological domination embedded in the modernist perspective, and

we can encourage others to do so as well. Second, we can strive for greater awareness of the institutionalized foundations of our own thinking as well as the thinking of others. This is what philosophy has always done. It has sought to question the taken-for-granted. Finally, we can choose to lead by example, utilizing our strengths while acknowledging and addressing our weaknesses. Like the Senator from Oklahoma, many, including myself, do not *have* to know ourselves unless we *choose* to know ourselves. But for precisely this reason, leading by example can make a remarkable difference.

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PERSONALISM IN EDUCATION: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF NIKOLAI BERDYAEV

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Introduction

Nikolai Berdyaev, Russian Emigré philosopher, died writing at his desk on March 24, 1948. He had been writing at his desk during the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. He had been writing at his desk when the *Okhrana*, the Czarist secret police, came for him in 1898, and when the *Cheka*, the Bolshevik secret police came for him in 1921. He was usually at his desk when the Gestapo made their regular visits to his home during the Nazi occupation. He spent the last third of his life in exile dreaming of his return to his beloved Russia but he refused to compromise on his beliefs and values to conform to the Soviet world view. His contribution to philosophy and society centered on the concept of freedom and the creative life of the individual in society which left no point of agreement with the totalitarian regime of the Soviet Union. Early in his life he was influenced Marx and the Bolshevik movement. He parted from Bolshevism and criticized Marxist philosophy but never lost respect for the ideal of a classless society. In exile Berdyaev was acquainted with many aristocratic Russian emigres but found them reactionary and anti-intellectual. Berdyaev opposed what he perceived as the movement of philosophy towards science. For Berdyaev, scientific philosophy was neither science nor philosophy. He believed that philosophy is an individual's search for guidance in living, what values are to be adhered to, the relationship on the individual to others and to society, and, as a Christian, the meaning of one's relationship with God. As a personalist he had no use for church hierarchy and dogma. He was concerned, as an existentialist, with the alienation, *anomie*, and *ressentiment* inherent in objectified life which denies freedom and creativity. He named his philosophy personalism though he did not believe in philosophic systems. Berdyaev was concerned about the historical situation of contemporary societies and the eschatological problems of the end of history. His writing exposed the contradictions and dichotomies of life. He appreciated his impact as a philosopher of freedom and accepted Marx's challenge to not only understand the world, but to change it by identifying and analyzing the enslaving forces of modern society. So Berdyaev accepted some socialist ideas but was not a Marxist, accepted some religious ideas but was accused of blasphemy by the church, accepted some aristocratic ideals but largely hated aristocrats, accepted the need for the state but thought nationalism was potential war, accepted the existence of

God but thought God was powerless, accepted the idea of freedom but recognized that people live in freely chosen slavery, believed that man is always an end and never a means but recognized that people in society are routinely objectified, loved nature but disliked naturalism, accepted the need for revolution but disliked the excesses of revolutionaries.

Biographical Sketch

Donald A. Lowrie, divided Berdyaev's life into three distinct periods, a period of youth and education, the beginning period of intellectual productivity, and a period of mature philosophical insight.¹ It could be also said that his life can be divided geographically into three regions, Kiev, the region of his youth, Vologda, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, the region of his early maturity, and Berlin and Paris, the region of his exile. He was, Lowrie adds, a prophet who wanted to be a philosopher, an aristocrat who had always tried to be a democrat, a Marxist confessing Christian.² There were also three intellectual periods, the radical period in the university in Kiev, the period of his work in academe as a salon intellectual in St. Petersburg, lecturer, and professor at Moscow University, and his exile, first in Berlin, then in Paris.

Berdyaev's family was of the military gentry. His grandfather, Michael Nicholaevich, was an *ataman* of the Don Cossaks, his Father, Alexander Michailovich, became an officer in the Royal Horse Guards, until after the Turkish war of 1877-78. After returning from the war, he was appointed president of the regional Agrarian Bank, a post he held for twenty-five years. Nicolai's mother, Alina Sergeevna, Princess Kudashev, was half-French. She was educated in France, wrote and spoke almost exclusively in French, and conducted most of her social affairs in French. This was not unusual in nineteenth-century Russia. Most of the aristocracy were more at home in French than in Russian. Nicolai's paternal grandfather had been governor general of Kiev.³

The Berdyaevs moved to a mansion with a large garden in Lipski, an exclusive suburb of Kiev and Nicolai often spent his Summers on a rural estate belonging to a distant relative of his mother. There he learned to appreciate nature and, perhaps, solitude.⁴ Both of Nicolai's parents were unhealthy and Nicolai himself was a fragile child, being treated regularly for one ailment or another. He was afflicted with a nervous tick that would cause him to throw his head back, hold his mouth open and thrust out his tongue.⁵ At the age of

twelve, Nicolai entered the Kiev Cadet Corps in preparation to take his place in the Tsar's special guards regiment. He hated the school and the people in it. He considered the other students to be rude, coarse, and immature and the teachers to be wholly lacking in creativity. The only good thing about the school was that it was close enough that it was unnecessary for Nicolai to board there. He was able to live at home, cared for by his nurse, Anna. At Anna's knee Nicolai learned to recognize religious devotion and the values of the Russian common people. She reinforced in Nicolai the importance of nature, the beauty of the gardens of his home and the dense forest of the countryside.⁶ Upon completing his six-year Cadet Corps training, it was expected that Nicolai would enter the Page Corps in St. Petersburg to be launched on a career in the Royal Guards like his father. Nicolai was in no way interested in his father's military career. He instead began preparing for the maturity examinations to provide himself with a certificate allowing him to enter the university. For three years he studied the *gymnasium* subjects that had not been offered at the Cadet school. In 1894 at 20 years-of-age, Nicolai entered the university.⁷

Nicolai found a new life in the university. He found people with whom he could discuss philosophy and the social ideas that had been long forming in his mind. His best friends were not from the nobility and aristocracy, he had long since rejected them; they were from the *podol*, the Kiev ghetto. He moved out of his home in Lipski, taking an apartment closer to his friends and further from his past, closer to the *tovarishchi* and away from the 'decadents.' He became active in Marxist revolutionary activities and acquainted with the local leaders, Marxist theoretician Georg Plekhanov and Anatol Lunacharsky who became the first Commissar of Education in the Soviet government. None of this was done in a vacuum. The eyes and agents of the *Okhrana* were everywhere and first in 1897 and then a year later, Nicolai Berdyaev was arrested, held in jail for nearly six weeks, expelled from the university, forbidden to leave Kiev, and required to report regularly to the police. For the two years he awaited trial Nicolai worked on his writing and gave lectures. His first essay appeared in 1899 and his first book was largely written during this period.⁸

In 1890 the first third of Berdyaev's life ended; he was exiled to Vologda province in northern Russia. Several of his comrades were sent with him, notably Lunacharsky, but others were sent to Siberia.⁹ His close friend, Longvinsky, died there. Vologda exile was not difficult, he had the best room in the best hotel, he could receive any books and journals he wanted, he could go anywhere in the region without hindrance, and he was

allowed to speak to any group that gathered on any subject. He was offered the opportunity to return to the south to any area that did not have a university but he declined out of solidarity with his fellow exiles.

Berdyaev had no use for orthodoxy, political, social, or religious, and could not accept a materialist worldview and by the end of his exile, he no longer accepted Marxism but was on a search for God as a means of discovering life's meaning. He had moved from materialism to metaphysics and in 1903 went to Heidelberg to attend the lectures of a neo Kantian professor, visit the Russian emigré community in Stuttgart and participate in the foundation of the Union of Liberation remaining a member until it became the Constitutional Democratic Party—Kerensky's Kadet party.¹⁰

Berdyaev and Sergei Bulgakov began a new journal, *Life's Questions*, and Bulgakov introduced Berdyaev to Lydia and Eugenie Trusheff who had just been released from jail for subversive activities. Nicolai and Lydia were soon married, a union which lasted until her death in 1945. Lydia was a poet, a mystic, and very religious.¹¹ Berdyaev moved to St. Petersburg where Lydia joined him in 1904. Eugenie joined the Berdyaev household when she divorced after a few years.

His book, *Sub Specie Aeternitatis* evidenced that his conversion from Marxist revolutionary to idealist Christian philosopher was completed. Berdyaev edited the periodical, *Voprosi Zhizni* (Questions of Life) and published one essay after another in the journals that flourished in the years following the 1905 revolution. All this intellectual activity helped solidify Berdyaev's beliefs and assisted the development of his personal philosophy. In 1907 the Berdyaevs left St. Petersburg for the winter in Paris. When they returned to Russia, they returned to Moscow where Berdyaev became more in touch with the Russian Orthodox church, studying the early writings of the church and visiting a number of monasteries and schools of theology as well as the various other religious groups, Catholic, Protestant, and mystic, that were active in Moscow at that time. Berdyaev's journal and publishing house, *Put* (The Way) which printed books on religion, philosophy and slavophile studies. *Put* published two of Berdyaev's books, *The Philosophy of Freedom* and *Khamyakoff* (a study of a Russian theologian). He was also involved in the Religious Philosophical Society which joined religion and philosophy "in an original type of religious philosophy characterized by independence from scholastic traditions and church authority, and by great freedom of thought, with philosophy justifying religious faith and religious experience providing bases for philosophy."¹²

In 1909 Berdyaev, and others produced a volume of seven essays under the title *Vekhi* (Milestones), a public statement of their conversion from materialism to “spiritual reform.” Later that year Berdyaev confessed his faith in an open letter to the *Moscow Weekly* but continued his attack on the shortcomings of the church’s hierarchy.¹³ He thought the church was too much an organ of the state and denounced the church hierarchy as a tool of the government promoting religious discrimination and anti-Semitism. He attacked the church’s stand against liberalism and reform and demanded changes in the theology schools’ curricula. His resistance to official orthodoxy, culminating in an article entitled ‘Quenchers of the Spirit’ opposing the interference with a small religious sect, the *Imyaslavtsy*, resulted in the confiscation of the paper and his notification of a trial on charges of blasphemy—punishable by life exile in Siberia. The case was postponed because of the war then as his case was about to be heard the revolution broke out and put an end to it altogether.¹⁴

On a trip to Italy in 1914, Berdyaev started one of his most important books, *The Meaning of the Creative Act*. Upon his return Berdyaev left the Moscow Religious Philosophical Society and resigned from his position at *Put*. During the war and revolutions of 1917 Berdyaev worked on his articles and books, gave public lectures, conducted seminars and presided over debates. He was involved in demonstrations, once convincing Czarist troops not to fire on an assembled crowd of protestors.¹⁵ He served briefly in the National Parliament during the Kerensky government but resigned in protest. He published several books between 1916 and 1920. Berdyaev, a well-known intellectual, was elected to a chair of philosophy at Moscow University and served as an administrator of the All Russian Union of Writers. While he welcomed the fall of the Tsarist government, he was critical of the excesses of the revolution and the limits on freedom it imposed. “(F)or a year,” he wrote, “I gave lectures in which I openly and without any hindrance criticized Marxism.”¹⁶ Berdyaev formed the Free Academy of Moral Science which he registered with the Moscow Soviet. He continued his lectures through the auspices of the Writer’s Shop until late in the year when he was arrested for anti revolutionary activity, held in the *Lyubyanka* prison, and interrogated by Dzerzhinsky (head of the Cheka) himself. Dzerzhinsky found Berdyaev relatively harmless and sent him home but forbade him to leave Moscow. In the spring of 1922, Berdyaev was swept up in the GPU’s religious persecution activities and exiled from Russia. He and about seventy others were found “hopelessly

inconvertible to communism”¹⁷ and threatened with being shot if they ever returned to Soviet Russia.

His life in exile remained one of opposition, this time to the bourgeois and capitalist society of Europe and also to the those *émigrés* who held on to their aristocratic status and denial of freedom. Berdyaev did not wish to see a restoration. He was “entirely convinced that the old world had come to an end and that a return to it was alike impossible and undesirable.”¹⁸ In Berlin, he established a Religious Philosophical Academy and began a long relationship with the YMCA and Donald Lowrie.¹⁹ Berdyaev never claimed to be a teacher but beginning in his Moscow days and especially in exile he attracted a following from the young people who came to hear him.

The New Middle Ages (The End of Our Time) was Berdyaev’s first book to be published outside Russia and the first to be translated from Russian. It was quite popular and from it he was invited to lecture in Rome. When Berlin became too expensive for Berdyaev to live and with the shifting center of the Russian *émigré* population, he moved to Paris where he was made editor-in-chief of the YMCA Press which provided a small stipend but never seemed to have enough money. He gave lectures at the Scientific Institute, the Religious Philosophical Academy and arranged an ecumenical group at Russia House, Montparnasse, the first in modern times.²⁰ He founded a new monthly review and printing house, *Put’* (The Way) which lasted until 1939 and the outbreak of the war. Berdyaev attended many international conferences and was a regular at the Pontigny meeting, *Décades*, where he met André Gide and Martin Buber among others. He was active in the *Union pour la Vérité* and Gabriel Marcel’s group connected to the journal *Espirit*.²⁰ He was a longtime friend of Jacques Maritain, the Thomist, and found him to be “extremely gentle, urbane, and generous and possessed a remarkable poise of mind and character.”²⁰

Berdyaev likened the war years in France with the first years of Soviet rule “hungry queues, empty shops, restrictions of all kinds, curfews and utter uncertainty of what the morrow will bring.”²¹ Berdyaev could have escaped to the west but refused. During the war Berdyaev was watched carefully. He was not allowed to speak in public or to publish. When Germany invaded Russia and the German authorities in France arrested Russian *émigrés*, Berdyaev was not. He continued to denounce the Nazis and proclaimed his sympathy for Russia but was relatively unaffected. The Gestapo made regular visits but the Berdyaev was never detained.

Shortly after the end of the war, Berdyaev’s wife died. Nicolai and his sister-in-law, Eugenie, continued their lives in Clamart. He became increasingly disturbed

by the progressive decrease in freedom in Soviet Russia and the increasing pressure on emigrés to acknowledge “unconditional acceptance of and devotion to the Soviet government and *régime*. I protested violently. Man ought not to accept any government whatsoever unconditionally, for that is tantamount to slavery; man ought not to bow before any power whatsoever, for that is tantamount to renouncing his freedom.”²² He was invited to return to the Soviet Union after the war and went so far as to visit the Soviet embassy but knew he could not accept the conditions. He lamented that his books were well known in the West but he was virtually unknown in Russia. He told a Soviet diplomat that he would consider returning when all his books were published and offered for sale and are on the open shelves in the libraries.²³ In 1947 he traveled to England to receive the honorary Doctor of Divinity Degree from Cambridge University, his only university degree. He found it ironic that he should receive the degree since he did not consider himself a theologian but a religious philosopher and that his religious beliefs were not in the mainstream.

Just before his death in March of 1948, Berdyaev published an essay, “The Third Way” in which he analyzed the division of a world divided between two antagonistic powers. He had just completed the manuscript for *The Realm of the Spirit and the Realm of Caesar* and had outlined another book on a new interpretation of mysticism in religion. After tea he shouted for Eugenie but was dead at his desk before she could get up the stairs. On his desk his open bible and a Niebuhr article on which he was writing notes.

Berdyaev’s Philosophy

In *Slavery and Freedom*, Berdyaev says that the basis for his philosophy is the “problem of man, the problem of freedom, the problem of creativeness”²⁴ In *My Philosophic World Outlook*, he wrote, “At the centre of my philosophic creativity is situated the problem of man. And therefore my philosophy is to an utmost extent anthropologic. To posit the problem of man -- this means at the same time to posit the problem of freedom, of creativity, person, spirit and history.”²⁵ These problems taken together are what Berdyaev refers to as “his whole way of looking at life from a philosophical point of view ... the philosophy of personalism.”²⁶ Berdyaev did not consider himself a philosopher of the “academic type.” Philosophy was not something “abstract and remote,” not something derived from the study of books, but something personal, intuitive and dynamic, the “concrete experience” of everyday life which is what Berdyaev meant when he said “My thought has always belonged to the existential type of philosophy.”²⁷ Berdyaev’s existentialism denies

the assumption that logical systems are the sure way to truth. It asserts that the making of decisions is the key to reality. Its objective is the liberation from whatever enslaves man; to neutralize the intellectual and social forces which are destroying man’s freedom. Man is understood through his capacity, through the use of his freedom, to make decisions.

Philosophy and Science

Philosophy, in Berdyaev’s terms, existed separately from science. He believed that modern philosophy aspired to be a science. However, for Berdyaev, “Philosophy is art rather than science the art of knowing.”²⁸ Scientific philosophy was, for Berdyaev, an oxymoron, “Scientific philosophy is enslaved philosophy.”²⁹ He said,

The dream of modern philosophy is to become scientific, or something like the scientific. Not one of the official philosophers has any doubts as to the right and propriety of this effort to turn philosophy into a scientific discipline, no matter what the cost. In this they all agree— positivists and metaphysicists, materialists and ‘criticists’, Kant and Hegel, Comte and Spencer, Cohen and Rickert, Wundt and Avernarius— all desire that philosophy should be either science or something shaped like science.... The philosophers believe in science more than they do in philosophy....³⁰

Berdyaev appreciated the role of science in advancing out knowledge of the given world. He wrote, “We do not climb the stair of knowledge in the dark. Scientific knowledge climbs a dark stairway— which it enlightens, step by step.”³¹ But Berdyaev insisted that science had its roots in necessity, not in freedom. Science seeks to control, it is his urge for self-preservation and adaptation to the world. On the other hand, Berdyaev wrote, “Philosophy is in no sense at all a science and in no way should it be scientific.”³² Philosophy requires a holistic orientation to being, seeking truth about everything, remaining skeptical of fixed, scientific laws and generalizations, the liberation from bondage to necessity. “In order to make clearer the impossibility and the uselessness of scientific philosophy,” wrote Berdyaev, “it is important to emphasize the conclusion that science is obedience to necessity. Science is not creativity but obedience; its element is not freedom but necessity.”³³ Berdyaev recognized the attraction of Pragmatism. He called it “a symptom of the crisis of scientific philosophy.”³⁴ He noticed how attractive Pragmatism was to scientists but, he said, “Anglo-Saxon pragmatism is really demanding only more various forms of adaptation to the given world, to necessity.”³⁵ Science seeks “truths” of the given world. Philosophy, instead, seeks freedom, freedom that is external to the

necessity of day-to-day life. Philosophy, not being economic in purpose, is unnecessary for the preservation of life but philosophy helps penetrate beyond the sensate world, helps make sense of the senseless, seeks meaning to life above and beyond the material and the social. If there is, in Berdyaev's words, "something of the holiday in philosophy."³⁶ It is, "... the art of creating essential ideas through which freedom might be glimpsed beyond necessity and meaning beyond meaninglessness."³⁷ He could admit the usefulness of a philosophy of science but not scientific philosophy.³⁸

Marxist Philosophy

Berdyaev admits to some contradictions in his thought. "The fundamental contradiction in my thinking about social life," he said, "is bound up with the juxtaposition in me of two elements— an aristocratic interpretation of personality, freedom and creativeness, and a socialistic demand for the assertion of the dignity of every man, of even the most insignificant of men, and for a guarantee of his rights in life."³⁹ Along with the 'rights in life' comes the "awareness of the fact that every human personality ... cannot be a means to any end whatever."⁴⁰ As a means of engaging this social thought, Berdyaev became interested in Marxism as a university student. He found the Marxist approach to social problems to be very functional. He was never an "orthodox Marxist" he could not accept the materialism, dialectical, or historical, but found socialist ideas to be basically desirable. He accepted, for example, Marx's Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach,⁴¹ he said, "As a philosopher I have not only wished to gain knowledge of the world; in my case the desire to know the world has always been accompanied by the desire to alter it."⁴² Another concept Berdyaev took from Marxist thought was the idea of objectification, the treatment of people as things and labor power as a commodity, denying their personalities and their freedom and resulting in a reversal of social values. Those values which should be ends and rank high: truth, beauty, goodness, and freedom are replaced by values that should be means and rank lower: expediency, usefulness, exploitation, and violence. Marxism "recognised one value as supreme, the value of social truth, justice, the welfare of the people, the happiness of the lower working classes. It is immoral to think of anything except that higher value ; everything must be sacrificed to it."⁴³ Ultimately, Berdyaev could not accept the Marxist basis for values. He said, "I maintained the existence of the truth and goodness as idealist values which are independent of the class struggle ... and I did not acquiesce in the final subjection of philosophy and ethics to the revolutionary class struggle truth does not serve anybody or anything; they serve it Communists and fascists alike

assert that only communities know the truth and that it reveals itself only in collective conflict.... I rebelled against this side of Marxism in the name of personalism, although I continued to regard the social demands of Marxism as just."⁴⁴ Berdyaev saw capitalism and communism both as powerful agents of depersonalization and dehumanization. He wrote, "The divorce of economy from life, the technical interpretation of life, and the fundamental capitalist principle of profit transforms man's economic life into a fiction. The capitalist system is ... sapping the spiritual foundation of man's economic life."⁴⁵ Production exists as a means of making profits, and man exists to keep the wheels of production turning. "Communism denies individual man, but it accepts collective man as omnipotent. Every human being is called to reconstruct the world collectively."⁴⁶

Philosophy and Freedom

For Berdyaev, freedom was the highest of all values. Freedom is the human attribute that exists outside of all other attributes; it is equal with the creation, with God. "Freedom," he says, "is a primordial source and condition of existence an *a priori* of existence"⁴⁷ Freedom and human personality, what he called the spiritual principles, he found were everywhere crushed by the forces of history. Against freedom and personality are the material and determinist enslaving forces of necessity. Berdyaev agreed with Rousseau's observation that "Man is born free but is everywhere in chains" and categorized modern human life as a struggle against slavery. He found that in every aspect of human life freedom was limited by the objectification of the individual, by the view of the individual as a means and not an end. Freedom should entail self-determination, self-perfection and self-realization, a personal search for truth, but life in a society means a process of socialization in which individual freedom is limited and individual personality is objectivized limiting the opportunities for self-determination, self-determination and self-realization. Freedom does not allow for the subjection of the individual to the orthodoxy or dogma of any social hierarchy. He said, "Man can be free only if his freedom is not determined by anything that is not himself; and that he is a subject only if he is not a 'thing' fitted in or subordinated in a causal way or any other way to other things."⁴⁸ Berdyaev rebelled against anything that would limit his freedom. He said, "I cannot acknowledge as truth that which is thrust down my throat; I can accept as truth only that which is wrung out from within myself. I cannot acknowledge as falsehood that in which I see truth, and I cannot acknowledge as truth that in which I see falsehood, merely I am obliged to acknowledge them as such."⁴⁹

Such a life for Berdyaev was not a life of freedom but a life of slavery but he realized that human beings are seduced by the slavery into which they are socialized and, paraphrasing Voltaire, cannot be freed from a slavery they revere. In society slavery is reflexive. "The enslaving of another is also the enslaving of oneself The master knows only the height to which his slaves raise him."⁵⁰ The enslaving force is the will to power. Power is not freedom, it requires the denial of freedom. Berdyaev said, "The man who is possessed by the will to power is in the grip of fate he cannot stop, he cannot set limits on himself; he goes ... further and further towards perdition."⁵¹

Philosophy and Religion

It is human freedom which creates goodness and evil thought Berdyaev. God is not responsible for the evil in the world, evil is a human endeavor arising from human misuse of freedom. "Man creates God in his own image and puts into God not only the best in his own image but the worst also...."⁵² As a youth Berdyaev had no particular appreciation for the Russian Orthodox Church liturgy and sacraments and had no interest in learning the catechism or memorizing—as a Cadet he received the lowest mark possible in Divinity.⁵³ Only after he moved to Moscow did he come to appreciate the "beauty of the Orthodox liturgical life."⁵⁴ His appreciation of the 'liturgical life' did not extend to the dogma of the church. Berdyaev could accept a God of communion, a God of love, but not a God of "force, power, government, or of anger, jealousy, vengeance and even justice."⁵⁵ Christianity, he believed, became anthropomorphic, attributing human categories to God and changing the church into a religious collective, a sociological phenomenon in service to the state, in which the individual is objectified—denied freedom. But, Berdyaev said,

God has not made a slave of man. God is the liberator. Theology has made a slave of him God as a subject, as existing outside all objectivization, is love and freedom not determinism and not domination God is not a master and He does not dominate. No power is inherent in God. The will to power is not a property of His, He does not demand the slavish reverence of an unwilling man. God is freedom and not of subjection. He is the liberator and not the master God is not to be thought of on the analogy of what takes place in society or what takes place in nature. We cannot think in determinist. terms of God. He determines nothing. Nor can we think in terms of causality. He is not the cause of anything ... Analogy is only possible with the very life of the spirit.⁵⁶

Berdyaev's Personalism

The problem of man forms the basis for Berdyaev's philosophy. But he understood that the man exists in societies which have their own problems. The ideal society would be one in which a unity is established, with the common struggle for life and well-being carried on cooperatively. But social life most often represents the life of necessity, slavery to the physical and social needs of the group, not the increased freedom of the individual person. "Man, as it were," he said, "lives in a social hypnosis. And it is difficult for him to set his freedom in opposition to the despotic claims of society, because the social hypnosis ... convinces him that he has received his very freedom society and society alone."⁵⁷ Berdyaev's view of society took into account the work of Martin Buber, particularly the *Ich und du* (I and Thou). He believed that Buber had identified a significant problem of society in the social duality of collective and community.⁵⁸ Berdyaev's own idea is that of communion in which the 'I' becomes the existential center in relation to the 'you' (other individuals) and the 'we' (the group). These relationships can be either liberating or enslaving. He said, "Society is the objectivization of the 'we' The real 'we', that is, the community of people, communion in freedom, in love and mercy, has never been able to enslave man, on the contrary it is the realization of the fullness of the life of personality, its transcendence towards another."⁵⁹ Sociologically the person is part of society. "Society, said Berdyaev, "is the large circle, person however—is a small circle set within it person is unable to oppose itself to society and it cannot fight for itself."⁶⁰ Existentially everything is reversed; "society," he said, "is a small part of person ... merely its social condition, and the world is merely part of person. Person is the existential centre, not society and not nature, it is the existentially subject, and not object."⁶¹ Person is not to be confused with the idea of individual "which is a naturalistic category, biological and sociological, pertaining to the natural world."⁶² Biologically the individual is part of the race, and sociologically part of society. The individual is a component without uniqueness or independence. "Person," for Berdyaev, "signifies something altogether different. Person is a spiritual and religious category."⁶³ Person implies belonging to the natural and social order, but also to existence as a spiritual being, "higher," he says, "than anything natural or social not able to be part of anything whatsoever."⁶⁴ Personalism as a social concept is based on the dignity of every human person, who should have the opportunity for self actualization. The "fundamental paradox of person" said Berdyaev, "is ... that it must needs still be created and it must needs already be, so that there be possible the creative creating

of person. Person is not something completed, it forms itself, it posits ends, like God's idea about every single man."⁶⁵ The person develops through the application of creativity. Person-ness is the creative act from which there is created, says Berdayev, "the new, the not previously existing, and non-being becomes being." The creativity of man requires freedom. Berdayev thought "Creativity is inseparable from freedom. Only he who is free creates."⁶⁶ Creativity is the absence of objectivization and determinism. "Man cannot by his individual act destroy the world of objectivization," said Berdayev, "he can only attain to inward freedom from that world."⁶⁷ Without inward freedom, I ask, what do we have?

Personalism in Education

How can we apply Berdayev's philosophy to education, to learning? We are all pretty much aware of the theoretical application of existentialism to education. I say theoretical because it is very difficult to find examples of its practical application. The theories of Maxine Greene, the analysis of George Kneller and Van Cleve Morris, the writing of Sartre, Camus, Kafka, Dostoevsky, de Beauvoir, Buber, and Kierkegaard, the application of hermeneutics and phenomenology and, as I once suggested even critical theory all attract our attention.

Personalism in education would refer, I think, to the inner processes of learning, the internal dialogue of a person involved in creative thought. Berdayev could not appreciate the teaching-learning process he experienced as a student. Memorization and recitation held no joy for him. He did not respond well to reward and had little desire for the recognition that succeeding according to external rules might bring. He sought more interaction with what he read, more creativity in the way he acquired knowledge. Creativity was the key to his learning. The application of personalism would require teachers to understand this dialectical and interactive nature of learning, to look for ways to connect the subject matter to the creativity, interests, and experiences of the students. Obviously, these are not novel ideas. Progressive education, humanist education, existential education, critical pedagogy and all speak of the need for such an orientation toward student needs. Personalist education, like progressive education would strive for relevancy in subject matter and connection with contemporary events. Like humanist education, personalist education would emphasize the communal, interpersonal relationships and foster cooperative and mutually satisfying activities. Personalist education, like existential education would require the recognition of individual students as individuals with unique qualities and needs, not focus on the group or, indeed, ignore

both the group and the individuals and focus on the transmission of subject-matter knowledge. Personalist education, like critical pedagogy, would question the relationships between the individual and the society—point out the dichotomies of freedom and necessity and freedom and security, seek out and examine the reflexive master-slave relationships in society, separate the given material world from the personal world of creativity; interrogate the ongoing process of change in contemporary life and society.

Concluding Note

Berdayev demanded his freedom. He refused to accept what he was being told to do, to believe, or to feel. He argued with Lunacharsky about Marxism's misplaced trust in the materialist, historical, and economic dialectic. He chastised the Russian Orthodox church on its dependence on ritual, dogma, and the excessive secular involvement. He lectured Dzerzhinsky on the mistakes of the Marxism-Leninism of the Bolshevik revolution in not providing for personal freedom, not recognizing the role and value of religious faith, and for the excesses of the dictatorship of the proletariat which ultimately wiped out the intelligentsia, emerging middle class, and its most productive agriculturalists. Berdayev realized like few people before or since, the requirement of retaining freedom in the demands of living in a collective society. He simply refused to be co opted, to sell out or buy in to the society around him. He had his loyalties but they often took the form of loyal opposition. He demanded creative freedom as a life choice for himself and for everyone else. "Here is the second Socrates, an immovable soul, who, even though often at grips with hardships, has never departed from the pursuit and quest for truth he put to practice a genuinely Christian spirit; he wrote, meditated, and taught others the rules of philosophy in order that what is good in the present hour in the life and the government of his country might serve for the salvation of all men and that which is wicked be uprooted and removed.... that we are destined to freedom not to servitude, that we are inspired and animated by the divine breath."⁶⁸

In the summer of 1940, Berdayev, his wife and her sister had the opportunity to leave France and sail to America; he refused. But what if he had come? What if he had come to New York—say to the New School for Social Research? What influence might he have had on someone like John Dewey who was thinking about the role of religion in modern life (*The Quest for Certainty* was published in 1939) or Horace Kallen who was exploring the meaning of freedom in a pluralist society or the Frankfurt School refugees with their investigations of the status of the individual in modern

society and its evolution toward totalitarianism.

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SEXUAL HARASSMENT: A HISTORY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

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Abstract

Sexual harassment is neither hard to define nor hard to recognize. The United States Merit Systems Protection Board found that 44% of women and 19% of men reported having experienced some form of unwanted sexual attention at work (Beiner, 2005). Major issues related to sexual harassment in higher education are not remarkably different than those related to sexual harassment in general (Fitzgerald, 1988, Ross, 1994, Marshall, 2005). Sexual harassment is not only pervasive but harmful to the victim in many ways (Lenhart, 2004). Defining sexual harassment has been a matter of refining the idea over time (Anderson, 2006) and exploring who is apt to identify sexual harassment when it occurs (Collins and Blodgett, 1981). Research about sexual harassment has been directed at assessing the characteristics, extent, and outcomes of the phenomenon. This article will address how a definition of sexual harassment was established. Research related to sexual harassment will be reviewed as well as ethical issues regarding the topic and suggestions from the literature about how to deal with it.

Definition of Sexual Harassment: how we arrived at where we are today

Currently, there is little ambiguity about recognizing sexual harassment and little ambiguity about how to define it. Sexual harassment is well defined and easily recognized. But this was not always the case.

Usually, it is social science that defines social problems, not the law, but this appears not to have been the case in sexual harassment (Beiner 2005, Marshall, 2005). The Supreme Court recognized sexual harassment as a viable theory of sex discrimination under title VII of the civil rights act of 1964. In spite of the supreme court's ruling, the law used case law to solve specific instances of sexual harassment; it did not at first deal with sexual harassment as a broad social issue until social science caught up with sexual harassment and began to frame and define sexual harassment as a social, political phenomenon as well as a legal one during the decades of the 1970s through 1980s in the United States and the European Union (Zippel, 2006). During that period of time a solid definition of sexual harassment was being formed. A few examples of these definitions were mentioned in relevant literature.

The first definition of sexual harassment appeared in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It reads:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors and other verbal or physical conduct of the

sexual nature constitutes sexual harassment when (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly, a term or condition of an individual's employment, (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment (Collins and Blodgett 1981, p. 94).

While the definition seems sufficient, it became a set of guidelines for trying specific incidences of sexual harassment in legal disputes and not used for describing a general or broad notion of sexual harassment as a social issue until Till's (1980) *Report to the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs* in August of 1980. Till's report had some similar language and included anecdotes from 116 victims. The report identified 5 types of sexual harassment:

- (1) sexist remarks or behavior: (8)
- (2) inappropriate and offensive, but sanction-free sexual advances: (12)
- (3) solicitation of sexual activity by promise of rewards: (16)
- (4) coercion of sexual activity by threat of punishment: and (17)
- (5) sexual crimes and misdemeanors (22).

... Till's definition still manages to capture the essence of the concept's legal and social implications. Gender harassment is the systematic disparagement of an individual based on that person's sex. Sexual seduction refers to unwanted sexual attention (although 'seduction' may have benign, romantic connotations that are misplaced here). Sexual bribery and coercion encompass that behavior which inflicts a quid pro quo dilemma on the victim; submit to the harasser for reward, or to avoid negative consequences. Sexual imposition includes assaultive, overtly criminal acts (Champion 2006, p. 102).

The current definition was fashioned through several research studies conducted by Fitzgerald and her associates. Research methods and analysis were sophisticated and rigorous. In the conclusions section of a 1988 study, researchers state that rather than Till's five factor taxonomy, a three factor definition seems warranted by research data from both 1985 and 1988 research studies:

Rather, a three-factor solution, in which bribery and

threat collapse into one factor, seduction and sexual imposition group together as another, and gender harassment stands alone as a separate factor, appeared to more accurately account for the data (Fitzgerald ET AL. 1988, p. 169).

So the three part definition is broadly stated as:

1. Gender Harassment
2. Unwanted Sexual Attention
3. Sexual Coercion (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, Drasgow, 1995)

This tripartite definition stands today as a standard for defining sexual harassment.

Other logical definitions and legal definitions have existed such as the Reasonable Woman Standard (Beiner, 2005). The argument made sense because the perceptions of a reasonable woman were more sensitive

to what constituted sexual harassment than those people who had not experienced sexual harassment. “Although legal commentators have suggested that the reasonable woman standard should and does make a difference in case outcomes, that assumption is not borne out by social science data” (Beiner 2005, p. 56). What is borne out by social science data is the definition arrived at through research data by Fitzgerald and her associates.

Research about Sexual Harassment

The following chart summarizes some research studies about sexual harassment. These journal articles were identified by searching ERIC, Goggle Scholar, and other internet resources. They represent a cross section of the literature related to sexual harassment in education over the time.

author(s)	title	year	type	method	subjects	conclusions
Collins and Blodgett	Sexual Harassment: Some See it, Some Won't	1981	research	survey	Harvard Business Review subscribers	Sexual harassment is seen as an issue of power. Men and women generally agree in theory on what sexual harassment is but disagree on how often it occurs.
Benson and Thomson	Sexual Harassment on a University Campus	1982	research	interviews and survey	Random sample of undergraduate women at Berkeley	Many women students in the sample choose the tactic of selective avoidance of the harasser when faced with sexual harassment. Women who have been harassed report loss of self-confidence.
Kenig and Ryan	Sex Differences in Levels of Tolerance and Attribution of Blame for Sexual Harassment on a University Campus	1986	research	survey	Random sample of male and female faculty, staff, undergraduates and graduate students	Women tend to define more relevant behaviors in the survey as sexual harassment than men and women tend to assign responsibility for sexual harassment to the institution as well as to sexual harassers.
Fitzgerald, Shullman, Bailey, Richards, Swecker, Gold, Ormerod, Weitzmen	The Incidence and Dimensions of Sexual Harassment in Academia and the Workplace	1988	research	survey: highly controlled for reliability and validity	Studies 1 and 2 had large sample sizes from two different Universities undergraduate and graduate men and women	This study produced the tripartite definition of sexual harassment that stands today. It also indicated that although 50% of female respondents indicated some sort of sexual harassment on 3% reported it. Developed Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) .
Gutek and Koss	Changed women and Changed organizations	1993	review of research			An historical analysis of research related to sexual harassment indicates that sexual harassment is deleterious to both individual women and the effectiveness of entire organizations.
Gelfand, Fitzgerald, Drasgow	The Structure of Sexual Harassment	1995	research	survey SEQ	Used extant data and compared to data collected from Brazilian female university students	Confirmed the structure established in the Fitzgerald 1988 study across cultures i.e. the tripartite definition.

SWARTZ: SEXUAL HARASSMENT: A HISTORY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Schneider, Swan, Fitzgerald	Job-Related and Psychological Effects of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace	1997	research	survey revised SEQ	Women in the workplace and women in a university	Data indicated that “women who had not been harassed and those who experienced low, moderate, and high frequencies of harassment could be ordered on the basis of their job-related and psychological-outcome variables. In both samples, women who had experienced high levels of harassment reported the worst job-related and psychological outcomes, whereas those who had not been harassed reported the least negative outcomes” p. 412.
Richman, Rospenda, Nawyn, Flaherty, Fendrich, Drum, Johnson	Sexual Harassment and Generalized Workplace Abuse Among University Employees	1999	research	mail survey	faculty, graduate student workers, clerical and secretarial work, service and maintenance workers	“Male and female clerical and service workers experienced higher levels of particularly severe mistreatment” p. 358. “The data highlight the public health significance of both sexual harassment and generalized workplace abuse, which are significantly associated with a diverse range of negative mental health outcomes. Moreover, these patterns hold for both men and women” p. 361.
Baker, Terpstra, Cutler	Perceptions of Sexual Harassment	2001	research	survey and extant data	Extant data from undergraduate and graduate student compared to a cross section of government workers at various level and both sexes	“The findings of the current study indicate that the major difference in perceptions of sexual harassment may occur between individuals with different organizational backgrounds” p. 415.
Dougherty	Gendered Constructions of Power During Discourse About Sexual Harassment	2006	research	qualitative focus groups	Same sex and mixed sex focus groups	“The findings from the present study suggest that for women., sexual harassment can be initiated by an individual who is perceived as having power, whether that is from a coworker, subordinate, or a superior” 505.

Fitzgerald and her associates (1988, 1995, 1997) have provided a strong and well researched definition of sexual harassment. Each study was carefully controlled for instrument bias, reliability, and validity and used large sample sizes from thousands of respondents to about 500. In addition, these studies featured respondents from universities and other organizations. What can be gained from these studies is that sexual harassment is not limited to only university environments but is present in almost every sector of society. Champion (2006) tells us that sexual harassment is a serious problem not only in criminal justice programs in colleges and universities but also in the criminal justice profession. Neil (2006) indicates that sexual harassment is a severe problem in legal offices as well. Sexual harassment is a national and international (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, Dragow, 1995, Zippel, 2006) problem. The tripartite definition developed by Fitzgerald and associates seems valid across various cultures (Brazil and the EU).

All of the researchers above have noted that sexual harassment is a serious problem for individuals and the

larger corporate and academic organizations in which they work. These findings are supported by research cited above and elsewhere in the literature. McCann and McGinn (1992), Gutek and Koss (1993) and Lenhart (2004) offer specific scenarios that explore how people react to sexual harassment and what clinical, psychological outcomes have resulted from sexual harassment.

Another common theme is that women identify more behaviors as sexual harassment than do men (Collins and Blodgett, 1981, Kenig and Ryan, 1986, Baker, Terpstra, Cutler, 2001, Dougherty, 2006). Although the authors noted in the last sentence address these findings directly, this idea is reflected in many other studies (Gutek and Koss, 1993). This is one of the most firm indictments against men who engage in sexual harassment. Women tend to see more behaviors as sexual harassment while men who usually identify fewer behaviors as sexual harassment are apparently unable to connect sexual harassment with power. Dougherty (2006):

It is not surprising that discussions about power

emerged repeatedly during all of the discussion groups as well as during the individual interviews. Although the protocol questions did not specifically ask participants to address issues of power, the participants repeatedly confirmed what some researchers have argued—that sexual harassment is not about sex; it is about power (Bingham, 1994; Conrad & Taylor, 1994). When asked “why does sexual harassment occur?,” all of the participants agreed that the major reason sexual harassment occurs is power (Dougherty 2006, p. 498).

The theme of sexual harassment and power appears in every article and research paper reviewed for this article. The basic idea is well stated in the quote above. Sexual harassment is a question of unequal power taken as license to behave in harmful ways.

A Few Ethical Concerns

Two ethical concerns are raised in this section. What is the institution’s theory of sexual harassment and what is the responsibility, if any, of the harassed?

This paper has focused on sexual harassment as it occurs in higher education and has made an attempt to show that what occurs in educational environments is reflected widely across the nation and certain other cultures. So far, information relevant to a definition of sexual harassment in educational settings and a short discussion of literature and research related to education has been presented. With the current literature in mind, general ideas about current theories related to sexual harassment will be presented from Anderson’s (2006) article titled “Recent Thinking about Sexual Harassment: A Review Essay.” The article appeared in *Philosophy and Public Affairs* and is relevant to frameworks for decisions regarding sexual harassment. Three theories for framing sexual harassment, equality theory, sexual autonomy theory and dignity theory are presented. The point is that an organization and its sexual harassment education and training staff need to be careful to act within one or more of these theories in an organized and consistent fashion.

The first of these frameworks is group-based theories of sexual harassment called *equality theories*. Sexual harassment is part of the spectrum of forms of sexual conduct, including also rape, prostitution, and pornography, that keep women subordinate, not just sexually, but economically, politically, and socially. Since the main goal of this theory is abolition of female subordination (with the expectation that women’s other disadvantages will fall in its wake), call this view the sexual equality theory of sexual harassment (Anderson 2006, p. 290).

Next are two theories that view sexual harassment as injury to individuals:

Sexual autonomy theories view sexual harassment as an oppressive enforcement of conventional sexist and homophobic norms of gender and sexuality. It forces people to conform to these norms, and punishes anyone who deviates: masculine women, effeminate men and lesbians, transsexuals, and anyone else who expresses an unconventional sexuality or sexual identity.... *Dignity theories* abstract from the possibly sexist or homophobic intent and effects of harassing behavior, locating the wrong instead the means harassers use to achieve their objectives. ... Dignity theories uphold conventional norms of respect for individuals rather than challenging conventional norms of gender and sexuality (Anderson 2006, p. 291).

A second ethical concern is the responsibility, if any, of the harassed. In one study, although 50% of the women reported some sort of sexual harassment as defined by a research instrument, only 3% of those reported an incident (Fitzgerald ET AL, 1988). In an article titled “Whether to Ignore Them and Spin: Moral Obligations to Resist Sexual Harassment” Carol Hay (2004) argues exactly this point.

Sexual objectification occurs, according to Hay, only when a woman is not seen as an equal. Sexual harassment happens when sexual objectification is achieved. A woman can be accountable to a deleterious patriarchal system or responsible to maintain a system of equality. Accountable behavior is not associated with freedom because an individual merely adheres to a pre established systemic set of behavioral rules and sanctions. Responsible behavior implies freedom. A responsible person imagines a just and equal world and makes her own decisions based on what a just and equal world would be and how to achieve it. Accountably has no moral obligation while responsibility demands it.

Hay states:

I think it’s hard to see autonomy’s core ideal of self-government as anything other than a laudable moral aim for women, particularly given that one of the greatest harms of sexist oppression is its restriction of the quality and quantity of choices that are open to women (Hay 2004, p. 98).

More needs to be said about what the exact nature of the relationship between autonomy and moral responsibility amounts to. We might think the two concepts are interdefined, where moral responsibility *just is* what is demanded of autonomous moral agents, and autonomous moral agents *just are* those agents who have certain moral responsibilities. If this is the relationship between the two concepts, it is easy to see

why nonautonomous agents are not subject to moral responsibilities, and why fully autonomous agents are fully subject to moral responsibilities. We can even explain those cases of partial autonomy where the amount of moral responsibility is directly proportional to the degree of autonomy (Hay 2004, p. 99).

If women are autonomous (responsible), and not just accountable, women have a moral responsibility to confront their harassers. On the other hand, in an accountable milieu (e.g. in an extremely oppressive culture), they probably do not have a moral responsibility to confront their harassers.

Suggestions from the Literature and Conclusion

There seems to be an emphasis toward more education within organizations about sexual harassment. In some cases, this may mean a manual for understanding and dealing with sexual harassments incidents. In other instances, state wide laws have been initiated to mandate training about sexual harassment. "On September 29th, 2004, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger signed into law Assembly Bill (AB) No. 1825 which mandates sexual harassment prevention training for supervisory personnel in California" (Coyle and Sumida 2005, p. 4). The law includes all organizations, public and private, within the state with 50 or more employees.

California law dictates that sexual harassment training must include the following:

1. Federal and state statutory provisions addressing the prohibition against, and prevention and correction of sexual harassment.
2. The remedies available to victims of sexual harassment in employment, and
3. Practical examples aimed at instruction supervisor in the prevention of harassment, discrimination, and retaliation (Coyle and Sumida 2005, p. 5).

It is strongly suggested that training should be for supervisors and non-supervisors. Employers must be able to establish that they have reasonable procedures and are taking reasonable steps to prevent and correct sexual harassment, harassers failed to take advantage of such procedures and that the use of such procedures would have prevented at least some of the harm and loss suffered by those who have been harassed (Coyle and Sumida 2005, p. 8).

California recently amended its Fair Employment Act to hold employers liable for sexual harassment by third parties, such as clients, customers, or independent contractors (Coyle and Sumida 2005, p. 9). This includes retail sales such as restaurants, chain stores, and other services.

Trainers must be sufficiently qualified as experts, the program must address subjects required by statutes and the methods used must be interactive and allow participants to ask questions and obtain answers. Reporting about training must be the responsibility of a specific individual (Coyle and Sumida 2005, 10-11). Sexual harassment training is also mandated by law in Connecticut, Maine, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Vermont.

Many organizations have produced manuals specifically targeted at sexual harassment policies and training. For example, the University of Maryland conducts training at all levels of the university and addresses all constituencies at the institution. A copy of the University of Maryland Sexual Harassment Training Program is available at <http://www.mith2.umd.edu/WomensStudies/GenderIssues/SexualHarassment/UMDManual/preface>.

Literature about sexual harassment seems to indicate that it permeates many organizations at almost every level. A clear definition of sexual harassment is an essential ingredient of any effort to minimize its existence. Another issue is that men, in particular, fail to recognize that sexual harassment is a power issue. Organizations that strive to educate about sexual harassment should be aware of what theory or theories (equality, autonomy, dignity) they will use in their efforts to educate and minimize sexual harassment. Failure to do so could result in unclear and inconsistent understandings of sexual harassment.

Hay's insightful discussion of whether or not to report sexual harassment is important to consider because sexual harassment seems to often go unreported and unaddressed. Organizations, even state governments, have instituted mandatory training to prevent or minimize the occurrence of sexual harassment. Perhaps this training should extend beyond supervisory personnel who have power, to those who are harassed, in order to give power to them.

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**STANLEY FISH'S CALL TO *ACADEMICIZE* COLLEGE TEACHING:
CAN AND SHOULD THE CALL BE HEEDED BY FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION PROFESSORS?**

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Introduction

Stanley Fish, the renowned academic and literary scholar, has gained a wide public readership of his New York Times published blog titled "Think Again." Over the last two and one half years, Fish has posted several columns on college teaching. The subjects of Fish's analyses in these posts have included academic freedom, indoctrination, politics in the classroom, David Horowitz's crusade for the Academic Bill of Rights, intellectual diversity, and the justification of the humanities (he doesn't think there is one).¹ A central tenet of Fish's blogs, the topic of this paper, is his contention that many of these controversies would be moot if professors "simply did their job."² Fish has coined a term— "academicize"— to refer to the form of college teaching that he endorses. This essay first will clarify what Fish means by "academicizing" college teaching, then list his reasons for the practice and consider his response to objections that have been raised on his blog, in order to further delineate his position then explore the degree to which Fish's call to *academicize* college teaching can and should be applied to teaching Foundations of Education.

Fish's Position: A Clarification Including Fish's Response to Objections

Here is Fish's succinct account of the college teacher's job. He maintains this is true of any course of instruction, and especially in the humanities and the social sciences.

I am [as a college teacher] paid to do two things (although, needless to say, I don't always succeed in my attempts to do them): 1) to introduce students to materials they didn't know a whole lot about, and 2) to equip them with the skills that will enable them, first, to analyze and evaluate those materials and second, to perform independent research, should they choose to do so, after the semester is over.

That's it. That's the job.³

Fish denies that this amounts to ignoring moral and political issues. Rather, he argues that "The materials students are asked to read will be fraught with them. Wouldn't it be impossible to avoid discussing these issues without trivializing and impoverishing the classroom experience? No, it's easy. You don't have to ignore or ban moral and political questions. What you have to do is regard them as objects of study rather than as alternatives you and your students might take a stand on."⁴

Fish elaborates on what is involved with regarding a

political or ethical issue as a subject of study:

That is, instead of asking questions like "What should be done?" or "Who is in the right?" you ask, "What are the origins of this controversy?" or "What relationship does it have to controversies taking place in other areas of inquiry?" or "What is the structure of argument on both sides?" I have coined an ugly word for this way of turning politically charged matters into the stuff of academic investigation. The word is *academicize*. To *academicize* a topic is to detach it from the context of its real-world urgency, where there is a decision to be made, and re-insert it into a context of an academic urgency, where there is an analysis to be performed.⁵

Other academic concerns that Fish deems as appropriate to introduce into the classroom include:

The list is long and includes looking into a history of a topic, studying and mastering the technical language that comes along with it, examining the controversies that have grown up around it and surveying the most significant contributions to its development. The list of academic terms would, however, not include coming to a resolution about a political or moral issue raised by the materials under discussion. This does not mean that political and moral questions are banned from the classroom, but that they should be regarded as objects of study – Where did they come from? How have they been answered at different times in different cultures? – Rather than as invitations to take a vote (that's what you do at the ballot box) or make a life decision (that's what you do in the private recesses of your heart). No subject is out of bounds; what is out of bounds is using it as an occasion to move students in some political or ideological direction.⁶

In response to critics that claim Fish is abandoning his role as an ethical agent, Fish argues that by *academicizing* college teaching he is in fact *exemplifying* professional ethics.

In fact, my stance is aggressively ethical: it demands that we take the ethics of the classroom – everything that belongs to pedagogy including preparation, giving assignments, grading papers, keeping discussions on point, etc.--seriously and not allow the scene of instruction to become a scene of indoctrination. Were the ethics appropriate to the classroom no different from the ethics appropriate to the arena of political action or the ethics of

democratic citizenry, there would be nothing distinctive about the academic experience – it would be politics by another name – and no reason for anyone to support the enterprise. For if its politics you want, you might as well get right to it and skip the entire academic apparatus entirely.⁷

Moreover, Fish is of the opinion that academicizing removes grandiose notions of using the college classroom as a site of political and social transformation—and as a result will lessen the growing criticism of professors:

Anything can be academicized and everything in the classroom should be, but this injunction will be resisted by those who believe that the purpose of higher education is to transform students into exemplary moral and political people (as opposed to people who simply know more). That goal is both unworkable and misguided; unworkable because it is impossible to control what students will do with the instruction they receive, and misguided because it forsakes the genuine pleasure of intellectual inquiry—the pleasure of trying to figure something out—for the hallucinogenic pleasure of trying to improve the world. Improving the world is a good thing and I would dissuade no one from the effort. Just don't do it as a substitute for what you are paid to do. Just do your job.⁸

He continues,

But the whole dreary sequence [debates involving objections to politicizing teaching and defenses of academic freedom] can be avoided if everyone lets go of outsized ambitions and pledges to just teach the materials and confer the skills, for then on one will be tempted to take on the job of moralist or reformer or political agent, and there will be no more outcries about professors who overstep their bounds. The New York Post would have nothing to write about, and organizations like Campus Watch could just disband.⁹

Fish's call to academicize is not the same thing as the demands for "ideological balance" and "intellectual diversity" that have been proposed by conservative critics of academia. Fish makes this point in a blog entry in which he critiques David Horowitz's Academic Bill of Rights. According to Fish, "'Intellectual diversity' is not an intellectual requirement, but a political requirement." Moreover, intellectual diversity is a prior restraint that directs the content of instruction independently of the professor's professional judgment, and hence constitutes a violation of the principles of academic freedom. Fish maintains that the content of instruction "should be determined by the shape and

history of the academic task rather than by a general imperative which may or not be pertinent to a particular line of inquiry." Furthermore, "This does not mean that challenges to prevailing orthodoxies should not be mounted, only that they should be mounted for good disciplinary reasons—like the emergence of new evidence or the discrediting of old evidence—and not for the blanket reason that we must have intellectual diversity."¹⁰

Several respondents to Fish have claimed that it is impossible for university professors to offer apolitical instruction because every decision and action—from the organizational arrangements of an academic department to the choice of text books—is inherently political. Fish answers:

These points are part of the "everything is political" argument, which, as I have said before, is both true and trivial. It is true because in any form of social activity there are always alternative courses of action — different ways of doing things — and those differences will, more often than not, reflect opposing ideas of what is important and valuable. Even something so small as giving more time to Wallace Stevens than to Robert Frost in a semester could be described as political. One could say, then, that on the most general level the decisions that go into making up a syllabus and the decisions that lead you to vote for one candidate rather than another are equally political.¹¹

He continues:

But the Tip O'Neill mantra — all politics is local — should remind us that the content of the general category "political" will vary with the local context of performance. One performs politically in the academy by making curricular and other choices in relation to a (contestable) vision of what is best for the discipline and the students. One performs politically in the partisan landscape by making ballot-box and funding choices in relation to a vision of what it is best for the country as an economic and military player on the world stage.¹²

In addition to Fish's point on this matter, that even the "everything in education is political" argument could be a legitimate subject of academicized study in foundations classes.

Fish notes the truism that liberals and conservatives alike embrace moral and political visions of the purposes of schooling and of the good life. However, he argues, the college classroom is not the venue to pursue or promote these visions and agendas.

It doesn't matter whether the line is crossed by someone on the left who wants to enroll students in a progressive agenda dedicated to the redress of injustice,

or by someone on the right who is concerned that students be taught to be patriotic, God-fearing, family oriented, and respectful of tradition. To be sure, the redress of injustice and the inculcation of patriotic and family values are worthy activities, but they are not academic activities, and they are not activities academics have the credentials to perform. Academics are not legislators, or political leaders or therapists or ministers; they are academics, and as academics they have contracted to do only one thing – to discuss whatever subject is introduced into the classroom in academic terms.¹³

One more point in setting forth Fish's position. Most of us would recognize that the impulse to use schools as a site for "political engagement" has been evident to varying degrees in the writings and practices of educators from various theoretical perspectives; the *reconstructionist* orientation comes to mind as a case in point. A typical conference of the AESA (to cite a familiar example) includes not a few presenters that are clearly sympathetic to a politically activist approach toward schooling (as one of my colleagues mentioned, "haven't you noticed that they're all about the poor kids"). Often, this takes the form of addressing the dynamics and effects of race, gender and class. Yet, as Fish comments, it is not the topics *per se* that are problematic for the college classroom, but it is the way they are handled.

Race, gender and class are not myths. They are realities and as such worthy of serious study. There are more than enough legitimate academic topics to keep an ethnic or gender studies department going for decades — the recovery of lost texts, the history of economic struggle and success, the relationship of race, ethnicity and gender to medical research. And there is no reason in principle that such investigations must begin or end in accusations against capitalism, the white male Protestant establishment and the United States government. But some of them do. Some of these programs forget who's paying the bills and continue to think of themselves as extensions of a political agenda. And students who take courses in those programs may well feel the pressure of that agenda.¹⁴

As a practical matter, foundations instruction can be academicized, and, as an ethical and pedagogical matter, foundations instruction should (with some qualifications) be academicized. What follows are some of the reasons supporting this conclusion organized around three related concerns: indoctrination, teacher and student self-disclosure, and a concluding ethical thought experiment.

Indoctrination and Academicizing

While several of Fish's blog entries allude to *indoctrination*, there is little in the way of systematic examination of the topic. There are, however, numerous philosophical analyses of the concept of *indoctrination*, and these analyses shed some light on the topic at hand.¹⁵ First of all, the term *indoctrination* assigns negative value to its referent. Richard Pratte refers to this as the "dominant non-objective" use of the term (as compared to the "dominant objective" use of the term which functions in a descriptive manner to refer to instruction in the rudiments of a give endeavor). That is, to refer to a case of instruction as "indoctrination" would be to hurl an insult at the instructor/teacher/professor. The label suggests that the instruction in question is somehow ethically and/or pedagogically suspect and that it involves an untoward attempt to (and perhaps success at) modifying a student's beliefs. It is worth noting that "indoctrination" is seldom used in a self-ascriptive fashion (just as there are few people who would refer to themselves as "false prophets," or refer to their organizations as "cults"). Indoctrination, then, is something others do, and it is wrong when they do so. The questions that arise, then, and are addressed in the typical conceptual analysis are: What is *indoctrination*? (a conceptual question), and, What is wrong with indoctrination? (a question of value).

In addressing the conceptual question, such constitutive conditions as *content* and *method* (of the instruction), and *intent* (of the instructor) are often cited, examined, and to various degrees implicated as the causative culprit of indoctrination. In his analysis, Pratte contends that the ultimate blame for indoctrination lies with the content of the instruction. Specifically, when an instructor puts forth "disputatious beliefs" (claims that have a disputable, contentious or shaky epistemic status) without acknowledging the claims' epistemic status or appropriately qualifying such claims, then indoctrination is afoot. In other words, claims are put forth with a greater epistemic force than the evidence or support warrants. Of course, instruction that might be labeled as "indoctrination" according to this account would occur with varying degrees of frequency and intensity.

As to the method of instruction, Pratte argues that method, alone, does not constitute indoctrination because the same methods used in indoctrination can also be used in legitimate pedagogical practice for accepted educational ends. It might be said that "method doesn't indoctrinate students, content does." Consider the following illustrative examples of the use of repetition and recitation (a method often associated with

indoctrination). Mrs. Factor, the third grade teacher, instructs her students to “recite and repeat the multiplication tables for the ‘4s’: 4 times 1 is 4, 4 times 2 is 8, etc.” Upon completing the “cycle of 4s,” Mrs. Factor commands the class to “repeat them again!” In our second example, Mr. Engels instructs his 7th grade Social Studies class to recite and repeat Chairman Mao’s saying (which is written on the blackboard) “Revolution begins at the end of a gun,” “until you know it by heart!”¹⁶

Whereas some might object to Mrs. Factor’s methodology on pedagogical grounds, it is unlikely that her use of drill and repetition would be subject to ethical objections that indoctrination was taking place. Mr. Engels’ instruction, on the other hand, is fraught with indoctrinative baggage. The reason is because of the content of the instruction, not the method. While Pratte argues that it is not the method of instruction that constitutes indoctrination, he acknowledges that in cases that might be labeled as “indoctrination” we will often find certain methods (e.g., drill and recitation, appealing to authority as an argument stopper, and stifling critical discussion and the consideration of alternative points of view).

The condition of *intent* refers to the instructor’s intent that the students come to believe (wholeheartedly and unshakably) the claims the instructor is putting forth. To what extent the instructor sincerely believes the content of instruction will differ from case to case, and discerning an instructor’s intent for the student is not readily evident—in most cases—from simply observing the instruction in question. Moreover, questions related to the instructor’s background and the phenomenon of self-deception¹⁷ further cloud the accurate identification of an instructor’s beliefs and intent. In those instances when the student cognitively embraces the disputatious beliefs he is said to have been indoctrinated (in the achievement/success sense of the term). If the student retains an open mind and fails to embrace the said beliefs, then indoctrination has not been achieved. However, indoctrination has taken place in the “task intent” sense. That is, the instructor has put forth disputatious claims without acknowledging their shaky epistemic status.

I am of the opinion that Fish’s program of academicizing college teaching provides some helpful suggestions that if followed, would help stem the incidences of instruction that might be labeled as “indoctrination.” Yet, in a strange sort of way, those professors who are intent on using their classroom instruction to achieve or promote a particular political agenda might use their knowledge of the conditions of indoctrination to mask (and justify) the political bent of

their instruction. The political reality is that such instruction’s livelihood will largely depend on the regional, administrative and collegial culture in which that instructor finds himself. Ultimately, then, the curricular and pedagogical choices made by professors will be a matter of their professional judgment, and based on the congruence with their personal values and the specific contexts in which they find themselves.

According to the Council of Learned Societies in Education’s 1996 statement, the field of foundations of education is primarily concerned with the critical, normative and interpretive dimensions of education. A moment’s reflection will no doubt reveal numerous issues that are the subject of ongoing debate and for which there are credible arguments taking a variety of positions. Topics such as school choice, school funding, affirmative action, standardized testing and the role and status of teachers’ unions come readily to mind. My doctoral advisor offered a suggestion that is consistent with academicizing, and has been helpful in navigating this pedagogical/ethical terrain. The suggestion goes like this: When presenting a position (especially one you intend to critique), always do so in the most favorable light. Sometimes referred to as “scholarly charity,” such an approach confers the benefit of skirting such logical fallacies as *straw man* and *ad Hominem* arguments.

A technique borrowed from empathic listening¹⁸ is also a valuable supplement to the implementation of such an approach. Namely, when presenting a position (be it John Dewey’s, E.D. Hirsch’s or David Berliner’s), the instructor would ask the individual (albeit figuratively) to whom the position is attributed, “Do I have that right?”¹⁹ The goal, then, is accuracy and its concomitant ethical component, fairness. While following such an approach is consistent with academicizing college teaching, Fish seems overly optimistic that this would eliminate the public censure and criticism lodged against college teaching. Ideologically committed critics and heresy hounds will invariably detect and identify examples of college teaching that they will object to. Recent history has shown that some critics of higher education are not above using selective and de-contextualized examples to support their attempt to expose the purported ethical and pedagogical “bankruptcy” of academia.²⁰

Adopting a practice of academicizing can, though, provide a solid ethical rationale from which college professors can operate with a clear conscience and with which they can also better defend themselves in the face of public criticism. Moreover, academicizing is consistent with the Schefflerian educational ideal that teaching involves submitting our claims to the rational judgment and appraisal of students.²¹ Rather than

FRIDLEY: STANLEY FISH'S CALL TO *ACADEMICIZE* COLLEGE TEACHING:
CAN AND SHOULD THE CALL BE HEEDED BY FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION PROFESSORS?

attempting to persuade students to follow a particular political or moral vision, teachers attempt to facilitate the acquisition of the pertinent information and the development of critical thinking skills that will empower and equip students to exercise independent judgment. This involves a sort of trust in the students to “make their own calls,” and humility on the part of the teacher to accept that on matters of opinion and judgment, equally reasonable and informed people can, and do, disagree. At the same time, however, such a teacher recognizes that not all opinions/value judgments are equally reasonable.

Self-Disclosure: for Teachers and Students

In a sense, Fish’s call for professors to academicize their teaching entails utilizing a “third person” approach rather than a “first person” strategy.²² In other words, in the course of classroom instruction, a professor is to present, examine and discuss with his students what others have said, done, and argued on a given matter, rather than proclaiming his personal ethical and political conclusions as the normative standard by which students’ work is assessed and toward which students are encouraged/pressured to move. Fish’s admonition alerts us to the educational dangers that can emerge when a professor becomes closely identified—in the students’ eyes—with a particular political vision. Among these dangers is the possibility that in such cases the student will encapsulate the teacher and thus inhibit the students’ thinking and critical appraisal of what a professor professes. This can occur when students agree with the professor’s position (“he’s one of us, what he says must be right”), and when students are opposed to the professor’s point of view (“he’s one of them, I can’t believe anything he says”). While acknowledging these examples are extremes, normative self-disclosure from professors creates the potential and at times the actual occurrence of such student reactions.

Furthermore, a professor that blatantly pursues a political agenda in his classroom may create a climate in which students seek to “tickle the ears” of the professor, parroting the professor’s views in order to secure a favorable grade. Such a situation falls short of an educational aim of fostering independent critical thought from students. For some time, now, it has bothered me that many of the assignments students are given in Foundations classes require that students disclose and defend their political and/or ethical positions (e.g., in personal philosophies of education, personal codes of ethics, personal mission statements and in position papers on educational policies). While Foundations classes utilize and apply concepts and tools of inquiry from the humanities and the social sciences to the study

of schooling, they are not identical with courses in the Humanities or Social Sciences, per se. That is, Foundations courses are typically part of an educational program intended to prepare practitioners (teachers and school administrators) to make informed decisions on the normative, political and ethical challenges they will inevitably face. However, this apparent practitioner/academic dichotomy does not seem to lessen the prudence or propriety of academicizing teaching in Foundations of Education classes. Rather, to the degree teaching is academicized it will serve to lessen the frequency of the sub-optimal educational scenarios depicted in the previous paragraph.

Additionally, and perhaps more important, academicizing our classroom instruction emphasizes teaching students *how to think* rather than *what to think*.

A Concluding Thought Experiment

While discussing this paper with a colleague (and fellow Fish reader), he opined that “when reading a master rhetorician like Fish you need to consider not only what he says, but also what he is trying to do.” With that suggestion in mind, the conclusion might be drawn that one of the things Fish is attempting to do is to bait those who would argue that college teaching should (and in some cases must) involve political advocacy and the pursuit of political agendas. If this is the case, then Fish has succeeded to a great extent, given the number of “confessions” from respondents to his blog. Once an academic who eschews academicizing admits that the classroom can and should be used as a platform to advance a particular political agenda then Fish has “caught” that academic. To illustrate how such a professor is “caught,” a little thought experiment using the Kantian ethical notion of universalizability seems appropriate. That is, if you feel the college classroom is an appropriate site to advance a progressive vision of social justice with particular political and ethical commitments on such issues as school choice, school funding, affirmative action and teachers’ unions (to name a few), then would you grant the same freedom to a professor who sought to use classroom instruction to advance a conservative political vision with conservative political commitments on these issues?

When kept at the level of a thought experiment, some might hedge, and in an attempt to salvage a degree of rational consistency admit they would allow such teaching. However, the proof is in the pudding at the practical level: for example in decisions on the hiring, tenure and promotion of academics in Foundations of Education departments. Finally, it may be that there is a paradox of sorts involved here. Namely, by adopting an academicizing approach to teaching (in which we

abandon attempts to advance a particular political agenda), those of us who hold a progressive political bent might be paradoxically pleased that academicizing our teaching might result in a more thorough realization of our political vision for schools and society than would the conscious attempt to “steer” students toward

our political vision. It would be interesting to receive feedback from fellow Foundations professors as they entertain this thought experiment and consider the possible paradoxical effect of academicizing college teaching in Foundations of Education classes.

ENDNOTES

1. Fish’s “Think Again” blog (<http://fish.blogs.nytimes.com/>) contains a ‘search’ option that can be used to locate blog entries on particular topics. In addition to the entries cited in this article, see also Stanley Fish, “George W. Bush and Melville’s Ahab; Discuss!” October 21, 2007: <http://fish.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/10/21/george-w-bush-and-melvilles-ahab-discuss/>
2. Stanley Fish, “Tip to Professors: Just Do Your Job,” October 22, 2006: <http://fish.blogs.nytimes.com/2006/10/22/tip-to-professors-just-do-your-job/>
3. Fish, “Job”
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Stanley Fish, “Always Academicize: My Response to the Responses,” November 5, 2006: <http://fish.blogs.nytimes.com/2006/11/05/always-academicize-my-response-to-the-responses/?scp=1&sq=Always%20Academicize&st=cse>
7. Fish, “Always Academicize”
8. Fish, “Job”
9. Ibid.
10. The quotes in this paragraph come from Fish, “Politics by Any Other Name,” May 2, 2006: <http://fish.blogs.nytimes.com/2006/05/02/politics-by-any-other-name/?scp=2&sq=politics%20by%20any%20other%20name&st=cse>
11. Fish, “Stop Me Before I Write More,” June 15, 2008: <http://fish.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/06/15/stop-me-before-i-write-more/>
12. Fish, “Stop Me”
13. Fish, “Always Academicize”
14. Fish, “Yet Once More: Political Correctness on Campus,” October 14, 2007: <http://fish.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/10/14/yet-once-more-political-correctness-on-campus/>
15. See, for example John H. Chambers, *The Achievement of Education: An Examination of Key Concepts in Educational Practice*. (New York: University Press of America, 1983), 34-46; M.A.B. Degenhardt, “Indoctrination” in *Philosophy and the Teacher*, ed. D.I. Lloyd (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), 19-30; Richard Pratte, *Philosophy of Education: Two Traditions*. (Springfield: Charles C Thomas, 1992), 182-194. My treatment will of *indoctrination* will draw from Pratte’s analysis.
16. This example to illustrate Pratte’s point is my own.
17. For an examination of self-deception in education, see William L. Fridley, “Playing with the Self: Self-Deception and Education,” *Philosophical Studies in Education* 35, 2004, 53—64.
18. The technique of empathic listening is most famously associated with the clinical and educational work of Carl Rogers.
19. I am reminded of the scene in *Annie Hall*, in which Woody Allen summons Marshall McLuhan to scold a pontificating professor (who is standing near Allen in a line to attend a movie) for his lack of understanding of his (McLuhan’s) work.

**FRIDLEY: STANLEY FISH'S CALL TO *ACADEMICIZE* COLLEGE TEACHING:
CAN AND SHOULD THE CALL BE HEHEDED BY FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION PROFESSORS?**

20. The work of Dinesh D'Souza and David Horowitz may serve as cases in point.
21. See Israel Scheffler, *Reason and Teaching*. (New York: Hackett Publishing, 1988).
22. For an examination of using "first, second and third person" approaches to moral education, see William L. Fridley, "First, Second and Third-Person in Moral Education and Classroom Management," *Philosophical Studies in Education* 34, 2003, 55-66.

THE PRAGMATIC PARADIGM: AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

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Introduction

Social and educational research has witnessed a competition between methodologies embodied in the differences between the two competing paradigms of quantitative and qualitative research. This dichotomy has resulted in the emergence of two research cultures, one based on rich observational data, and the other the virtues of hard, generalizable data.¹

The purpose of this essay is to propose pragmatism as an epistemological framework to underlay mixed-methods research. Onwuegbuzie and Leech have suggested that pragmatism has not been given due credit as a philosophical foundation for qualitative research.² Previous philosophical examinations of pragmatism have revealed it to be suitable for supporting mixed methods studies. However, such studies focused on methodological application rather than epistemological underpinning.³ What is needed is an understanding of pragmatic epistemology. An epistemological focus is essential in that the development of a given study's research questions, selection of methods, and analytical procedures should logically and linearly flow from the epistemological framework guiding the study.

A careful student of social science research will discover that some philosophical approaches are more tightly bound to particular research paradigms. Positivism and postpositivism, for example, tend to be closely aligned with quantitative research while interpretivism and phenomenology are associated with qualitative research.⁴ What is essential at this point is a philosophical approach that can bring qualitative and quantitative together in what is generally referred to as mixed methods research. There is a widespread perspective that social science research is still entrenched in a stage where scholars perceive qualitative and quantitative research as separate and competing paradigms.⁵ By representing educational research in exclusive terms of qualitative and quantitative we limit our ability to explore the third paradigm evident in mixed methods.⁶

In the realm of social and educational research, the trustworthiness and credibility of the epistemological stance adopted by the constructivists are brought into question due to the subjective inclination inherent in the qualitative paradigm.⁷ A dual epistemological thesis has been proposed by philosophers as a plausible strategy to appease the tug-

of-war between two rival research cultures, namely, the quantitative and qualitative methods. This proposed thesis posits that the two epistemological orientations can coexist to amplify knowledge diffusion in the realm of behavioral and social sciences.⁸ Proponents of this compatibility thesis point to pragmatism as an overarching paradigm for mixed-methods research.⁹ Nonetheless, this dual-epistemology unavoidably presents some potential challenges in the methodological sphere.¹⁰ The purpose of this essay is to propose pragmatism as an epistemological framework to underlay mixed-methods research, provide an overview of its general characteristics, and eventually to discuss its weaknesses.

Philosophical Background

The history of philosophy has witnessed controversial debates over the epistemic conception of knowledge, and contentions about its nature can be traced back through Western philosophy.¹¹ These debates over whether the concept of truth is universal, relative, or an amalgam of both extremes are still pertinent to our present understanding of the epistemology and methodology in social science research. Plato's and Socrates' universal truth, the Sophists' relative truth, and Aristotle's "golden mean" between the two extremes are today viewed, respectively, as quantitative approach, qualitative approach, and mixed methods approach to social research.¹²

With the advent of positivism as the prominent epistemological approach to social science research in the early nineteenth century, authentic knowledge was verified primarily by empirical sciences and systematic observations.¹³ The quantitative imperative of the positivistic philosophy has called for objectivity, time-free and context-free generalizations, rhetorical neutrality, and technicality of discourse.¹⁴ However, the limits of the positivistic tradition in social science research were rigorously criticized for its quantitative imperative, and the positivist approach was perceived to be epistemologically insufficient to address some social science problems.¹⁵ The emergence of postpositivism as a reaction to the positivist approach advocated the idea that empirical science is fallible and findings are likely to be imperfect because scientific interpretations as well as observations are subject to researcher bias.¹⁶

Seeking a Third Paradigm

Those who advance the idea of a third

paradigm emphasize epistemological similarities. A careful reading of social science research, and even casual conversations with researchers, will reveal the lines between the two paradigms are not so neatly drawn. Many qualitative researchers articulate that not all perceptions are equally accurate, and that some are indeed better or sounder than others. Likewise, many quantitative scholars readily admit that individual perception on the part of participants influences the findings of a study no matter how rigorously one may try to control for them. The acceptance of an independent reality is not incompatible with subscription to the notion that such reality cannot be perfectly known. If one accepts these conditions as the starting point for social science inquiry then paradigmatic differences between qualitative and quantitative research become less important. The important question then becomes what data collection methods and sources are useful in answering particular questions.

Since the field of mixed methods research is still evolving, inconsistencies and contentions about what constitutes a mixed-methods study frequently dominate the scene.¹⁷ Mixed methods research is broadly defined as “research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry.”¹⁸ In light of this definition, one might argue that the intricate facet of the mixed-methods approach relies on the way both strands (qualitative and quantitative) are interrelated.¹⁹ Hence, what actually comprises a mixed-methods approach is not a mere collection of two distinct methods of data analysis, one statistical and the other thematic, but rather a plausible methodology for integrating the findings of two complementary research paradigms in a single inquiry.²⁰

Epistemology, therefore, is an important aspect of pragmatism and how we form our beliefs about the world.²¹ It is only logical that we begin our understanding of how pragmatism can be useful through at the epistemological level. Before we can make methodological conclusions (which we leave for another paper) we must begin with a top-down approach which develops some conclusions about the nature of reality.

Experience is not expressed in terms of small discreet parts, but is instead expressed holistically. The best way to communicate meaning is to do so in a contextual and comparative manner. For example, our understanding of time is often expressed in empirical and discreet manners, such as seconds, hours, days and years. Our scientific understanding of time is also linear

in nature; we only experience the present and are forever moving forward, never back. How we experience time is another matter entirely. Our minds separate memory into loosely defined short and long term memory, and our memories are intertwined with other related experiences and perceptions. While we cannot travel into the future, we can anticipate future events, so our thought processes are not limited to just the present.

Emmanuel Kant’s views on epistemology considered the mind to be a continually active entity that processed incoming data and assimilated that data with past experiences. The implication is that the mind continually reinterprets meaning based on new input. This conclusion would have considerable impact on later thinkers such as John Dewey who made clear that knowledge could only be understood “in connection with considerations of time and temporal position.”²² The implications of such a statement go beyond the idea that knowledge is dependent on time, place and cultural circumstances. It also means that the search for knowledge is continual. If we are to follow the principles of Dewey and other pragmatists, then the aims of educational research should be to help practitioners make better decisions. If we also subscribe to the idea that the nature of meaning is deterministic and continually evolving, we must come to the logical conclusion that educational research is a continual process because it must constantly be revised based on the changing nature of the world.

A second important aspect of Kant’s philosophy in relation to pragmatism and epistemology is his account of how we cannot know things as they exist themselves independently in the world. Because our minds are presented with raw data that is then processed we can only understand our world in terms of perception rather than a purely objective reality. It is impossible for us to divorce our cognitive processes consisting of our past experiences from how we see the world.²³ For the qualitative researcher this means we cannot understand human experience without taking into account the subjective nature of meaning. Kant rejected the ancient Greek conclusion that an objective reality existed, yet he was equally uncomfortable the conclusion that nothing was knowable. For Kant, there ought to be a position somewhere between the two. His philosophical work sought to reconcile the two positions. Kant was the first philosopher to intelligently articulate the relationship between the senses and the mind.

The Empirical and the Rational

Our understanding of the world is the result of

a relationship between the senses and mind. The senses are responsible for sensory input and the mind interprets that input and constructs a coherent view of the world. It is important to emphasize that while the senses supply us with the data we use to understand the world, that data itself does not constitute our knowledge of the world. Our knowledge is the result of our cognitive processes. Cognitive processes are particularly important in the development of abstract concepts and relationships. When we see an aircraft in flight, we apprehend sensory data such as its appearance, movement, and sound. The data do not explain what an aircraft is, its relationship to the environment, or the principles of flight and physics that allow it to remain airborne. These more abstract principles are the result of the creative processes of the mind. While we take in sensory data, the mind also works on interpreting that data and organizing it into meaningful constructs and relationships.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty wrote extensively on epistemology and experience. He advocated that there could be no bracketing or distinction between the world and the mind because the two merged into a whole through perception. His approach to phenomenology was distinct from his predecessors in that he considered perception to be more than an intellectual process. Perception takes place at a variety of levels, it takes place bodily in our physical reactions to the world, and at the subconscious level at which we may not even be fully aware. Bodily and subconscious ways we interact with the world are very different from what we typically think of as perception. Our typical understanding of perception involves a period of reflection following an interaction in which we consciously process new information with past experiences and knowledge in order to make new meaning. The greater the extent of processing that goes into perception results in greater separation of the resulting perception from the immediacy of input that initiated the process.²⁴ For example, when we leave a building and emerge into bright sunlight our body quickly and unconsciously reacts by constricting our pupils to protect our eyes from the bright light. This reaction takes place without any conscious thought on our part, whether or not we note an awareness of the bright light. Contrast such a reaction with how we experience and process a political speech. We carefully listen to what is said, analyzing the speaker's strengths and weaknesses based on criteria such as delivery, logic, and comparison to our own values. Such reflection involves the use of complex cognitive processes, takes time to work through, and involves the use of language. All of these factors result in a separation of our perception from the immediacy of

the initial experience. Such factors distance us from our world, and result increasingly in the likelihood that people will interpret events differently.

William James took the ideas of Merleau-Ponty and connected them to pragmatism as an epistemological framework for social science inquiry in the holistic sense. James' pragmatism was intended to be a doorway to a variety of methods, giving preference to none in terms of their value aside from how they might be suitable to expand our understanding of specific social science questions.²⁵ James therefore suggested that paradigmatic differences could be brought together under a "paradigmatic umbrella."²⁶ Pragmatism understands inquiry, or the search for knowledge, to be a natural process of human existence.²⁷ Inquiry is initiated when circumstances result in some sense of uncertainty or lack of clarity. The next logical step is to determine what tools or methods can be applied to find an answer to that source of discomfort. Dewey suggested that methods of problem solving ought to be tied to the problem itself, rather than to competing paradigms. Such an emphasis emerges from pragmatism's emphasis on the practical rather than the theoretical.

An epistemological understanding of pragmatism demonstrates its suitability for understanding the social sciences.²⁸ Pragmatism emphasizes adapting and assimilating new knowledge. Rescher examined in particular detail how pragmatic epistemology can be used to develop "estimates" of the truth.²⁷ Rescher's view can be comparable to the idea of perception and how perception is an exercise of our conceptual abilities rather than just our senses.³⁰

Theory and Method

The methodological implication of contextually focused inquiry is that prediction is far less important than contextual meaning. Parmenides observed that "You cannot swim in the same river twice." Empirical studies, for example, examine the way an organization operates in the present and then try to arrive at some conclusions about predicting future events. The goal of such an investigation would be to understand meaning in that particular context.

This should not be understood to mean that mixed methods research or a pragmatic paradigm would be completely opposed to the idea of anticipating future behaviors based on contextual studies. It is important to keep in mind that conclusions about cultural meaning do not only have to withstand scrutiny about their soundness to explain past events, they sometimes must also be able to explain meaning that has yet to take place. While many researchers are suspicious of assertions that any set of natural laws divorced of

cultural influence, there is still a philosophical basis for some generalization in interpretive studies. Interpretive research can still come to some conclusions about commonalities or essence of meaning common across existence. One of the goals of such research is to describe particular actions or meanings that can be categorized into social principles that apply to multiple situations. It becomes important for the researcher to arrive at some implications that are relevant beyond just that one case. Such principles would not themselves be rigid and unchanging, but would continually be revised and adapted with the inclusion of new knowledge. The worth of the conclusions drawn from the study of different cases would depend less on the representativeness of those cases than on the rigorous application of data collection methods, analysis, and logical reasoning used to develop and express conclusions.

Theory takes on a very different role in pragmatic research than in empirical research. Empirical researchers are more interested in testing theory, while pragmatic researchers use theory as a way in which to help better understand the world.³¹ It must be admitted, however, that theory formation is more difficult than in empirical research because practice is still highly culturally connected. Such a high degree of cultural connection is both a strength and a weakness. Theoretical findings can have a high degree of soundness because of their contextual nature, though it becomes more difficult to apply them beyond their contextual origins. The more that theory moves toward the abstract, the more likely there is to be inconsistency in its application and disagreement among scholars about its validity.

Conclusion

In the pragmatic paradigm, social science researchers are not committed to only one research method or approach to solve a given problem; they are rather concerned with applying the most appropriate approach or even a mixture of methods that would better

address the problem in a real world situation.³² Early pragmatism “rejected the scientific notion that social inquiry was able to access the ‘truth’ about the real world solely by virtue of a single scientific method.”³³ Nevertheless, the significance of the inquiry is not embedded in the methods or designs applied by the investigators but rather in their eagerness to thoroughly understand the research problem at hand.³² Tashakkori and Teddlie argue that pragmatic researchers are “committed to the thorough study of the research problem, method is secondary to the question itself, and the underlying world view hardly enters the picture, except in the most abstract sense.”³⁵ Pragmatism provides investigators with a philosophical framework that embraces the integration of all methods (qualitative and quantitative methods, deductive and inductive logic, objective and subjective point of view) in order to come to a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem and eventually obtain credible results.³⁶ Hoshmand argues that “[t]he pragmatist view of science further points to the need for evaluating our research praxis so as to determine the relative merits of diverse inquiry approaches in the interest of making improvements.”³⁷

The limitations of a pragmatic approach are manifested primarily on the methodological level as an output of unresolved or problematic philosophical issues. For example, because a pragmatic paradigm calls for multiple types of data collection, it would be logical to expect that data collection could be quite extensive and time consuming. Another emergent problem would be challenges researchers would face in reconciling textual and numerical data into a holistic report. Very different types of data represent considerable challenges in the process of analysis and synthesis. The pragmatism of a multiparadigmatic study downplays theoretical and methodological rigidity and encourages “conceptual linkages” between different theoretical orientations to answer any problem relevant to social science.³⁸

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DUEMER AND ZEBIDI: THE PRAGMATIC PARADIGM: AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

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A MODEL FOR ANALYZING AND ADDRESSING ETHICAL ISSUES SUPPORTIVE OF A RESILIENT MORAL ARCHITECTURE: A MULTITHEORETICAL AND MULTICULTURAL APPROACH

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Introduction

In *Ethical Decision Making in School Administration: Leadership as Moral Architecture* (Wagner & Simpson, 2009), the authors present among a number of heuristic tools, including A Model for Analyzing and Addressing Ethical Issues Supportive of a Resilient Moral Architecture: A Multitheoretical and Multicultural Approach (Appendix A). This particular model is intended as a cue to prompt reflection on the part of practicing administrative practitioners.

In this essay, our focus is on raising seven questions from the perspective of an outsider to the field of moral deliberation with a bent toward critical theory. The seven questions proposed by our imaginary interlocutor are as follows:

- (1) How should the model be described?
- (2) What are the authors' intentions?
- (3) What is meant by the term *moral architecture*?
- (4) What are the authors' cautions regarding possible uses and abuses of the model?
- (5) What is meant by the claim that the model reflects sustained multitheoretical review?
- (6) In what ways does the model reflect the authors' transcultural commitments?
- (7) How might the model be made more robust?

Obviously, the authors are predisposed to favor this particular heuristic tool as they might be presumed to be favorably predisposed to evaluating many of the tools and prompts included in the book. The selection of the various prompts and tools exist because in our best reflective judgment they hopefully will make great pragmatic sense to practicing administrators. The model in addition to reflecting studied evaluation reflects as well one of the author's years of experience as a college administrator and the other author's service on the national ethics committee of the 40,000 member American Association of Public Administrators. In what follows we offer additional prompts for improving this particular tool in order to make it a more robust "one stop shopping" encounter offering productive recommendations for on the spot decision making. Our hope is that our engagement with the readership will lead to encounters allowing us to recommend further strategies for strengthening the utility of this particular tool.

Heuristics and Ethics

The authors' presentation of this heuristic device begins with a caveat: that they are not proposing

an algorithm for calculating solutions to every imaginable moral challenge. The whole idea behind the theory of heuristics of course is that heuristics serve as relatively effective prompts and recipes when time is short and an answer is demanded and when algorithms capable of cranking out certain or even relatively certain solutions are unavailable. Prompting cognitive review and evaluation of the application of any given moral theory requires sensitivity toward the merits and flaws in moral thinking of various kinds in context – dependent situations. Such context reflective perspective forces a transcultural insight into the moral evaluation process of the alert administrator. These prompts help the educational administrator reduce the likelihood of moral misjudgment and improve choices in building a healthy school or district moral architecture. The intent is to help educational leaders work with others to develop a reflective moral culture that is healthy, resilient, and elevating. Appendix A is intended to initiate responsible moral analyses of particular situations. It is not intended to inhibit or close-off relevant speculation and inquiry. The authors' template heuristic constitutes a strategy for finding considered alternatives and then solutions to ethical issues in transcultural fashion. It is distinctly not intended to bring closure to ethical dialogue and inquiry in general or even in the specific case at hand.

Utilization of this heuristic should lead to more exacting thought about ethical matters and thereby foster responsible and consistent decision making aimed at developing the school or district's moral architecture. The heuristic aims to reveal, in sweeping gesture, the many dimensions affecting an organization's moral architecture. The dimensions of moral architecture can be summed under three general metaphors of design and construction: foundation (e.g., basic moral commitments, including substantive and procedural matters), scaffolding (e.g., ethical principles, virtues, relationships), and skin or exterior aesthetic (e.g., organizational conventions, codes, courtesies, policies) (Wagner & Simpson, p. 107). These three spheres—foundation, scaffolding, and exterior aesthetic—can each be identified and examined apart from the others. The three are not intended to be trichotomous entities or conceptions. While separate and distinct, foundation, scaffolding and aesthetic skin is each integral to the others and each commingles at times in holistic fashion with the other two.

**SIMPSON AND WAGNER: A MODEL FOR ANALYZING AND ADDRESSING ETHICAL ISSUES SUPPORTIVE OF A
RESILIENT MORAL ARCHITECTURE: A MULTITHEORETICAL AND MULTICULTURAL APPROACH**

Appendix A promotes ethical reflection beyond apparent differences that sometimes compromise the consistent adherence to surface-level rules (aesthetic skin) alone. The intention behind Appendix A is to drive attention deeper towards substantive-level moral relations that schools need to consider (i.e., scaffolding and foundation). Too often there are surface level faux disputes that deeper thinking may help dissipate in productive ways. It is important to secure the integrity of a school or district community under the broad umbrella of a moral architecture in order to build a sense of community, security and well-being for all from top to bottom. Consequently not just any thinking protocol will do. Appendix A encourages thinking that burrows beneath the surface to uncover substantive, foundational values that may lead to grounds that are transparent and open to critique by all stakeholders (Zakheim, 2007).

In promoting use of the heuristic we caution against two temptations. One we have already mentioned, namely the temptation to use the model in a lockstep process. The heuristic isn't that powerful and cannot support such a burden. It is a cue to direct moral imagination and not a calculus for guaranteeing the apprehension of moral certainty. A second temptation is that of employing the model as a substitute for psychological or sociological theories of personal or group dynamics, stressful interactions, or group information processing. Moral architecture interfaces with these other dynamics but it is no more reducible to any one of them than is any one of them reducible to moral architecture. While social, psychological, economic and political dynamics are pertinent to many practical issues, much has already been written about each of them and together they are beyond the scope of this particular heuristic model. Appendix A is about the moral context in which administrative social dynamics take place and is limited to the morally relevant elements needing deliberative attention in such contexts.

A Heuristic Ethical Model

At this juncture, it is appropriate to provide a more focused description of the model. The model is sorted by its four captions—Reflections, Responsibilities, Interests, and Considerations. The first caption—Reflections—is the key one, the lynchpin of the heuristic. Responsibilities, Interests, and Considerations are contingent captions that clarify each of the ten subheadings under Reflections. The ten subheadings under Reflection are labeled Problem Identification, Problem Clarification, Moral Commitments, Data Collection, Theoretical Scan, Solution Construction, Consequences Considered, Solution Reconsideration, Action Plan, and Evaluation

Plan. Importantly, as noted previously, the ten subheadings under Reflection are not viewed as a lockstep process but, instead, are meant to be instrumental in reminding educational leaders of crucial components of ethical reflection. All bases must be tagged for moral decisions to be fully responsive to context and to be responsibly completed. The contingent captions—Responsibilities, Interests, and Considerations—are designed to note important concerns for each of the ten subheadings under the caption Reflection. For example, the first subheading, Problem Identification, under responsibilities identifies the need to talk with “relevant parties about their views and concerns.” Under the caption Interests, it is noted that there should be a concern to insure that “you and others understand the precise problems and issues of the parties involved.” The caption Considerations notes that the model’s lynchpin conception of Reflections entails “listening carefully to the parties involved so that their personal and cultural perspectives are understood.” Underscoring the model’s intended heuristic employment, readers are invited to “revise the table, adding cells or thoughts that ... [are especially] helpful when analyzing [certain] case studies” (Wagner & Simpson, pp. 151).

What Makes the Scope of this Particular Heuristic Model Both Multitheoretical and Multicultural? Multitheoretical?

The Claim that the model is multitheoretical needs to be viewed in the light of the purpose revealed in a volume titled grandly, *Ethical Decision Making in School Administration: Leadership as Moral Architecture*. In chapter 2, Moral Theory, the intention is to survey normative moral theory under six or seven major headings: virtue theory, moral realism, social contract, universalism, intuitionism, social sympathy, and pragmatism. This span of theories, however, is of course only the tip of the iceberg since every one of the headings could be subdivided again numerous times to reflect subtlety, different takes on this or that important detail. As it is, the exemplars discussed to illustrate the different heading are considerable in number and many represent revelations of contemporary empirical-based science only beginning to be noticed by authorities in education. In short, distinctive theoretical takes are exhibited by reference to prominent figures from around the globe and across the centuries and from the philosophy of biology, psychology and economics including: Al-Ghazali, Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, Axelrod, Benhabib, Bentham, Chen, Confucius, Cua, Dewey, Dugatkin, Hauser, Hellman, Hobbes, Hume, Kierkegaard, Lao Tzu, Laozi, MacIntyre, MacKinnon,

Mill, Moore, Noddings, Ortega y Gasset, Gilligan, Gutmann, Peterson, Plato, Putnam, Quine, Rapaport, Rawls, Scheffler, Sergiovanni, Sober, Sommers, Starratt, Strike, Taylor, Wilson, and Zagzebsk. There is a slight western slant to the thinkers represented in the survey. Some of this is due to space limitations, some may be due to the fact that Western thinkers have been more disputatious about moral matters than those in other parts of the world, and some of any slant may be due to the fact that it has only been in the Western World where morality has been made the subject of truly scientific investigation especially by biologists. Finally, some slight slant may also reflect the Wittgensteinian caveat that we know the world through the window of our language and our own form of life. Consequently, observations of other perspectives no matter how earnestly and openly considered may be unevenly compromised when reaching a final judgment about essential matters.

The authors intend however, that their backgrounds, selections, and the book's focus regarding multitheoretical frames of reference will be within the contextual framework of application by decision-makers ably employing the model. Parties with diverse backgrounds will engage all relevant stakeholders as prescribed in the Appendix A model and thereby avoid personal and cultural distractions in an effort to reach more universally accommodating differences. For example, as stakeholders share interests, sense of duty and obligation along with other concerns, they should find convergence on grounds for action. Through this process together with identification of relevant empirical data, the authors contend that schools can build a rich and elevating moral architecture, an architecture sufficiently robust to nurture what the authors call "the Great Conversation of Humankind" (Wagner & Simpson, p. xii; Wagner & Benevente, 2006).

Every person—student, staff, faculty, administrator, parent, guardian, and other stakeholders—brings a nascent if not sophisticated theoretical understanding which can enrich The Great Conversation. In this context, the educational leader's responsibility is to ensure that diverse ideas, opinions, and theories become carefully considered parts of "the Great Conversation." Any omission of sincere contributions by stakeholders makes the Great Conversation not so great. More accurately any omissions weaken the moral architecture and threaten the collapse of the Conversation itself.

What makes the model Multicultural?

In what ways is the model multicultural?—has been partially addressed in our cursory response to the previous question. That is to say, the multitheoretical

propositions and culturally articulated sympathies are sometimes intimately connected. To illustrate just a few possibilities, the cultures of moralists and specialists in ethical theorizing such as Al-Ghazali, Axelrod, Benhabib, Bentham, Confucius, Cua, Dewey, Dugatkin, Hauser, Kierkegaard, Lao Tzu, Laozi, MacIntyre, Noddings, Ortega y Gasset, Putnam, Quine, Rapaport, Rawls, Scheffler, Sober, Sommers, Taylor, Wilson, and Zagzebsk have all been influential but perhaps no more so than cultural icons such as Mother Theresa, Martin Luther King Jr., Mohandas Ghandi, and Florence Nightengale. No theoretician ever fully escapes the influence of her or his culture any more than any cultural icon is imprisoned by his or her surrounding culture. Consequently, cultures are neither completely determinative nor beyond legitimate criticism from within or without. Agency and responsibility, the authors contend, exist—however fragily and partially—in every purposive being.

In addition to an expansive range of representative cultural spokespersons the authors raise consciousness of relevant multicultural concerns via case studies and examples that are sprinkled throughout their work and in support of Appendix A: Additional Case Studies in Educational Leadership. Finally, the inclusion of certain codes of ethics—American Association of School Administrators Statement of Ethics for Educational Leaders, National Education Association Code of Ethics of the Education Profession, and National School Boards Association Code of Ethics for School Board Members—as appendices is also designed to inform multicultural dimensions of thinking and support ethical responsibility in schools and districts.

The model proposed in Appendix A, by its very nature, pulls together various multicultural perspectives. Specifically, the model encourages reflection on the contextualized relevance of such terms and phrases as *cultural perspectives*, *cultural information*, and *multicultural context*. Further reflection is prompted indirectly through linguistic analysis on context dependent words and expressions, such as: *offensiveness*, *causes of anger*, *relevant people*, *all parties*, *imagining with others*, *interpretations*, *more than one solution*, *thinking broadly*, *personal views*, *theories*, *ambiguities*, *nuances*, and *haziness*. Needless to say, the "A Model for Analyzing and Addressing Ethical Issues Supportive of a Resilient Moral Architecture: A Multitheoretical and *Multicultural Approach* [emphasis added]" is both a stimulus and a protocol inviting stakeholders to deliberate in ways that are generously liberating from ethnocentric perspectives of all kinds. Indeed, as has been suggested heretofore,

**SIMPSON AND WAGNER: A MODEL FOR ANALYZING AND ADDRESSING ETHICAL ISSUES SUPPORTIVE OF A
RESILIENT MORAL ARCHITECTURE: A MULTITHEORETICAL AND MULTICULTURAL APPROACH**

inviting stakeholders to participate in the Great Conversation at any level—whether about ethical problems or issues or other matters—naturally develops a moral architecture in schools and districts conducive to the educational mission at every level. And the openness of the Great Conversation develops institutional moral architecture and so each bootstraps on the development of the other.

Evaluating the Heuristic Ethical Model

We come now to question 6: What are the strengths and weaknesses of the model? In a variety of ways, the strengths of the model have already been made evident above. Stated more directly, the strengths of the model include both its explicit and implicit cues to think in multitheoretical and multicultural terms about ethical matters. Likewise, the caution against using the model as lockstep process is helpful not as an admission of weakness but as a feature highlighting human fallibility when engaging in especially fragile moral deliberations. The model fits the other-regarding thinking and contextual constraints of folks from every culture and ethnicity. In short, it exhibits a healthy flexibility for support of consensually emerging warrants in ethical decision-making.

To be quite frank, the weaknesses of the model are not yet as apparent—at least not to us—as they will become. Indeed every human artifact can be made better. A few weaknesses are obvious as they are in every endeavor of this kind of philosophical reasoning for example, given our goals and constraints of space, audience inclusion and so on we are limited on the specificity identifying every imaginable group with deep moral commitments. Because the model demands

openness and inclusion of all groups some may see this as a weakness since surely some groups ought not to be allowed to air their hateful intentions. Maybe so but we feel that any exclusion does nothing to put an end to hate but only drives the haters away from participation with others in the Great Conversation wherein the palpable unreasonableness of some positions can be identified and dealt with openly and without overt force or repression. If such openness is a weakness it is one under which we are willing to labor.

Keep in mind too that the model in Appendix A is just one of many heuristic tools available to the reader in the text at large. The model too may appear to stress the rational. Maybe so but what other practices are characteristic of contemplation? The model certainly does not dismiss intuition or emotion but rather features them as something to think about, to think about carefully and exhaustively. Again if this appears to some as a weakness it is again a weakness whose burden we gladly bear. Approached as a heuristic and not an algorithm Appendix A attends to the affective and critical realms of ethical inquiry as well as concepts of intuition and analysis. However, more might have been said of the psychology of moral emotions such as *caring*, *offensiveness*, *disgust* and *moral indignation*. In fact these are notions that need as much exposition in the educational literature as they have recently been receiving in the philosophical literature. When all is said and done we are confident that we have protected the positive and proactive themes of social justice in administrative practice as thoroughly as possible in any one written text and its accompanying heuristic models such as that discussed here at length as Appendix A.

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Appendix A

A Model for Analyzing & Addressing Ethical Issues Supportive of a Resilient Moral Architecture: A Multi-theoretical and Multi-cultural Approach

Reflections	Responsibilities	Interests	Considerations
Problem Identification	talking with relevant parties about their views and concerns	insuring that you and others understand the precise problems and issues of the parties involved	listening carefully to the parties involved so that their personal and cultural perspectives are understood
Problem Clarification	interacting again with relevant parties when there are ambiguities and uncertainties	insuring that key concepts and preliminary questions are clearly and fully answered	raising questions to make sure that all nuances, haziness, and conceptual confusions are understood or clarified
Moral Commitments	determining which moral principles or virtues—e.g., fairness, equity, freedom, caring—are linked to the situation	insuring that different people express their exact ethical concerns, e.g., harassment, dishonesty, offensiveness	discussing details to encourage involved parties to explicitly state the causes of their anger, hurt, or moral indignation
Data Collection	gathering cultural and empirical information, facts, and data that have a bearing on the issue	insuring that the facts and interpretations of them are as stated and have a relationship to the problem	pursuing all relevant facts and information from as many sources as needed
Theoretical Scan	scanning ethical theories and their subtypes for the insight they offer	insuring that relevant ethical considerations are used in reflection and practice	thinking broadly about the problem from diverse legal, policy and theoretical perspectives
Solutions Construction	working with others to construct the best possible hypothetical solutions in the multicultural context	insuring that the best solutions are discussed with relevant people	seeing if the collective wisdom leads to more than one practical solution to the challenge
Consequences Considered	imagining with others what the probable consequences of proposed solutions may be	insuring that the consequences of possible solutions on all parties are considered	examining both the potential positive and negative outcomes of perceived solutions
Solution Reconsideration	reconsidering previously proposed solutions in the light of probable outcomes and new information	insuring that the forthcoming plan of action is based on all relevant ethical considerations	rethinking plans in view of different perspectives, diverse peoples, and probable outcomes
Action Plan	deciding on a plan of action that will be guided by the ethical decision	insuring that a decision is acted on in an ethical and holistic manner with clear communication of the decision to all parties	making certain that the plan is understood as part of a broader moral architecture or school culture
Evaluation Plan	determining what went well in the process and outcome and what was learned for future similar situations	insuring that ethical decision making is seen as a community learning process that informs better decision making in the future	contributing to the ongoing thinking of staff about building a classroom, school, or district environment that is ethically informed and growing.

Source: *Ethical Decision Making in School Administration: Leadership as Moral Architecture* (Wagner & Simpson, Sage, 2009).

PRINCIPALS' EXPERIENCE, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AND LEADERSHIP PRACTICES AS PREDICTORS OF GEORGIA HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION TEST RESULTS

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Introduction

The growing public exposure to school and student success brought about by the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, signed into effect on January 8 2002, and its requirement that student achievement data be widely publicized has renewed the impetus for principals to become more focused on student achievement and become the instructional leaders in their schools. Most states have adopted student performance on standardized testing as one of the measures of student performance and the educational leadership literature provides ample evidence to support the premise that the principal, as an instructional leader, plays an important role in student academic success.

Any meaningful discussion of the principal's influence on student achievement must include an examination of the changing leadership roles of the principalship. Although the concept of the principal as school leader is hardly new, recent changes in the educational environment have caused principals to engage in multifaceted conceptualizations of the leadership process. As the principal's role in the educational process has shifted from manager to instructional leader, it has resulted in more and increasingly diverse responsibilities (Kimbrough & Burkett 1990).

Recent research indicates the role of the principal has become increasingly complex over time. For the past 20 years, increased demands have been placed on the position of principal, resulting in increased accountability (Copland 2001). In particular, the high school principalship is challenging for a variety of reasons. Added to the traditional duties of managing personnel, transportation, campus maintenance, discipline, and curriculum, today's principals are "increasingly responsible for shared decision making, decentralized budgeting, collaborative planning, and increased accountability" (Peterson 2001, p. 18). The 21st century has seen school safety, crisis management, understanding multicultural diversity, marketing, public relations, grantsmanship, data management, and technology added to the repertoire of leadership skills. Increasingly, the role of the principal as a multifaceted instructional leader has become of great importance. In order for students to be academically successful and perform at higher achievement levels, the schools must have a high-performing principal (Bottoms, O'Neil, Fry, & Hill 2003).

Conceptual Framework

Lipham (1964) divided the principal's responsibilities into two major functions, management and leadership. Leadership, as defined by Lipham, "is the force that motivates people to do things they would not ordinarily do" (p. 122). Hence, this leadership role of the principal involves motivating faculty and staff members to enhance the school's environment to provide a better opportunity for learning. The principal's role, as a manager, is to ensure that the school is operated efficiently. (Lipham). Managing the multifaceted responsibilities of the principalship often leaves a principal frustrated and feeling overwhelmed (Kimbrough & Burkett 1990). Hertling, (2001) describes a shortage of qualified applicants, a shortage which has intensified retention efforts across the nation. A 1998 study found a 42% turnover rate in the principal positions for the previous 10 years (Doud & Keller 1998). The shortage of principals in the near term is an additional concern. A 2001 report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in Washington, D.C., stated that 40% of all principals will retire between 2001 and 2011 while the number of principal positions will grow by 20% from 2003 through 2008 (Mitgang 2003).

A decline in the number of educators who are moving into the principalship serves to compound the situation. Gronn and Rawlings-Sanaie (2003) describe "leadership disengagement" and believe that it plays a major role in the number of available school leaders. This disengagement includes "intensified, expanded, and restructured work roles" along with "changing conceptions of professional identity and career commitment" (Gronn & Rawlings-Sanaie, p.11). The length of time a principal serves is, in part, based on the principal's ability to handle the myriad responsibilities placed upon the position (Richard 2000). An increasingly important dimension of the principal's leadership role is instructional. An effective instructional leader must possess a clearly defined knowledge of the instructional leadership process (Hallinger & McCary 1990). Increasingly important is the ability to identify and provide instructional professional development for faculty members (Fink & Resnick 2001).

The role of the principal as an instructional leader is widely discussed in the research literature. As an instructional leader, the principal must set goals, allocate resources for instruction, manage the

curriculum, examine lesson plans, supervise and evaluate the faculty (Flath 1989). The principal has been described as the person most able to provide the optimum synthesis of staff, resources, materials, and methods for student achievement (Chamberlin & Cole 1972).

Flath (1989) describes instructional leadership as the actions and behaviors a principal undertakes to promote growth in the learning of the students and that the principal can only improve the quality of instruction by making sure that it is the school's top priority (Flath). Sweeny (1982) found that certain activities, such as frequent evaluations of the student's progress, maintaining an orderly learning environment, and providing support to teachers, was the earmark of successful instructional leaders. Sweeny also found that effective principals placed their students' achievement at the top of their list of priorities. Goleman, Boyatzis, & McKee (2004) believe the leadership behaviors a principal chooses will have an impact on the work environment by inspiring or motivating others to excel. In a school setting, the leadership behaviors the principal employs can be the difference between achieving high levels of academic success or failure (Hay Group 2000).

In today's climate the academic achievement of the students has become the barometer for measuring success (Kimbrough & Burkett 1990). With changing parameters for measuring student success and new demands to assure the academic success of students, principals must refocus their priorities. Schiff (2002) has shown that principals agree that the most important part of their job is to create and maintain a school environment that is conducive to academic success. However findings indicated that in today's average 62 hour work week, the principal only spends approximately 23 hours working in the areas of school environment, teaching issues, and instructional leadership. (Schiff).

Those leaders who have been deemed as highly effective principals have common characteristics as good communicators, envisioners, facilitators, change agents, builders of school culture (Jacobs & Kritsonis 2006). The extent of the impact that principals have on academic achievement varies from study to study and can depend on many factors. Some of those factors examined in this study were the effect of the principal's leadership behavior on academic achievement, the effect of the principal's longevity on academic achievement, and the effects of principal efficacy on academic achievement.

Purpose

This study was conducted to determine if there is a

relationship between a principal's longevity in a school, total years experience as a principal, the principal's educational level, the principal's efficacy, the principal's leadership behavior as measured by Kouzes and Posner's LPI, and the scores of high school students as measured by the scores of first time test takers on the Georgia High School Graduation Test (GHSGT). Additionally, could these variables be used to predict student scores on the GHSGT in four sub-test areas?

Methodology

Data for this study were collected by surveying principals in Georgia's public high schools. Surveys were sent to 348 public high school principals in Georgia. No alternative schools, learning centers, juvenile discipline centers, or other alternative learning sites were chosen for the study since their student population is in constant change and these test scores should have been reported in their parent schools' reports. These 348 principals comprised the population of interest for the study. Of the 348 principals who received surveys, 107 were returned resulting in a participation rate of 30.7%.

Instrumentation

The GHSGT was chosen for the study because all students attending Georgia high schools must pass the four content areas of the GHSGT and the Georgia High School Writing Assessment (GHSWA) before they can receive a high school diploma. The test is taken for the first time by eleventh grade students. The GHSWA is taken in the fall with the remaining four content areas, English Language Arts, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies, taken in the spring of the eleventh grade year.

The Principal Demographic Information Questionnaire was a key aspect of this study. This questionnaire, designed by the researcher, consisted of seven questions that were used to gather pertinent background information on Georgia high school principals. The questionnaire provided demographic profiles on the participants which included their educational background, longevity in the principalship, longevity in their current school, and principal efficacy. The participants are asked to select answers which range from 1-Almost Never to 10- Almost Always. A copy of the Principal Demographic Information Questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2.

Principals were also asked to complete the Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI). The LPI is highly recognized in school leadership literature and possesses the appropriate psychometric properties (i.e., reliability and validity) to be used to determine the leadership behaviors exhibited by principals. Kouzes and Posner, the developers of the LPI, extended permission for the

use their survey in this study. The LPI is based on the study of leadership in both the private and public domain. A questionnaire can be considered reliable when it consistently measures what it is supposed to measure. The Leadership Practice Inventory is internally reliable (Kouzes & Posner 1997, p. 27), which means that each of the six statements under the five factors is highly correlated with each other and that the statements from each practice are more correlated with one another than they are with statements for the other practices. Kouzes and Posner also found that test scores remain generally consistent over time. This gives the LPI test-retest a high reliability rating.

Research Design

This study was a mixed-methods design utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methodology. This approach strengthened the validity of the results through a process referred to as triangulation (Frechtling & Westat 1997). The quantitative portion of the study consisted of collecting archival data on GHGST scores from the Georgia Department of Education. This archival data included all test scores for first time takers of the GHSGT for the 2005-2006 school year. The qualitative data used in the study were collected through the questionnaires sent to high school principals in Georgia. The questionnaires were designed to collect demographic data, principal efficacy, and principal leadership style as measured by Kouzes and Posner's LPI.

Data Collection and Analysis

Three data sources used for this study were collected from public high school principals using the Principal Demographic Information Survey, the Leadership Practices Inventory, and the Georgia Department of education website. GHSGT data for the 2005-2006 school year was taken from the Department of Education website's archival records. Surveys were sent to 348 public high school principals in Georgia. These 348 principals comprised the population for the study. Of the 348 principals sent surveys, 107 were returned resulting in a participation rate of 30.7%. The data were entered and analyzed using the Statistics Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Findings and Conclusions

The field of educational leadership is in transition. The debate over the No Child Left Behind legislation, state testing and accountability programs, and the leadership responsibilities of principals in improving student achievement appears to be influencing this transition. Principals are becoming more involved and more proficient in the areas of academic achievement and testing. The primary function of educational leaders

is rapidly being transformed from a managerial role to one emphasizing instructional leadership. With this rise in accountability and shift in responsibility over the past 16 years, the role of the principal as an instructional leader has arguably made the principal the most significant position in the school setting (Glasspool 2006).

The nine predictor variables used in this study were principal efficacy, total years experience as a principal, total years as principal at current school, the five LPI leadership behaviors, and the percentage of students receiving free/reduced lunch at participating schools. Of the nine predictor variables, the widest variation in the sample was found in the free and reduced lunch variable.

There were four dependent variables in the study. These were the English, math, science, and social studies sub-test scores on the GHGST. The mean score for the science sub-test was lower than the other three sub-tests. It also showed the most variance. When examining the five LPI leadership behaviors, modeling the way was the leadership practice most frequently reported, with a mean score of 54.1. Enabling others to act, with a mean score of 53.5 was the second most used behavior. Encouraging the heart followed with a mean score of 52.5. The mean score for inspiring a vision was 51.0 and challenging the process has a mean score of 50.7. These results seemed to indicate principals felt their strongest leadership behavior was modeling the way. Kouzes and Posner (2002) describe this behavior as setting examples of what is expected, ensuring that people adhere to standards, flowing through on promises and commitments, having a clear philosophy, and making progress toward goals.

It was important to review not only the results from the LPI for the sample in this study, but to investigate how those results compare to the large norm group of leaders who have previously completed the LPI. The study compared the data from the sample of 107 Georgia high school principals to Kouzes and Posner's LPI norm group of more than 100,000 principals from across the nation. This comparison is rank ordered from highest mean to lowest. It was interesting to note that in both the current sample and the norm group, *Modeling the Way* and *Enabling Others to Act* are ranked first and second, albeit in reverse order. The most interesting component of this rank ordering was the *Challenging the Process* practice. In the national norm group, this was the third most cited practice. However, in the Georgia sample this practice was the least common.

In examining the math sub-test scores for the GHSGT, there were three variables which affected

scores. These variables were the number of years a principal had at their current school, principal efficacy, and free and reduced lunch percentages. Principal efficacy and free and reduced lunch percentages were the two variables having the greatest impact on the GHSGT social studies scores. The variables most affecting the science scores for all participants were principal efficacy and free and reduced lunch percentages. Thus, principal efficacy and free and reduced lunch status were consistently statistically better predictors of student achievement in this sample.

While there is not a large body of research on the topic of principal efficacy, the results of the current study suggest there is a significant relationship between a principal's beliefs about his or her ability to influence student achievement and actual student achievement. However, the literature does seem to be in the nascent stages of focusing on this topic. In light of these findings and the findings from the current study, it is likely that principal efficacy will continue to be a fruitful topic when exploring ways principals impact the achievement of public school students. The extent of the impact principals have on academic achievement varies from study to study and can depend on many factors.

The results from the regression analysis indicated that the most significant variable affecting the GHSGT sub-tests was the free and reduced lunch percentages. The second most significant factor was principal efficacy. However, in examining the math sub-test scores for the GHSGT, there was a third variable which affected scores. That variable was the number of years a principal had served at their current school.

Thus, principal efficacy and free and reduced lunch status were consistently statistically better predictors of student achievement in this sample. Data from the regressions for the variables, principal leadership behaviors as measured by the LPI, principal longevity in the position at the same school, nor total years of experience as a principal indicated any meaningful significance as factors impacting student achievement.

It was interesting to note, in the sample population, the average longevity of principals at their current school site was 3.91 years. This statistic is particularly troubling given the general consensus in the literature regarding the amount of time it generally takes for effective change to occur in an organization. Hall and Hord (2001) reported that most meaningful change takes three to five years to occur. Given the short longevity of the administrators in the sample for this study, it would be difficult to implement educational interventions for the school, particularly those which affect student

achievement, and be around for a period long enough to assess and evaluate the results. This finding suggests that additional studies of the relationship of change and administrator longevity should be considered. This could be particularly important if a school needed to make improvements in curricula areas which had some hierarchical organization (i.e., mathematics). In fact, of the four state assessments reviewed in the current research, principal longevity was a statistically significant predictor of mathematics test results and was not statistically significant for language arts, social studies, or science.

Implications for Practice

The data analysis from this study has implications for several audiences. First, there are implications for Colleges of Education which house Educational Leadership programs. If, as the results from this study seem to indicate, the leadership behavior labeled by Kouzes and Posner's LPI as "challenging the process" is the behavior in which principals perceive themselves to be the least proficient, educational leadership programs in Georgia must better prepare leadership candidates to take risks, make informed decisions, and truly exhibit leadership skills in the face of the status quo. This implies that educational leadership programs should offer many more opportunities for leadership candidates to actually practice these skills in school settings before they are thrust into the position and have to develop these skills after their appointment to the position.

Another implication for educational leadership programs is that of carrying out research on the actual role of the principal as opposed to what that role ideally should be to assure that educational leadership programs address what principals actually are expected to do once they assume the position. This would involve working with school systems and practicing administrators to assure preparation programs are providing not only the knowledge base, but the actual on the job practice so desperately needed for success. School systems and school boards should examine their hiring and retention practices for principals in an effort to increase their longevity in the position.

The data from this study seem to support their belief as the average longevity of a principal in this study was 3.91 years in their current position. System and school boards should explore ways to make the job less stressful by working with principals on ways to share the work load among several people allowing the principal to focus primarily on the instructional leadership aspect of the position.

APPENDIX A

SIEGRIST, WEEKS, PATE, & MONETTI: PRINCIPALS' EXPERIENCE, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AND LEADERSHIP PRACTICES AS PREDICTORS OF GEORGIA HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION TEST RESULTS

PRINCIPAL DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SURVEY

Instructions: Please complete the questions below. The data collected from this questionnaire will only be reported in aggregate form, no individual results will be revealed. A four-digit school code on the back of the forms in your packet is utilized to keep data from a school site linked. By completing this questionnaire, you are agreeing to participate in this project and understand that you may stop at any time and will suffer no negative consequences for discontinuing your participation.

1. How many total years experience, as a principal, do you have?
2. How many years experience, as a principal, do you have at your current school?
3. What is your educational level? (Please check one answer)
 Masters Specialist Doctoral
4. How did you earn your highest degree? (Please check one answer)
 On-Line Traditional Classroom Format
5. Are you Male Female
6. What is your Ethnicity? African-American Asian-American Caucasian
 Hispanic Other

For question #7, please read the statement and then circle the number below it that best indicates your view:*

7. A principal impacts the graduation test results of high school students.
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|---|--------|--------------|--------|------------|-------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| Almost | Rarely | | Seldom | Occasionally | Fairly | Frequently | Very |
| Never | | | | | Often | | Often |

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RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE: ACCOMMODATION OR INCLUSION?

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Problem Statement

The default position of those who consider themselves progressives in the U.S. is for a secular state with a “wall of separation” between it and religion. The rhetoric of “church and state” is one that focuses us on institutions, and when that conception bleeds into the idea of religion, which is carried more in the person, we create very difficult problems for public discourse, as we shall see below. Similarly, “state” and “government” operate in two slightly different conceptual universes. Government in a democratic polity is permeable to the individual, while “the state” is more the official and institutional instrumentality of the public will. Confusing these concepts complicates the discussion about how policy questions are to be resolved.

The separation of church and state, or between religion and government, which is not quite the same thing, has been the policy, increasingly, since the 1947 decision in *Everson v Board of Education*, which stated in part:

Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions or prefer one religion over another.

The Court was considering a New Jersey law to bus children to religious schools. The Court ruled that the students could be bused at state expense, since the state was aiding the student, not the religious entity. However, the passage quoted above from the Court decision, which became the operative description of the presumptively required neutrality, became also the foundation upon which the oft-cited wall grew higher and more impervious over time.

Fairly quickly following *Everson* came *Engel v Vitale* (1962), which outlawed state-sponsored prayer in school.¹ Subsequently a series of challenges has limited religious practice in the public sphere.² The wall of separation has become an increasingly ubiquitous trope to describe the much more complex state of affairs required to satisfy the twin requirements of the Free Exercise and the Nonestablishment Clauses of the First Amendment. The social effect has been that the non-Christian and/or non-fundamentalist members of an increasingly religiously diverse polity began to gain fuller membership as citizens; the reverse of that effect has been that traditionally religious conservatives have felt correspondingly disenfranchised by the imposition of “secular humanism,” which they conceive as a quasi-religion. And this view is not entirely without warrant. I, following common usage and understanding, use “religion” as if it were clearly defined, but it is not. While there are several religions that we all recognize as such, it is difficult to extract from them

the general features that reliably distinguish them from other forms of beliefs and/or associations, including, but not exclusively, humanism (also known as secular humanism).

The opposition of traditionally religious people to policies that presume and realize a secular state is rooted in a rather straightforward reading of the First Amendment: if secular humanism is a religion, or even religion’s social-psychological-functional equivalent, the state has no warrant to favor it over Christianity or any other religion. The perception within the traditionalist-fundamentalist-evangelical³ community, is that the secular humanists are winning a religious war to impose their beliefs and remove more traditional piety from public spaces. From the viewpoint of secularists and more modernist religious traditions, as well as from the viewpoint of minority religions in the polity, this claim that Christians in the U.S. are the victims of discrimination is absurd on its face, but it is no less sincerely held, and has seriously toxic results on public discourse.

The issues are not restricted to symbolic practices like prayer in school or public displays of religious artifacts. The differences between the most fundamentalist evangelicals and the rest of the society, which is increasingly secular even when its members remain religious believers, transforms into political battles that have been for some time now described as a “culture war.”⁴ There are many ways these differences might cash out in policy agendas, but the paradigm cases have to do with sexuality, especially the questions of abortion and the status of citizens who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered (GLBT).

In each of these cases, the political question is framed around religious commitments. On abortion, the case is framed around the teaching of some religious sects that human life begins at the moment of conception and therefore deserves the full protection of the law from that moment. The same is true on the subject of civil rights for people who are GLBT, especially marriage. The “defense of marriage” is rooted in the Genesis story of Adam and Eve (“not Adam and Steve”); it is an attempt to keep the *civil* institution of marriage rooted in its *religious* traditions—marriage as a sacrament. On these sorts of topics, the voices we would normally consider progressive usually argue that religious reasons do not count in the public square. But there are some significant exceptions.

For example, Roman Catholic Cardinal Roger Mahoney, consistent with his reading of the Bible and with the social justice teachings of the Roman Church, came

out against proposed anti-immigration legislation in 2006 (Pomfret, 2006). Generally speaking, progressives welcomed *this* faith-based initiative. Similarly, Helen Prejean, Roman Catholic Sister of Saint Joseph, has been a hero of the anti death-penalty movement, another position that is generally perceived as progressive. Her motivation clearly is rooted in her Biblical faith in the sanctity of human life and the right of God alone to judge us. Similarly, when it was clear that President George Bush was on the verge of invading and occupying Iraq, it was the churches (including Bush's own United Methodist denomination) that presented virtually the only organized and outspoken opposition to the invasion. This, too, was rooted in religious conviction and teaching on the sanctity of life and the "just war" tradition in Christian teachings.

In a more general vein, evangelical and fundamentalist Christians are increasingly moved by their faith to support social justice in the form of better health care and more progressive tax policies (see, e.g., Carter, 2005; Wallis, 2005). Historically, of course, it is commonplace to point to the fact that the Civil Rights movement was largely led by ordained ministers. Also, the opposition to the Vietnam War disproportionately consisted of people of faith. Progressives found none of this participation in the public square, however motivated by that faith, inappropriate. There are two points to make in this regard: as a matter of consistency, progressives cannot have it both ways, but there is also no good reason to exclude religious reasons from public discourse about public policy.

The first point is simple: the public discourse that welcomes Cardinal Mahoney speaking out for justice on behalf of immigrants, but disallows religious reasons in the discussion of abortion, lacks integrity. If his view on immigration has weight in the public square despite being rooted in his religious belief, then his view on abortion deserves equal weight.

Moreover, the demand that religious motivation should not count in the public square, that religious people should learn to "talk secular" and give their reasons in secular terms, is neither reasonable nor possible in a democracy—not reasonable where people are entitled to full freedom of religious practice, and not possible where people are the government.

Religion and Politics Intertwined

An assumption behind the current public discourse about religion and democratic life seems to be that the wall of separation between church and state as described by Jefferson is somehow a fundament of democratic life. To the contrary, it is particularly in a democracy that such a complete separation is not possible in practice, even if it is in theory. This claim is counter to common wisdom, so it needs some explanation.

There is a paradox in the church-state question. The

paradox is generated in the first case by the language of the First Amendment, which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This seems simple enough, and it is easy enough to see why this has been read to place a wall between "Congress"⁵ and the practice of religion. However, when we consider the meaning of democratic governance, we see that the wall of separation metaphor creates impossible difficulties and paradoxes.

Consider that the twin prohibitions of the First Amendment, the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses as they are known, do not necessarily work in concert; what one person would consider free exercise another person would consider establishment. Which clause should receive priority depends on one's prior commitments about the "proper" relations between church and state.

Note also the debate about the precise meaning of "establishment": does this allow Government to prefer one religion in its policies without making it official? to provide financial support to one or more religions? to prefer religion in general over non religion? to favor Christian religions over non-Christian ones, the Abrahamic ones over others? All of these meanings have been defended at various times in various places by various persons, including members of the Supreme Court. And this does not even include the view, held by such as Justice Thomas, that the states are exempt from the First Amendment restraints, since the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to incorporate the Bill of Rights protections to the state level.

Even if such a wall of separation were clearly constitutionally required, it is not possible, at least not in a democracy. The foundational premise of democracy is that government is of, by, and for the people. When we view the goal as one of separation, the impossibility lies in this: free exercise means, if it means anything, that "the people" bring their moral commitments, including those derived from religious texts and/or traditions, into the public square with them. Thus, the first point: voters are people with moral and often religious commitments, and the Free Exercise Clause means the freedom to, among other things, vote and act in the public square according to the dictates of one's conscience. Religion enters the public square when believing members do so.

The second point follows from the first: public policy will often—and may always—be the expression of some moral and/or religious point of view. Nothing could be further from the truth than the old saw "You cannot legislate morality." Only the most trivial legislation is about anything but morality; the achievement of the dominant rhetoric of the modern age is that we have managed to make that fact not only invisible, but apparently wrong.⁶ Often policy is the expression of the

obligations on which a variety of moral/religious world views converge: “Thou Shalt Not Kill” is indeed a Biblical Commandment, but one that resonates in most, if not all, moral traditions. However, what counts as “killing” can be flexible, even within traditions, let alone between them: war, honor killings, revenge, and capital punishment all seem to violate the clear meaning of the commandment, somehow without rendering it completely meaningless within specific communities of practice.

We now come to the ideal of democracy as government *by* the people. It is here that the circle closes: if government is of and by the people, and if the people have freedom of religious exercise, and if that includes the right to bring the law into conformity with their deep moral commitments, then to speak of separation of church and state, of religion and politics, is an interesting and valuable heuristic that simply does not reflect the complexity of reality. And if the people do not have that right, then the freedom of religious exercise becomes rather thin.

Interpreting the “wall of separation” as requiring that religious commitments be left in the church, or at least outside the public square, creates a feeling of exclusion on the part of those told that their *political* positions are unworthy of consideration because of the *religious* motivation behind them. This has had the effect of making many religiously motivated voters, especially those with a fundamentalist-evangelical mindset, feel they have been excluded from the public square. Nor is this an unreasonable view of things. It is certainly not the view of the committed secularist, nor of those who believe somehow that religious belief and political action can be kept apart, but it is not unreasonable, and it is widely held among many deeply religious people. The effect, if not the purpose, of this wall of separation metaphor is to wall religion, or at least certain forms of religious belief, out of the public sphere and discourse, and to marginalize the members of those religious communities.

Attend to the fact that we need not *accept* our fellow-citizens’ reasons as *correct* or *true*; nor need we agree with their policy recommendations. Anticipating the discussion of public speech below, here I point to the lesser requirement that we listen to our fellow citizens and their *reasons* before we decide not to grant their policy desires. As Kunzman (2006) puts it, “The moral authority of difficult political deliberation depends on the inclusiveness of the discourse that precedes it” (84). What he wants us to see is that it is particularly important when a minority view is to be rejected that we listen closely and empathetically to their arguments and reasons before we make that decision. The importance is twofold: first there is a moral imperative on all citizens to treat all fellow citizens with this level of respect. Second, it is equally important for the practical reason that minorities are more likely to consent

to the majority decision if they feel that the decision was made with due respect.⁷

Redefining the Problem

In *Liberty of Conscience*, Martha Nussbaum (2008) suggests a way out of the current civic impasse, one that she believes not only offers some hope of constructing a less corrosive public discourse but also better reflects the intent of the founders. She argues that building a wall of separation between church and state was historically not the intent of the Constitution or the men who wrote it. In addition, framing the issue this way is counterproductive. Rather, the intent was to protect what Nussbaum, following Roger Williams, calls liberty of conscience, a notion rooted in the American colonial experience at least as deeply as the desire for some sort of theocracy. As Nussbaum develops her argument, the problem is not to keep church and state separated, but to protect the freedom of conscience of the members of both. That is, the question changes from, “What or whose views can be considered in the public sphere?” to, “What is the effect of a given proposed action on the liberty of individuals’ conscience?” This reframing will not make any difference to either fundamentalist evangelicals or fundamentalist secularists, but it might conceivably create common ground for those members of the polity who desire to find it.

So all citizens argue for some given policy on the grounds that it would or does make social life better in some way, “better” here ranging from “more satisfying to me” to “more pleasant,” to “morally superior,” to “God’s will.” When citizens for whom Biblical morality (or other scriptural authority) is paramount are told that their reasons do not matter, they become, in a rough but real sense, second-class citizens. They are told they must learn to “speak secular,”⁸ but there is no reciprocal responsibility. They are free to speak, but they know they will not be heard.

In the remainder of this paper, I want to consider the significance of “public speech” in the formation of a public and citizenship.

Citizenship and Public Speech

The significance of what Tom Green (1994) discussed as “public speech” is that it is through this sort of speech that a public is created. It was John Dewey (1927) who argued powerfully and convincingly that democracy, if it is to be meaningful, was based on the existence of a public. The essence of a public, according to Dewey, is that it is the members of the polity acting consciously in concert for the good of all; a public becomes a public as it identifies a common problem and seeks a common solution. “Common” here indicates that the problem affects the public—the “commons”—not just individuals. The practical question then is how a group of people, or even a

community, come to be constituted as a public. Green argues that a public is called into being by what he calls “public speech.” The importance of speech to the functioning of democratic governance is commonly enough recognized, but the emphasis is often on the responsibility of the speaker to communicate in a way that is persuasive.

Green points out that not just any speech made in public is public speech. He accepts that the intention of the speaker should be a public one. He also accepts that, consistent with the public function of the speech, the speech is performed in such a way that it is likely to be heard. But his point is that none of this is enough. Green’s point is that, after the speaker has done everything possible and required to perform public speech, the speech does not become *public* unless it is received in a certain way by the *hearers*. Green argues this on the grounds of what he calls “The Auditory Principle,” which says:

Public speech occurs when what A says is heard by B as a possible candidate for B’s speech. The principle points to hearing, in a certain way, as the font of public speech rather than any array of actions by the speaker (375).

The idea that B must listen to A’s speech as a “possible candidate for B’s speech” is one that takes a bit of explanation. It in no way suggests that B must agree with A. What it does require from the listener is a sincere and conscious effort by the listener to inhabit the perspective of the speaker. As Kunzman argues, the public must still make decisions, and some of those decisions will go against the wishes and/or interests of some members of the public. But what Green and Kunzman point out is democracy’s requirement for its citizens to take into account the reasons their fellow citizens wish to have certain policies enacted, not just the policies themselves.

Here, I want to consider another implication of Green’s thought: as speech heard in a certain way constitutes a “public,” being heard in a certain way constitutes a “citizen.” As he argues that the hearing of speech *in a certain way* calls a public⁹ into being, my point is that we do not become citizens by *speaking* in the public space; *it is by being heard in a certain way that I become a citizen*.

Here is another way to think of this: when I speak of *res publica*—literally, public things and the root of the word and concept, “republic”—I put forth a claim to citizenship. I thereby claim the affairs of the public as my affairs and the interests of the public as my interests. The reverse claim is also true—I *claim that my concerns should be of public interest*. Citizenship in a democratic republic is more than a legal status; it is an office. It is a claim to some honor. If you refuse to hear my speech as a candidate for your own because of my age, gender, race, religion or lack thereof, sexual orientation, or any other

constitutive feature of my identity (as you see me), then you deny me standing as a citizen. In a polity that is secular in the sense that reasons of faith are not reasons that count in the public sphere, people of faith have arguably been denied full citizenship. There is no need on the part of the majority to agree with faith-based arguments of a citizen, but there is a requirement to hear the argument and to take into account its importance to the citizen-speaker, who deserves consideration of her concerns, even—perhaps especially—if it is a minority view.

Dangers of Public Speech

While recognizing the significance of this line of reasoning, it is important to also recognize the danger in this line of argument. Conversation, whether public or private, take place according to certain social and cultural conventions about what counts as legitimate ways of speaking and/or reasoning. In any society, some members come by those conventions more easily than others, usually by virtue of their birth and social standing. There is, then, an existing discursive asymmetry, in which the more powerful are more than capable of taking advantage of the less powerful. The manipulation of working class voters by those whose policies can only be described as class warfare is a case in point. This is the point made above: we must try extra hard to hear the speech that is not congenial to our ears.

This asymmetry of power and its potential to pervert public speech and distort the public and democracy is the reason Dewey (1916) (and so many others) saw education for democracy as education in critical thinking. If the mass of citizens are to make democracy work on their behalf, then they must be able to recognize bullshit when they hear it. It is one thing to recognize that those in power are obligated to listen carefully and thoughtfully to their less powerful peers. But democracy will only work when those with less power have learned to take the perspective of those in power *and thereby recognize the way that the powerful manipulate the system to their advantage*. This is not to say that the rich and powerful are less virtuous or more evil than others, but that they are exactly like others, if with more power. That is, they, like everyone else, see the world from their perspective. We can understand their point of view and its apparent rationality from their perspective without buying into it. This is the power that listening in this serious way conveys.

A quite different way of recognizing the danger of the sort of public speech I am defending is that religion, once admitted to the public square, can create conditions that make compromise more difficult to reach than it might otherwise have been. Religion can tend toward a dogmatism and absolutism, and these are the antitheses of what public speech in the sense we are considering

requires. However, that need not be the result. Much depends again on ability to listen to our peers under conditions of the Auditory Principle: if I believed as A does, then I would advocate as A does. However, I do not believe as A does, but since I understand what it feels like to do so, perhaps that will lead me to be cautious about making laws that infringe on A's liberty of conscience, however wrong I believe its formation to be.

Thus it matters, not only how religious people carry their beliefs into the public square; it matters even more how those ideas are heard, both by those with different religious beliefs and those with none at all. What Nussbaum, Kunzman and Green seem to be offering us is the possibility that, by allowing religious beliefs their rightful place in the public discourse, but no more than that, their divisive power might be diffused. Their "rightful place" is properly determined not by the fact that they are religious beliefs, but by the fact that they are the beliefs of citizens. This properly gives them no more power than

other belief systems, but it also gives them no less.

Conclusion

Democracy is under threat in the U.S., in part from a collapse of civic discourse. This collapse has resulted in an anti-democratic discourse designed by at least some of its practitioners to dissolve the sense of a public. When we think there is no public, the public is eradicated. The condition of speechlessness around the topics of religion and/or world views has been and is corrosive to democratic life. If the democratic experiment is to have any chance to succeed, it is imperative that we learn to talk to each other, most specifically about those things that are most difficult to talk about. Religion today is the paradigm case of a conversation we seem unable either to have or to avoid. Learning to listen to each other differently, as citizens worthy of respect, may not resolve the difficulty we are having, but it seems unlikely to make things worse, and therefore is worth trying.

ENDNOTES

1. As this issue has become more politicized, the description of Engel has devolved to the shorthand claim that prayer in school has been prohibited. It is important to note that this is not what the Court decided, which was that the state could neither approve nor require prayer. It said nothing about the freedom of students to pray in school, which remains protected under the Free Exercise clause. For teachers, the situation is a bit more complicated, since they function in the school as officers of the state. They may pray, but unlike the students, their prayer is restricted to private prayer, while students may, for example, join hands in the cafeteria and say grace.

2. For example, prayer was prohibited at graduation ceremonies (*Lee v Weisman*, 1993) and at football games (*Santa Fe School District v Doe*, 2000), Bible reading was prohibited in schools (*Abington School District v Schempp*, 1963), and school districts were told they could not require inclusion of Creationism in the curriculum, though they could require the teaching of evolution (*Edwards v Aguillard*, 1987).

3. Naming is difficult here, as each of these terms—fundamentalist, traditional, and evangelical—has a slightly different meaning, and yet they are often enough used interchangeably, especially fundamentalist and evangelical. Further, Roman Catholic clerical leaders, though for most of U.S. history pariahs to the fundamentalist-evangelical complex (to whom they were "papists," not "Christians"), have increasingly allied themselves with the fundamentalist-evangelicals on social issues. This is a dramatic shift, as the inhabitants of these positions have historically been advocates for greater social justice. The Roman Catholics in the pews, in contrast to their leaders, remain more in the center of the culture wars, split roughly between modernity and traditionalism.

4. The term "culture war" comes to us from German history, actually, as it described Bismarck's efforts to centralize government against the power of the churches, especially the Roman Church. In the U.S. context, it was put in play first by James Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*, New York: Basic Books, 1991. The term entered the public awareness when Pat Buchanan spoke of culture wars at the 1992 Republican National Convention.

5. Later, the state and local governments were included in this prohibition by the Fourteenth Amendment.

6. Not only does the law legislate at least part of the moral domain, it is, itself, morally educative. See Mary Ann Glendon, *Rights Talk: The Impoverishment of Political Discourse* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), Ch. 4.

7. Of course, many in any minority will feel disrespected if their views are not adopted, but some number will be, if the respect is manifest enough. In any event, this does not relieve the majority from the moral obligation to have and manifest this respect for their fellow-citizens.

8. This is explicitly stated in the currently controlling Supreme Court decision in *Lemon v Kurtzman*.

9. Referring to “a public” rather than “the public” recognizes that there are many publics and many more possible publics, many of which are overlapping, and that we typically hold membership in many of them at the same time.

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POWER, THE MEANING OF SUBJECTIVITY, AND PUBLIC EDUCATION ABOUT FIBROMYALGIA

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“Losing control of oneself is to a large degree synonymous with losing control of, or having no control over, one’s body. In scientific and medical discourse in particular, it is quintessentially a feminine rather than masculine trait...” (Margrit Shildrick 1997, 26).

Introduction

One of the primary sources of public education about pain is the newspaper. On January 14 the *New York Times* published a controversial article about fibromyalgia entitled, “Drug Approved. Is Disease Real?” (Berenson 2008). Reporter Alex Berenson attempted to present a balanced article by describing the newly approved drug Lyrica as a potential boon to fibromyalgia patients, who need pain relief, or merely a potential boon to drug companies since fibromyalgia may not be a real disease. He interviewed both “advocacy groups and doctors who treat fibromyalgia” and three doctors who expressed doubt about the legitimacy of the disease. The three physicians who treat patients with fibromyalgia were carefully identified as persons with relationships to the drug companies. The skeptics, on the other hand, were characterized as persons who could afford to be more neutral, since they did not have relationships with the companies that provide medication for fibromyalgia patients. According to the reporter, as far as the skeptics are concerned, “vague complaints of chronic pain do not add up to a disease.” Rather, the problem is just one of maladaptive coping and attitude by mostly “middle-aged women.”

Not surprisingly, many patients, as well as medical and nursing professionals wrote to the *Times*, to express their dismay (Disease or not, the pain is very real 2008). On their website, the National Fibromyalgia Association reprinted these and a number of letters that did not make it into the *Times* (Responses to the New York Times article 2008). A common response to the article was that the view represented by the doubters was “out-of-date,” that fibromyalgia would not be recognized as a disorder by so many different government health institutions and medical organizations if it were just an imaginary disease. Others zeroed in on the relevance of the concept of subjectivity. Drs. Robert Bennett and Kim Dupree Jones exclaimed:

The subtitle “some doctors dispute the existence of a pain” is especially duplicitous. One does not have to be a doctor to know that pain is “real,” even if it doesn’t show up in an imaging study or blood test. Pain is always a subjective sensation, whatever its cause. Do those doctors who question the reality of pain without a diagnostic test also dismiss the reality of headaches or menstrual cramps? (Bennett and Jones 2008)

In his ChronicPainConnection.com blog, Will Rowe, Executive Director of the American Pain Foundation echoed the centrality of subjectivity. He noted that one root of the fibromyalgia controversy “... is the deeply embedded complex belief and bias in the medical community that since pain cannot be objectively or materially measured or witnessed, or connected to some observable tissue damage, it is somehow a fabrication of an unstable mind” (Rowe 2008). What Rowe is referring to here is the failure of the specificity theory of pain, which was an attempt to tie particular tissue injuries with particular amounts and kinds of pain. If it could have been accomplished, this would have meant continued physician or nurse ownership and control of pain. Patients had pain or a certain amount of pain only if the doctor or nurse said they did. However, in 1994, the International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP) tried to create a definition of pain which said that patients should be believed if they say that they are in pain, thereby returning the ownership and control of pain back to the patients (International Association for the Study of Pain 1994). However, I will argue, by removing the necessity of tissue damage and by saying that, without tissue damage, the cause is “psychological,” the IASP essentially left medical professionals in control. In other words, it is up to medical professionals to decide

1. what data will count as physical reasons for pain,
2. how hard they need to look for this data,
3. when they will and will not find measurement of pain possible or useful.

Moreover, the medical professionals have taken ownership of the psychological part of pain; they have attempted to retain the social authority to decide

1. what part of pain is psychological,
2. what to measure, and
3. how to measure patient attitudes or coping strategies that might affect either the amount of or the very existence of “real pain.”

This matters to women because a large proportion of the research on pain in women has to do with measuring and analyzing characteristics of patients which make them more likely to have pain, report pain, or be intolerant of pain than men.

Physical Reasons for Pain

According to the IASP definition, pain is “an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage, or described in

terms of such damage.” The definition goes on to say this: Many people report pain in the absence of tissue damage or any likely pathophysiological cause; usually this happens for psychological reasons. There is usually no way to distinguish their experience from that due to tissue damage if we take the subjective report. If they regard their experience as pain and if they report it in the same ways as pain caused by tissue damage, it should be accepted as pain.

(International Association for the Study of Pain 1994)

Although pain is described as an experience, there seems to be an agreement that some of the objectivity could be retained if patients used a number to describe their pain. The primary method for determining if one method of pain control works over another is to ask patients to indicate on a scale of 1-10 how much pain they are experiencing. For example, in a 2004 study of pain control for breast biopsies (Dilger et al. 2004), all patients were given local anesthetic, and all were also given either Remifentanyl or Alfentanil by intravenous injection. Both of these drugs provided sedation and analgesia. During the procedure, both groups of subjects were given “rescue doses” (22) of opioids, as needed. And yet, during the “deep tissue dissection” part of the procedure, the average pain score for Remifentanyl was 2.3 ± 3.0 , while the average score for Alfentanil was 4.3 ± 3.1 . The authors of this study took the measurements seriously, suggesting that Remifentanyl is more effective for this procedure. The same is true about studies on providing better pain control for cervical biopsies. In addition, over the last 15 years, much progress has been made in the treatment of post-operative pain (Leykin, Pellis, and Ambrosio 2007), one of the areas in which hopes for the specificity theory had been highest (Burbick 1994; Pernick 1985).

While pain during and right after surgery seems fairly straightforward, another kind of pain—chronic postsurgical pain (CPSP)—is another matter. It turns out that, following surgery, nerves right next to the incisional injury may create what is called “primary hyperalgesia,” whereas nerves some distance from the incisional injury may create “secondary hyperalgesia” (Lavand'homme 2006). The primary hyperalgesia is caused by the releasing of a number of different chemicals affecting nociceptors at the site of the injury; in secondary hyperalgesia, something changes in the central nervous system, such that pain occurs in uninjured tissue surrounding or even at some distance from the wound. In both cases, when the surgeon looks at the scar weeks later, even though there is an explanation in literature about what has happened, a physician may choose to say that a patient complaining of pain (even if the patient is cooperating by giving a number to the pain) is doing so for psychological reasons. There is no blood or imaging

test that could prove that the patient’s pain has a physical cause; in fact, the damage to the central nervous system may not count as the “tissue damage” described in the IASP definition as necessary to overcome the suspicion of “psychological reasons.”

The same sort of difference in focus or difference in what to count as data occurs with other kinds of pain for which there is no blood or imaging test. For example, take fibromyalgia. A number of chemical and blood flow differences can be found in these patients under research conditions. Dell notes, for example, that a growth hormone “important in the overnight repair of microtraumatic muscle injuries” (Dell 2007) is secreted in low levels in FM patients, which would be understandable since this hormone is secreted during deep sleep and FM patients get little of this (62). So, when reporter Berenson says, “No biological tests exist to diagnose fibromyalgia” (Berenson 2008) he may imply that no research like the growth hormone research has been done, or he may be saying that it doesn’t count somehow. The same is true with the information about brain scans. Berenson says, “Dr. Clauw said that brain scans of people who have fibromyalgia reveal differences in the way they process pain, although the doctors acknowledge that they cannot determine who will report having fibromyalgia by looking at a scan.” Even though the IASP definition seems to reject specificity, Berenson’s last clause appears to insist upon specificity. Much depends upon how physicians use the research that has been done.

Psychological Reasons for Pain

The Joint Commission for the Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations (JCAHO) developed guidelines in 2000 and 2001, regarding the regular assessment and relief of pain, which included education not only of professionals, but also of patients and families about taking pain seriously. Patients’ rights included the right to be listened to and the right to be involved in the planning of pain management. Patients’ responsibilities included giving truthful information about their pain, telling about pain right away, and telling caregivers if the pain control was not working (American Pain Foundation; Adamski 2001). However, such education for patients and families may not prepare them for the extent to which professional caregivers will be in charge of establishing the status and character of the psychological dimension of their pain and pain reports. Let’s take surgery patients, for example. Some physicians or nurses caring for surgical patients may be convinced that patients’ own attitudes and coping skills are most important. Pain may be mistaken, they say, for fear or anxiety; or pain may be unreasonably intensified by anxiety or by a coping strategy called *catastrophizing*. “Catastrophizing has been defined as an exaggerated negative orientation to aversive stimuli that involves

rumination about painful sensations, magnification of the threat value of the painful stimulus, and perceived inability to control pain” (Granot and Ferber 2005:439). And, it turns out that most of those getting a high score on the 13-item Catastrophizing Pain Scale (Sullivan, Bishop, and Pivik 1995) are women. The idea is that, if patients didn’t exaggerate their pain, if they didn’t focus on it, and if they didn’t act so helpless, they would have less pain. What has happened here, according to Frank and Jones, is that people are classified in terms of where they fall on a continuum. “In such classifications, what Foucault calls the ‘specification of individuals,’ behavior that was previously understood as one form of action from among a range of possible actions is redefined as the essence of the person. As a medical model comes to dominate social thought, actions are, consequently, treated as symptoms” (181).

A number of studies have looked at the relationship between catastrophizing and surgical pain. Seeing this study, physicians, psychologists, and nurses have the power to choose whether they will see the solution as

1. teaching patients through cognitive therapy before surgery how not to catastrophize, or
2. providing better anesthesia and postoperative medication.

The same kind of situation exists for fibromyalgia. The antidote to the helplessness of catastrophizing by FM or other chronic pain patients is education in self-efficacy, according to some researchers and therapists ((Miller and Newton 2006; Sullivan et al. 2007; Clarke and Iphofen 2007; Nelson and Tucker 2006). But the self-efficacy these professionals are talking about means developing the coping and self-help skills to be successfully compliant with the prescription just to get on with their lives—the way men do. According to Miller and Newton, women do less well than men in tests of pain tolerance because women prefer a communal approach to coping, rather than keeping the misery to themselves. Because women are

more willing to talk about their pain, they are interpreted as less autonomous, thus, abnormal. Clarke and Iphofen studied “why some patients with chronic pain can accept pain management and other relentlessly seek a cure that is frequently not possible” (102). According to the norm they set up (103), “‘Managing’ the pain to enable a person to continue with life as normally as possible is the treatment option of choice” (Clarke and Iphofen 2007). But what the professionals are talking about here is the treatment of *their* choice. In contrast, an autoethnographer (Neville-Jan 2003) with chronic pain said, “I will never stop searching for a cure or trying new treatments despite being told to accept the reality of my pain and to learn to cope with it” (92). She understands self-efficacy in a totally different way; she is taking charge of her life by trying to find the cause of her pain so that it can be reduced. Likewise, though some decry what they see as female FM patients’ over-utilization of healthcare resources, others (Berkley 1998) see the opposite: “Thus, females make more aggressive and effective use than males of various coping strategies, healthcare facilities and social support services” (¶3).

Conclusion

The New York Times article with which this article began is a reflection of the continuing influence of the IASP definition of pain and of the differences within the medical field about how to respond to that definition. As Kristi Malterud has said (p. 283), “A medical diagnosis is seldom a biological fact, but commonly the outcome of a process in which biological, cultural and social elements are interwoven through interaction and language” (Malterud 1999), and, according to Gadow (1996), this can represent “oppression” (39). Therefore, *New York Times* reporter Alex Berenson missed the boat when he tried to characterize the acceptance of a new fibromyalgia drug as merely an issue of economics, sentimentality, or maladaptive coping ability. The challenge is to work against this view in the arena of public pain education.

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CUNNINGHAM: POWER, THE MEANING OF SUBJECTIVITY, AND PUBLIC EDUCATION ABOUT FIBROMYALGIA

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SOCIALIZATION TO OBEDIENCE: LEVELS OF ADHERENCE AS DETERMINED BY “BROAD” AND “NARROW” PARENTING STYLES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN REARED WITHIN STRICTER BRANCHES OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

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Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. – Ephesians 6:1

Introduction

In a Bible concordance, obedience is defined as *submission to authority*² and variations of obedience appear in the Bible more than 150 times (Denig 2008). There are many ways that people are commanded to obedience in the Bible, several of which include obedience of children to parents (referenced above), obedience of wives to husbands,³ and obedience of humans to God’s commandments.⁴ Dewey (1959, 5-7) cautions that the challenge of authority lies in balancing it with individual freedoms. While authority is necessary for social stability and functioning, it must be flexible enough to allow for emergence of “new beliefs and new modes of human association.” And it must permit individuals to engage in the “processes of living (life’s) vicissitudes and uncertainties.” So the degree to which one is permitted to vary from authority (the inverse of the level to which one is expected to obey) is related to the degree to which one experiences individual freedoms.⁵

This paper will examine child socialization to obedience as well as religious socialization to obedience, through parents’ broad or narrow socialization styles. My assumption before researching the subject was that a narrow form of child socialization, particularly that found within fundamentalist and biblical literalist Protestant traditions,⁶ would result in fewer individual freedoms for children in terms of autonomy and self-directedness. The paper also considers gender and other contextual differences related to child socialization. Again, my expectation was to find that daughters are more strictly socialized, and in particular daughters reared within some Protestant traditions, and thus would experience fewer individual freedoms. Finally, these considerations will be addressed in terms of their educational implications.

Socialization in General

Individualism is one of the primary cultural values in America, particularly within its majority group (Xiao 1999, 643). Arnett (1995, 623) argues that the cultural belief system forms the foundation for all other forms of socialization within a society. This means that many of the socialization practices in the U.S. are rooted in the notion of individualism. Arnett defines cultural belief system as the “system of norms and moral standards of a society, the standards of right and wrong, good and bad, which in turn set expectations for behaviors” (Arnett 1995, 623). One of

the key functions of education is to transmit cultural norms, including individualism, in such a way that children internalize them over time and come to accept them as ‘good’ and ‘right’ (Wikipedia 2008; Feldman 2003, 49; Arnett 1995, 618).

Another function of socialization is to prepare individuals to occupy certain roles in society including gender, occupational and institutional roles (Arnett 1995, 618). In this way, socialization serves as the “process by which people learn the culture and social skills of the society and of their particular social location” (Damarin 2003). This view works toward social stability and, some argue, is primarily accomplished through a hidden social curriculum, one that is “subtler, but nonetheless powerful” in indoctrinating people to the wider society and to their roles within it (Wikipedia 2008).

Child socialization in particular includes children learning roles in the family, with peers, and in schools. It also includes learning gendered roles as well as roles based on such locations as social class, and racial or ethnic identities (Darling et al 2007, 298). Darling et al (2007, 298) maintain that “effective parental monitoring of youth behavior” is a key component of parents’ socialization efforts. The level to which children are permitted individual freedoms is inversely related to the degree to which parents monitor their behavior.

Finally, a philosopher of education recently described socialization as a “journey from nature to culture;” from being “creatures of nature to inhabitants of human culture” (Roland Martin, 2008). In other words, we (as selves) are continually socially emerging and constituted beings (Hoffman 2003, 197). Socialization is both an individual and cultural process in that individuals are shaped by culture and, in turn, shape culture. Individuals and culture interrelate and reinforce one another.

Socializing Agents

Greek philosopher Socrates (469-399 BC) is credited with saying that children in his time “love luxury ... have bad manners, contempt for authority, (and) they show disrespect to their elders” (Google Answers 2008). Fifteen hundred years later, Catholic priest Peter the Hermit questioned the young people of his day who, argued Peter, “think of nothing but themselves” and have “no reverence for parents or old age” (Google Answers 2008). Similar sentiments could easily be found about the youth of today,

STROUD: SOCIALIZATION TO OBEDIENCE: LEVELS OF ADHERENCE AS DETERMINED BY “BROAD” AND “NARROW” PARENTING STYLES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN REARED WITHIN STRICTER BRANCHES OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

implying that children’s respect toward authority is a perennial problem of generations. Part of the way our society ensures child respect for and compliance to authority is to socialize them to obedience.⁷

Beginning in early childhood, and enduring throughout life, individuals are continuously socialized by countless educational agents that work everywhere and at all times in society, overlapping and reinforcing each other. According to Talcott Parsons (as cited in Hoffman 2003, 194):

We must not forget that the nuclear family is *never*, most certainly not in the American case, an independent society, but a small and highly differentiated subsystem of a society ... First the parents, as socializing agents, occupy not merely their familial roles, but these articulate, i.e., interpenetrate, with their roles in other structures of the society.... Secondly, the child is never socialized only for and into his family of orientation, but into structures which extend beyond the family, though interpenetrating with it.

Arguably, each of these socializing agents, which include family, churches, schools, peers, playgrounds, etc., are involved in socializing children to obedience. Schooling, for example, requires children to recognize the school’s authority including teachers, administrators and other adults working in supporting roles within school systems. Children also are expected to obey school rules and practices.⁸

Typically, parents are considered the primary socializing agents for children, particularly when they are young. Ferrari and Olivette (1999, 88) hold that parents contribute to the socialization of youth by influencing their development of autonomy and pro-social values. To this end, there are two “global dimensions” of parenting (i.e., parenting styles) that often appear in the literature – “broad” and “narrow” (McGroder 2000, 752; Arnett 1995).⁹ Because the U.S. emphasizes individualism, child socialization in general tends to be broad (Arnett 1995, 622; Xiao 1999, 650). There are, however, subgroups that tend toward the narrow style. These are discussed below.

Parenting Styles

It is important to note that the “broad” and “narrow” descriptors are not meant to imply value judgments. There are advantages and disadvantages to both styles. It also is important to keep in mind that while parents may generally fall into one category or the other, particular circumstances might lead them to exercise a different style.

Individuals with a *broad parenting style* tend to value autonomy over conformity, and are more apt to encourage their children to be independent (Xiao 1999, 641). These

parents make less explicit rules and fewer parent-unilateral decisions, and are more likely to permit a broad range of behavioral variance with their children (Smetana 2000, 1679; Xiao 2000, 798; Xiao 1999, 649). They are considered *authoritative* versus authoritarian, in that they exert control but encourage children to strive for autonomy. In other words, these parents establish expectations; however, they are more flexible when considering their child’s need for self-expression and/or self-direction. It bears noting that while these parents value child autonomy over social conformity, at the same time they value social stability (Feldman 2003, 50). The advantages for children of these parents include exposure to a greater range of possibilities and more personal freedoms. They also are more likely to develop self-assuredness, self-reliance, and assertiveness (Ferrari and Olivette 1994, 90). The disadvantages include being more vulnerable to peer influences (and by extension susceptible to social problems) because the children are “less tightly embraced within the environment of the family” (Arnett 1995, 620/624).

Individuals with a *narrow parenting style* tend to value conformity over autonomy, and are more likely to command obedience from their children (Xiao 1999, 641). These parents make more explicit rules and more parent-unilateral decisions; and discourage their children from deviating from a more narrow range of variance for behavior (Smetana 2000, 1679; Xiao 2000, 798; Xiao 1999, 641/649). They are considered *authoritarian* versus authoritative in that they are “more forceful, overbearing, and highly controlling” of their children (Ferrari and Olivette 1994, 90). The more narrow the parenting style, the more restricted are the individual freedoms of their children. The advantages for children of these parents include a higher level of social integration, community and social order (Arnett 1995, 624). The disadvantages include greater repressiveness and suppression of imagination (Arnett 1995, 624) as well as less confidence and less self-worth (Ferrari and Olivette 1994, 90).

Contextual Differences

Socialization is accomplished in part by one’s cultural context; that is, class, race, gender, religious affiliation, immigrant status, etc. There is debate in the literature about how best to describe parenting styles within these contexts primarily because the predominant model for “good” parenting has been premised upon Caucasian, middle-class, two-parent families. This model does not always work outside of this context.

When considering *class differences*, higher socioeconomic status is correlated with authoritative parenting (broad socialization) (Xiao 2000, 785; Smetana

2000, 1683) while lower is associated with authoritarian parenting (narrow socialization) (Arnett 1995, 624). Thus, middle-class and upper-class families are more likely to emphasize autonomy and independence in their children while working-class and poor families are more likely to stress obedience and conformity (Sonkin McElhaney and Allen 2001; Xiao 1999, 641; Xiao 2000, 785/793).¹⁰ This may in part reflect the professions of upper and lower class statuses. For example, individual initiative (autonomy) is generally highly valued in white-collar professions while rule-following (conformity) is valued in blue-collar ones. Youth from upper income families, then, are more likely to enjoy personal autonomy than are youth from lower income families.¹¹ Additionally, research suggests that one's class may affect socialization as much or more than race. Studies have shown that when African American families ascend into the middle-class, their parenting values shift. While they still value obedience, they are more lenient than their own parents had been (Xiao 2000, 799).

Regarding *race and ethnic differences*, a strict breadwinner-homemaker division among spouses in the Caucasian middle-class model, which promotes an authority hierarchy with men at the top, never became a tradition for African Americans. This is largely due to the legacy of slave-owning, which led to the historical single-mother structure that continues in African American families today. Thus, African American mothers have a great deal of authority within the home and raise their daughters to be more independent and less passive (Hill 2001, 501; Xiao 2000, 798). Moreover, the Caucasian middle-class model promotes an authoritative parenting style. African American children, however, may suffer negative effects when their parents are authoritative instead of authoritarian (Darling et al 2007, 221; Smetana 2000, 1672). Some researchers suggest that this is due to the increased risk for harm faced by many African American children in our society, and particularly for those in high-risk poor areas (Darling et al 2007, 298; Sonkin McElhaney and Allen 2001; Hill 2001, 503; Smetana 2000, 1672). It can be dangerous, for example, for these children to exhibit too much autonomy as it may lead to increased levels of illegal and/or delinquent activities (Darling et al 2007, 230-231). Other minority parents, like Hispanics, also are less likely than Caucasian parents to desire autonomy and prefer conformity in their children (Xiao 1999, 649; Xiao 2000, 798). This may in part reflect the social experiences of non-Caucasians in the U.S. as well as the liabilities of the majority group.

As regards *gender differences*, daughters are typically more narrowly socialized in our society than sons, and have a more limited range of freedom (Arnett 1995, 624-625). Conventionally, daughters are socialized to be

obedient and submissive, and to view family roles (wife and mother) as their primary responsibilities (Arnett 1995, 625; Xiao 2000, 793). Likewise, daughters are socialized to be more nurturing, while sons are socialized to be breadwinners and disciplinarians (Xiao 2000, 787; Winquist Nord and West 2001, 12).

This is especially true for daughters in fundamentalist families, as there is a strong correlation between fundamentalist orientations/affiliations, authoritarianism, and inegalitarian gender roles (Canetti-Nisim 2004, 390; Sherkat 2000, 344). In general, sons are permitted to take more risks while growing up (emphasis on autonomy) than are daughters, whose experiences are more restrained (emphasis on obedience) (Miller and Hoffman 1995, 67). An exception can be found in African American families, where gender roles are more egalitarian due to the "economic deprivation and racism (that) have made it impractical if not impossible for many African American people to create sharp divisions between male and female roles" (Hill 2001, 501). Thus, African American daughters are taught to assume roles of authority in the family (Hill 2001, 501).

Besides class, race and gender, there are other contextual differences in parenting styles. Children living with *two biological parents* enjoy more autonomy over children living in other arrangements (Winquist Nord and West 2001, 6; Xiao 2000, 798). This may be due to single parents having less help in monitoring their children and thus emphasize conformity to make keeping up with children easier. Additionally, *parents with more schooling and higher education* tend to be broader in their parenting, and there is a strong positive correlation between education and independence (Xiao 1999, 652). Finally, authority relationships in general tend to weaken with *age* (Murray and Thompson 1985, 217) as youth increasingly judge issues, particularly personal issues like choice of music, clothing, and hairstyles, to be beyond the bounds of legitimate parental authority (Smetana 2000, 1672/1677).

Socialization to Obedience

Socialization to obedience serves as an "unquestioned operative norm in countless institutions and settings" and is considered a "normal" and "good" behavior in our society (Miller and Collins 1995, 1). Such socialization begins early in life, and children are rewarded for compliance and punished for noncompliance. Some authority-related conformity is necessary and has been found to protect children from high-risk behaviors (Mouttapa et al 2003, 320). For example, when parents instruct children to stay out of the street, compliance keeps them physically safe. This relates more so to the broad parenting style. Narrow parenting is more likely to require children's unquestioning obedience.

The Zimbardo prison and Milgram shock experiments

STROUD: SOCIALIZATION TO OBEDIENCE: LEVELS OF ADHERENCE AS DETERMINED BY “BROAD” AND “NARROW” PARENTING STYLES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN REARED WITHIN STRICTER BRANCHES OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

of the 1970s, however, point to the perils of learning to obey authorities without question. These researchers showed how easily individuals can slip into patterns of behavior with which they are uncomfortable and do not agree simply because they are directed or approved by authority figures. Consider Milgram’s words:

The legal and philosophic aspects of obedience are of enormous import, but they say very little about how most people behave in concrete situations.... I set up a simple experiment at Yale University to test how much pain an ordinary citizen would inflict on another person simply because he was ordered to by an experimental scientist. Stark authority was pitted against the subjects' strongest moral imperatives against hurting others, and, with the subjects' ears ringing with the screams of the victims, authority won more often than not. The extreme willingness of adults to go to almost any lengths on the command of an authority constitutes the chief finding of the study and the fact most urgently demanding explanation. – Stanley Milgram (as cited by *age-of-the-sage.org*). Thus, ideally there would be a balance between social conformities required and choices of individuals.

Religious Socialization to Obedience

The more religious an individual, the more he or she values conformity and the less likely she or he values autonomy ... which may be due in large part to religious teachings about parent-child relationships. Biblical doctrine tends to reject modern changes in the family (and other realms of life) in favor of traditional orientations. While the modern view of children and child rearing emphasizes treating children with mildness and developing their autonomy, the traditional view emphasizes children’s strict obedience to parental authority. Given that religious doctrines, for the most part, preach conformity and that religion appeals to those who feel more comfortable following others’ rules rather than leading, it is not surprising to see the negative effect of religiosity on autonomy and the positive effect on conformity (Xiao 2000, 799).

Religious cultural orientations/affiliations are said to be “sustained in tight knit communities and reinforced through strict (narrow) socialization” (Sherkat 2000, 354).¹² Certain Protestant traditions fall within this designation of strict socialization. Protestant authority structures, in general, including parent-child relationships, are hierarchical in that each person is subject to the authority of someone else. Parents from fundamentalist-biblical literalist traditions, in particular, tend to be authoritarian and thus stricter in their parenting style (Bartkowski and Wilcox 2000, 266). Xiao’s passage above confirms my earlier assumption that children from these

stricter Protestant traditions are more likely to have parents with a narrow parenting style. What that means for children is that there is less variance permitted from communal norms, and thus less autonomy. The stricter the tradition, the more narrow the socialization; the more narrow the socialization, the greater the conformity; the greater the conformity, the less individual freedoms.

Regarding gender differences within these stricter branches, women’s roles are of paramount concern. The divine order of family relationships relies on the headship of a Christian husband, the submission of the wife to her husband,¹³ and the subordination of children to their parents. Without this pattern of obedience to authority, which gets equated to submission to God (“the Father”), many believe that the family cannot properly function (Sherkat 2000, 345-346; Xiao 1999, 651). Children who conform to their roles are rewarded; those who do not are punished and have their freedoms even more restricted (Feldman 2003, 50).

As with socialization patterns in general, daughters within these branches are more narrowly socialized than sons. Once grown, they also are more likely to participate in their church and church-related activities. Miller and Hoffman (1995, 64/71/73) offer three sociological explanations for this difference in religious participation. First, children are *differentially socialized*. That is, girls are taught to be passive, submissive, and obedient – particularly to male authority; while boys are taught to be aggressive, dominant, and leaders of the home. As such daughters are more likely to comply with the community’s (led by a male authority structure) expectations for participation.¹⁴

Daughters also are taught to be more nurturing than sons, which helps to prepare them for their future family roles of wife and mother. It is common, for example, to find daughters caring for their siblings. This relates to Miller and Hoffman’s second explanation for why women participate in religious activities more so than men - *structural location*. Daughters are taught that they will be housewives, particularly while their children are growing. Thus, anticipated lower workforce participation coupled with greater responsibility for child rearing nudge women toward churches where they are better able to learn how to properly care for their family’s well-being.

Risk preference is the third explanation offered by Miller and Hoffman. Religious participation is often related with “risk-averse behavior.” This type of behavior is strongly encouraged for girls in general, and highly valued for girls within these religious branches. Conversely, rejection of religious beliefs is related to risk-taking behavior – in this case, the risk is in “going to hell.”

Risk-taking in general, however, is typically associated with males. Interestingly, Miller and Hoffman (1995, 71) note that “an unintended result of socializing males to risk preference may be lower probability of religiousness among them later in life” and that “if males are differentially socialized to be risk takers, then they also are being differentially socialized to be less religious.” The opposite would hold true for females. That is, socializing them to be risk-averse may increase the probability of religiousness among them later in life, and that they are differentially socialized to be religious.

Summary

As expected, a brief examination of literature related to broad and narrow socialization via parenting styles indicates that *broad parenting* values autonomy over conformity, and encourages children’s independence. It also allows for a broader range of variance with children’s behavior. Children benefit by having more personal freedoms and greater variance for self-development. *Narrow parenting*, on the other hand, values conformity over autonomy, and more strictly commands children’s obedience. However, children who have less autonomy and less behavioral variance for self-interest develop a higher level of social integration, community and social order. Finally, as evidenced above, there are many contextual factors that determine a child’s socialization including class, race, gender, religious affiliation, etc. Girls in general are more narrowly socialized in American society than are boys, and especially so for girls reared within stricter Protestant traditions. Moreover, the narrowness inversely relates to the level of obedience required, and ultimately to the level of personal autonomy that is permitted.¹⁵

This paper is limited by several factors, including an exclusive focus on socialization to obedience in the United States, a brighter spotlight on the socialization of daughters versus sons, and exclusive attention to stricter Protestant denominations versus other Christian and other religious traditions. This is simply a reflection of the space limitations within the paper. The subject also would benefit from a power/control analysis, including the hierarchical nature of parent-child relationships, and children’s responses to parental authority and their perceptions to the legitimacy of parental authority. Each of these areas should be examined more closely with continued study on the subject.

Discussion

In a society like the U.S., considered a broad society but wherein we have narrow subgroups, “tension is resolved via the relative weights that people give to these two values when they are forced to confront the trade-off between them” (Feldman 2003, 48). This seems an especially difficult task for children reared in extremely

narrow subgroups, particularly when part of the authority structure is God. To buck authority, one also has to be willing to buck God.

A woman recently sent the following “secret blog” to me which she titled “The creation of me.” She explained that she began writing blogs as a way of trying to heal the dissonance that she experienced over an extremely narrowly socialized religious upbringing and her own inner voice. She writes:

There I was all chubby and dripping blood and fluid, taking my very first breath, seeing people for the very first time, a whole new world to explore and a lifetime of wonders ahead of me. A joyous moment, right? It wasn’t. The moment my head crowned, the church said, “She’s a sinner. Her only value will be in taking care of the man and giving birth.” Mom and Dad said, “Damn straight,” and then they prayed. And I asked, “Hey, don’t I get a say?” And God, Dad and Mom all said in unison, “Shut up and do what you’re told.” Then a bottle was shoved in my mouth. Happy birthday to me. - Anonymous

The sentiments behind her words could seemingly be replicated endlessly as an example of children who are too narrowly socialized to the detriment of their own ‘self’ development. Again, recognizing that children too broadly socialized also may be to the detriment of the self. This, however, does not typically hold in the case of the religious branches that are the focus of this paper.

Youths’ questioning of parental and other authority actually serves to increase their agency, their “sphere of personal action” (Smetana 2000, 1685). While individuals like the woman above may eventually exercise more agency, the choice is often not without penalties. The challenge for parents-as-educators, then, seems to be to learn how to balance our own desires for children’s obedience (conformity) to authority and safety, and children’s needs for individual freedoms. As Dewey (1959) argues, while authority is necessary for social stability and functioning, it must be flexible enough to permit individuals – including our children – to engage in the processes of living life, both inside and outside of respective religious traditions.

Hoffman (2003, 208) argues that there is an “urgent need to look behind official, sanctioned, or otherwise naturalized ideologies – and to question the discourses that support them, both in the ways they may suppress cultural alternatives, as well as in the ways they claim to be supportive of children.” Future research should examine the particular tension between parental authority and youth autonomy within stricter Protestant denominational branches especially because of the added dimension of children having to learn to buck God-as-authority in order to more fully embrace self.

STROUD: SOCIALIZATION TO OBEDIENCE: LEVELS OF ADHERENCE AS DETERMINED BY “BROAD” AND “NARROW” PARENTING STYLES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN REARED WITHIN STRICTER BRANCHES OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

ENDNOTES

1. This paper originated in a sociology of education class at the University of Oklahoma in spring 2008. I wish to thank Professor John Covalesskie for his insights and feedback on the original draft.
2. *Holy Bible*, Ephesians 6:1.
3. *Holy Bible*, Ephesians 5:22-24, Titus 2:5, I Peter 3:1-5.
4. *Holy Bible*, Proverbs 7:2 and I John 2:3-4.
5. It was suggested to me that it may well be the *domain* of freedom that varies, not the *experience*. Future research will take this distinction into consideration.
6. “Christian Protestantism runs the gamut from world-affirming deistic agnosticism of the liberal “mainline” to vividly otherworldly hellfire-and-brimstone conservative sects (Sherkat 2000, 345).” This paper focuses on the latter group which includes such authoritarian fundamentalist and/or evangelical churches as Southern Baptists, fundamentalist Baptists, Assemblies of God, Missionary Alliances, Churches of the Brethren, Evangelical Free Churches, Pentecostals, and Holiness churches (Bartkowski and Wilcox 2000, 273).
7. Future research may parse out distinctions between ‘obedience,’ ‘compliance’ and ‘normative’ as relates to socialization.
8. A 2005 “Indicators of School Crime and Safety” report (DeVoe et al. 2005, 59) found that 18 percent of disciplinary actions in public schools in 1999-2000 were for ‘insubordination’ as defined for respondents as “a deliberate and inexcusable defiance of or refusal to obey a school rule, authority, or a reasonable order.” It included but was not limited to “direct defiance of school authority, failure to attend assigned detention or on-campus supervision, failure to respond to a call slip, and physical or verbal intimidation/abuse.” By 2005-2006, the percentage had grown to 21 percent (Dinkes et al 2007, 56). What strikes me about this definition is the arbitrariness of some of the language.
9. One study offers a third parenting style, “care-orientation” (Xiao, 2000); another offers two additional styles, “indulgent” and “indifferent-uninvolved” (McGroder 2000); and yet another describes a “permissive” style (Ferrari and Olivette 1994, 97). Due to space limitations, these parenting styles fall outside the scope of this paper.
10. When Dr. John Covalesskie read the first draft of this paper, he responded to this part with, “Though watch that change when the daughter of a doctor and lawyer says she wants to attend the Vo-Tech school. What might be at play here, the domain of conformity rather than the degree?” Future efforts on my part will delve more deeply into this question.
11. I understand this may be more complex than presented.
12. Herein lies a paradox; in that, the ideal in these traditions is a *personal relationship* with God (individuality) and a *socially conformant* life.
13. Sherkat (2000, 346) notes three key foundations for women’s subordination in the Christian tradition: the order of creation as set out in the book of Genesis, Eve’s fall from grace, and Paul’s letter to Titus that outlines women’s relegation to household duties. Each of these foundations is rooted in a literal interpretation of biblical text.
14. Arguably, boys and men inside such traditions also could be described as “submitting,” albeit to a different set of norms. A key difference is that boys and men are able to tap into male privilege while girls and women largely cannot.
15. Again, future research will consider domains of freedom in addition to levels of obedience.

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STROUD: SOCIALIZATION TO OBEDIENCE: LEVELS OF ADHERENCE AS DETERMINED BY “BROAD” AND “NARROW” PARENTING STYLES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN REARED WITHIN STRICTER BRANCHES OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

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STORIES OF AN ELECTED FEMALE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT IN RURAL TENNESSEE IN THE 1970s: THE WOMAN FOR THE JOB

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TO ALL OF THE CITIZENS OF CHESTER COUNTY . . . Please go to the polls on August 5 and re-elect the man who is interested in our schools and in our children. Re-elect the man who has proven this interest in the past and will continue to do so in the future. Re-elect the man with experience which is, after all, the best qualification one can have for this office. ("To All", July 29, 1976, p. 2A)

'That Little Girl'

The man who wanted to be re-elected was the male superintendent of schools, but the "man" who was elected on August 5, 1976 was Kathy Coatney (now Dr. Kathy Mays). The excerpt above appeared in an advertisement in the county newspaper during the last week of the campaign for the elected school superintendent's position in Chester County, Tennessee. In May of 1976, Kathy Coatney had announced her candidacy as the Republican nominee for the position of superintendent. At the time of the campaign, Coatney was working under the supervision of the incumbent in her fourth year as the supervisor of federal and special programs in the district office for Chester County Schools. ("Kathy Coatney Announces" May 27, 1976, 1)

Coatney recalled that the incumbent superintendent referred to her as "that little girl" out on the campaign trail (personal communication, March 31, 2008). At age 33, Coatney was young, yet well qualified and experienced. She held the superintendent's endorsement from the state department as well as certifications for principal of grades 1-12 and for supervisor of instruction. Coatney had taught general and special education for 10 years. Additionally, Coatney had earned 45 hours above her master's degree from Murray State University and was enrolled in the doctoral program at the University of Mississippi. ("Kathy Coatney Announces" May 27, 1976, 1)

The Budget Crisis

Kathy Coatney overwhelmingly won her bid for office on August 5 with 62 percent of the vote and began what would become a 20-year career – a total of five elected terms – as superintendent of Chester County Schools. Nearly thirty-two years after she took office, I asked Dr. Kathy Coatney Mays (personal communication, March 31, 2008) what she considered the defining moment in her career as superintendent. Without pause, she replied that it was the budget crisis of her first year in office which presented her with both an incredible challenge and "the biggest learning experience" of those 20 years. Dr. Mays' answer beckoned me to review county newspapers from her first year of office and to interview her to learn more about the experiences which had such a profound impact on her leadership and the Chester County School community. As I also discovered, her response to early

events foretold much about her as a leader. Dr. Mays also shared her perceptions about the role of gender and the role of party politics during and after her campaign for election.

Dr. Mays recalled that during the time between the election and her first day on the job as superintendent on September 1, 1976, the school board met and made changes to the budget which had already been approved at a meeting held prior to the elections on August 5. Teachers were granted raises of \$150 each and several new positions were added including maintenance supervisors. The total cost of these additions was approximately \$50,000. The result was a budget that did not balance.

When I asked Dr. Mays about what skills or attitudes she had that helped her to succeed in turning around the budget, she responded candidly:

I was part of the community and had been for all my life. I think people realized that I had a sincere love for the Chester County School System and desire for it to be the best school system and had an interest in the students and had been able to communicate that.

Those community relationships led some of her good friends who were serving on the county commission to notify her that the school board had met and added expenses after her election. These commissioners became her allies because they realized the budget problems resulted from actions taken before she officially became superintendent.

The Importance of Money

Since she knew the budget was not balanced coming into the position, Dr. Mays decided to take proactive steps to address the problem. The superintendent informed the county commission in spring that there would probably be a deficit budget. She had invited representatives from the state department of education to come to the county and help her review the entire budget. After the review, it appeared that the county would indeed be \$50,000 short in meeting the budget. Dr. Mays stated:

At that point . . . my level of concern really was up. The level of concern was high. The Tennessee schools were poorly funded and we got money based on the first three months of average daily attendance, so you didn't know when you started the school year how much money you would get in state funding. . . You

would go three months, you would submit the report to the state, and you would get paid on the average daily attendance. So that made your level of concern even higher because you never knew if you would have more students or fewer students, and you didn't know if the students would attend school well.... Chester County Schools were among the lowest in the state as far as funding was concerned. We just didn't get any money. It was pitiful really, and the teachers in the county were some of the lowest paid in the state.

Such limited funding and uncertain attendance figures were challenging circumstances for a new superintendent to face. Dr. Mays described her approach to handling the budget crisis and elaborated on what she learned from those early problems.

I learned a lot from the deficit because it made me really learn the books and learn how much money I had, how the revenue was coming in, and what we were spending in each category. I would actually bring the books home at night and study them so I would know what we were doing and what flexibility we had in what categories. Really it helped me ... to know the importance of money that it is the most important issue that you deal with ... as superintendent you are directly responsible for the budget and making the budget balance, and you're responsible to the people. It made me keenly aware to be very careful in the handling of money ... don't ever take anything for granted as far as the use of money.

No Prior Training

I asked Dr. Mays about what training and experience she had for managing the school system's budget upon entering office in 1976. She explained that her administrative training in her degree programs did not have information related to what she was actually required to do. As she said, "I just learned that on the job." I inquired about whether or not the superintendents' meetings at the state level prepared her for working with budget issues. Dr. Mays responded, "When we had the annual superintendents' meeting they always talked about that and discussed what the money situation was and how your money was allocated, so that was good." She clearly learned from some of those interactions.

She also explained that she had no training prior to going into the job. As she said, "You just ran for the job, you were elected, and so I was elected ... August 7 ... [The previous superintendent] left on August 31, and I walked in on September 1, so that's the amount of help I had." I asked Dr. Mays if the previous superintendent had involved her with the budget in any way when she was working as a supervisor in the central office with him. Dr.

Mays replied, "Well, now I did on federal projects and special education, because that's the two areas that I worked with, and I helped develop the budget on those two areas, but as far as anything else, I knew nothing about it." She further clarified that she did not have any involvement with the local school funds before her election.

Background to the Budget Issue

Prior to interviewing Dr. Mays, I researched the weekly county newspapers from the months surrounding her efforts to submit and gain approval for a budget for the 1977-78 school year. The struggles with balancing the budget were partially captured in newspaper articles which detailed county commission meetings. During the summer of 1977, Superintendent Coatney submitted the proposed budget for the academic year to the county commission because the school system's local budget was a part of the overall county budget. A budget committee had proposed the budget and the county school board approved it prior to the superintendent's presentation to the commission.

In a series of five county commission meetings chronicled in the newspapers, the school system's budget became a highly controversial issue. One major point of contention was the school system's deficit of \$50,000 from the 1976-77 school year ("Lengthy Court" 1977, 1). After four public commission meetings and the resulting postponement of school starting, the superintendent submitted to the weekly county newspaper a descriptive accounting of the state of the budget at the time she took office in 1976 ("School Superintendent" 1977, 1). Her description included a detailed account of expenses that had been incurred before the date that she officially started her position as superintendent on September 1, 1976. The addition of personnel and raises for other personnel before the previous superintendent's departure accounted for the deficit. In that same issue of the county newspaper, it was reported that the county commission had finally approved the budget for the 1977-78 academic year ("Budget Approved" 1977, p.1).

All of the newspaper articles except one were reports from the commission meetings written by a newspaper journalist. The remaining item was a letter to the editor by a tax payer. Articles were focused on specific issues and none included comments about Superintendent Coatney's leadership. A review of the articles during the time of the budget crisis revealed that public perceptions of the superintendent did not seem to be a factor in resolving the crisis. The evidence led to the conclusion that the public was more concerned with the issue of financial support for education than the leader.

Good Quality Education

Individuals quoted in the articles supported the proposed budget and most indicated that it only enabled

the school system to meet the minimum requirements for educating the students. Individuals who commented indicated that the importance of providing a good quality education must take priority even if a tax increase was necessary. One squire commented, "If we dance, we are going to have to pay the fiddler. If we want the services, we are going to have to pay for them" ("Court Rejects" 1977, 1). In a letter to the editor, a tax payer stated, "We in Chester County have always been able to pay for what we want. Do you want a quality education system or do you want to regress" ("Do We Want" 1977, 4)? A local college instructor compared the tax rate in the county to those in surrounding counties demonstrating how much more taxes other counties were contributing to education; he concluded by saying, "There is no way we can have quality education if the board does not give funds to the school system" ("Court Holds" 1977, 1).

Ironically, the comments in the articles did not align with the voting by the county commission. Each time the commission voted during the first four meetings the results were split missing the total votes (10) needed to adopt the budget. The votes, however, did not appear to be divided by party affiliation. For each vote taken on the budget issue, votes of rejection and approval were made by a combination of Democrats, Republicans, and the Independent. None of the articles related to the school budget issues contained comments specific to the superintendent related to gender or political party affiliation. If such comments were made in the meetings, they were not included in the articles. There was a hint of some criticism in one of the articles. "When questioned by one of the magistrates at the meeting concerning a budget item, Superintendent Coatney said, 'I didn't make this mess—I'm just trying to straighten it out'" ("County Court" 1977, 1).

People Were Very Kind to Me

It is noteworthy that the Superintendent Coatney was addressing a county commission with no females. In my interview with Dr. Mays, I asked her, "Did you feel your gender was a factor in your experiences as a beginning superintendent?" Dr. Mays replied:

I really didn't. I don't think it had that much to do with it ... I never did let that bother me. I pretty much did what I thought I ought to do and just went on with it. It's true that there were very few women superintendents in Tennessee. I think we had four in Tennessee. People were always very kind to me, and the public was kind to me. I really didn't have a problem as far as being female, and I always felt I could do anything that anybody else could do, and if you can, you usually can. The commissioners were kind to me. We had 18 commissioners, and they were all male.

Dr. Mays recognized her unique position as one of few female superintendents serving in Tennessee at the time, but did not report any difficulties with discrimination or unfair treatment. I also asked her about the gender composition of the school board during her tenure, and she explained:

We had all males at the time. We had nine members when I became superintendent, and it was later seven. During the tenure that I was superintendent, we had three ladies that did serve ... I think the males and females do equally good jobs; it's just according to the individual and their personalities, not according to the gender ... I just didn't feel like it ever hampered me that much. I just didn't let it, because I did what I thought I needed to do.

Interestingly, during the summer of her first bid for the superintendent's office, a female was running for the office of sheriff. Dr. Mays shared a humorous event that occurred when she was out campaigning related to the gender issue:

One time one fellow thought I was the lady running for sheriff. He said, "Are you running for sheriff?" I said, "No." He said, "Well, I was going to say now I'd vote for a woman for school superintendent, but not for sheriff. I don't believe that's a job for a woman."

That sentiment might have been common because although Coatney won her election handily in 1976, the female candidate for sheriff lost her bid for office.

Politics and Support

Since the commissioners did not vote along political party lines, I was interested to learn about Dr. Mays' perceptions regarding the role politics played in the level of support she received from the school board, county commission, and the public. First, she spoke about politics in terms of the election process:

It's hard to get parties to come together and do what they have to do. Then on local politics, you have what I call the "yellow dogs" that won't vote for anybody but a Democrat or Republican regardless, and they'd vote for a "yellow dog" before they would You have people that are actually rude to you because of your political persuasion, and I had that when I would travel around and campaign. Some people would actually say, "I'm not going to vote for you because you're a Republican." Then some wouldn't say it, but that was the reasoning. You knew that. But I really don't think that it made a substantial difference on a local level.

Dr. Mays also explained how she worked to keep the political tensions of her work from affecting her personally in light of her interaction with the county commission:

I can think of two or three instances of people on the commission that probably would vote that certain way

CABRERA: STORIES OF AN ELECTED FEMALE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT IN RURAL TENNESSEE IN THE 1970s: THE WOMAN FOR THE JOB

because of political party. You would hate to think that people are that narrow-minded; but I think some of them are because they don't want to see that political persuasion succeed, and that's the motivation behind it and not you as a person. You have to get to a point that you can accept this as issues, not as a personal thing, because most of it's not personal ... It's just according to how you handle it, but it can be very political or non-political. I just didn't let it interfere with me very much ... during the process of the 20 years on the court, I probably had served with three or four commissioners that were pretty partisan. Outside of that, I know some of the very heavily Democratic commissioners supported me as well as anybody. All you can ask people to do is what they think is right, and I know the vice-chairman on the commission was one of my favorite people, and he was a Democrat. But I always thought he did what he thought was right, and that's all I could ask anybody to do is what's right.

In describing a major factor behind the controversy with the budget for the 1977-78 school year, Dr. Mays elaborated that commissioners who were voting against the proposed budget mainly represented the farmers. At the time, the county's farming community bore one of the largest tax burdens because most of the school funding came from local tax dollars. Schools received minimal funding from state and federal sources at that time. As Dr. Mays explained:

If you put a big tax increase, the farmers felt the brunt of it, and so their constituents were asking them not to vote for it, and I can understand that. If you're elected as commissioner to serve a certain area and whatever the constituents come to you and ask you to do, you're

kindly obligated to do some of that. I never took that personal with them; they were doing what they were asked to do.

And as someone whose own family was part of the county's farming community, Dr. Mays had an added sensitivity to the farmers' dilemma.

From 'Little Girl' to 'Man'

What enabled "that little girl" to be the "man" for the position of superintendent? Initially, the public showed its support for "that little girl" when it gave her nearly two-thirds of the vote in the election. Through the newspaper documents surrounding the time of the budget crisis, the evidence indicated that the public and the county commission members were focused on the issue, and did not personalize it to the superintendent. There was an emphasis on providing a good education for the county's children. In sharing her reflections about the budget crisis, Dr. Mays revealed a positive and proactive attitude. In a variety of ways, she indicated that her good relationships with the people of the community, the county commissioners, and school board members were crucial. Dr. Mays' responses also demonstrated her belief in herself. She conveyed that she did not allow her gender or political party affiliation to become factors which would inhibit her in her position. Dr. Mays emphasized the importance of doing what she believed was the right thing to do which included investing herself in studying and learning the budget to be fully accountable to the public.

For Dr. Kathy Coatney Mays, lessons were learned from that first-year's budget crisis. By 1996 when she retired as superintendent, the *woman* for the job had led the district from operating without adequate funds to a district with newly constructed junior high school and high school buildings as well as a fund balance of \$2.1 million.

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THE EVOLUTION OF CHARTER SCHOOLS: FROM CONCEPT TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CHOICE

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Introduction

Charter schools have evolved from a single concept small in scope and narrow in impact to a national movement to create public schools of choice. In his National Charter Schools Week 2008 Proclamation, President George W. Bush (2008) described charter schools as educational alternatives that encourage parent involvement and contribute to a closing of the achievement gap between black and white students in the United States. He praised charter schools for helping to foster a culture of educational innovation, accountability, and excellence. Bush's description varies greatly from the original education by charter concept proposed by former University of Massachusetts - Amherst assistant professor of education, Dr. Ray Budde.

This historical essay explores the changing nature of charter schools from concept to implementation. Drawing on primary and secondary sources—including personal correspondence, writings of the principal architects of the charter school concept, the Commission on Excellence Report, speeches, statues, press releases and newspaper, journal, and newsletter articles – this paper will examine how the charter school concept has been significantly altered over time due to a changing political climate involving educational and political leaders at the state and national levels.

Literature Review

There is a growing body of knowledge on charter schools documenting the history and present status of the charter school concept. Budde (1988; 1989; 1996a; 1996b), and Albert Shanker, former president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), (1988a; 1988b; 1988c; 1988d) introduced the concept and advocated for charter schools but neither moved to implement the concept. Just prior to the passing of the first state charter school legislation, John Chubb and Terry Moe (1990) recommended a new system of public education – a system of indirect control that relies on markets and parental choice. Joe Nathan (1996) and Ted Kolderie (2005; 2008), charter school pioneers, chronicled the origin of the charter school concept, documented the Minnesota Citizens League's role in passing the first state charter school law and the feature elements of opposition and support for the charter school movement. Throughout the 1990s the charter school concept evolved through new and amended laws in the states (Laws of Minnesota 1991 and Kolderie 2005). Shanker (1994a; 1994b; 1995) continued to publish his weekly *New York Times* "Where We Stand" articles. However, rather than advocating for

charter schools, he raised questions and concerns. Shanker's concerns did not deter national support for the evolving charter school movement. Presidents William Clinton (1996; 2000) and George W. Bush (2008) advanced the charter school movement with fiscal and legislative support. Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings (2006; 2007) advocated for a robust expansion of charter schools, one of the public-school-choice options under the No Child Left Behind (2001) Act. The charter schools that Secretary Spelling and President Bush supported have evolved from the original concept Budde presented in 1974.

Ray Budde and the First Step in the Charter School Evolution

In his article, "The Evolution of the Charter Concept," Dr. Budde (1996a) chronicled his views on charter schools from the early 1970s. He wrote that in the early 1970s he developed an outline for a book tentatively titled *Education by Charter: Key to a New Model of School District*. Budde circulated the book outline to colleagues and friends asking: "Does the charter concept make any sense? Is it workable? Would a district be willing to give it a try?" (1996a p.2) According to Budde, "the response was zero. Nothing!" (1996a p 2). The 1970s were not a time for embracing Ray Budde's public school education by charter restructuring concept.

Ted Kolderie (2005), past Executive Director of the Minnesota Citizens League, wrote that Budde's idea originated at a time of relative satisfaction with public schools.

No one thought there was a problem significant enough to require such a restructuring. The attitude then was: Get a good new program idea, do some in-service training. That'll do it. So Budde put the idea away and went on to other things. (p. 1)

Budde was creating his charter concept during two distinct eras which Glatthorn, Boschee, & Whitehead (2006) call Romantic Radicalism (1968-1974) and Privatistic Conservatism (1975-1989). The former was a time of experimentation in alternative schools, open classrooms, and elective programs. The second was a time of conservative backlash in the national consciousness that produced dissatisfaction with public schools, but initially not enough to be an impetus for system-wide change. Due to this, Budde's school restructuring proposal lay on a shelf, dormant until the 1980s when national interest in public education was high.

In 1983 nine national "school reform" reports were issued (Glatthorn et al. 2006), the most significant of

which was the publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (1983). This report captured the public's attention, and Budde revisited his education by charter proposal. In "The Evolution of the Charter Concept," Budde (1996a) recalled, "I decided to take another look at the concept and try again" (p. 2). Five years after *A Nation at Risk*, Budde wrote *Education by Charter: Restructuring School Districts*. Budde proposed a model for restructuring school districts that allowed teams of teachers to be "chartered" directly by a school board for a period of three to five years to carry out specific instructional programs. According to Budde (1996a) "No one – not the superintendent or the principal or any central office supervisors – would stand between the school board and the teachers when it came to matters of instruction" (p. 2). From the beginning, Budde's focus was on chartering departments or programs.

In 1988 Budde discovered that Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), addressed charters in his New York Times paid weekly advertisement. Shanker's weekly columns were titled, "Where We Stand." In the July 10, 1988 column, Dr. Shanker wrote that delegates to the 1988 national convention of the AFT had

... proposed that local school boards and unions jointly develop a procedure that would enable teams of teachers and others to submit and implement proposals to set up their own autonomous public schools within their school buildings. ... But what name would capture all this? The best answer so far is 'charter schools', a suggestion made by Ray Budde in *Education by Charter*. (p. 1)

With this, Budde's original concept had taken a first step in its evolution from education by charter to charter schools. Budde (1996a) wrote, "This was the first of a number of adaptations of the concept of 'education by charter.' I had mixed feelings about changing chartering programs to chartering schools." (p. 2) Dr. Budde's ideas continued to evolve, ultimately resulting in his writing *Strengthening School-Based Management by Chartering All Schools* (1996b). The *Nation at Risk* report and Shanker's initial advocacy of charter schools catapulted Budde's charter school concept onto the public school policy makers' radar screen.

A Nation at Risk: Public Focus on Public Schools

On April 26, 1983, in a White House ceremony, President Ronald Reagan received *A Nation at Risk* (Toppo 2008), the product of nearly two years' work by the National Commission on Excellence in Education. The Commission wrote, "Our Nation is at risk ... the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our

very future as a Nation and a people (P. 5)." Chester Finn (2008), former Assistant Secretary of Education, stated that the White House was pleasantly surprised by the public stir generated by the *Nation at Risk* report. President Reagan began appearing with then Secretary of Education Terrel H. Bell at education events and his participation dramatically boosted the report's visibility. Ravitch (2003) pointed out that at the time of release of *A Nation at Risk* the American economy was suffering a recession while economies of Japan and several other Asian nations were booming. The early 1980s presented, in addition to the economic crisis, "a heap of public discontent that had been accumulating since the 1960's" (Ravitch 2003, p.3). Ravitch (2003) wrote, "... it is now apparent that *A Nation at Risk* (1983) was the most important education reform document of the 20th century" (p. 1) because it captured the attention not only of educators and political and business leaders, but also of the general public, thus shaping the terms of the debate about schooling for a generation after its publication. Similarly, Toppo (2008) wrote, "It kick-started decades of tough talk about public schools and reforms" (p. 1). Amid this climate, Budde's decision to revisit his public school restructuring idea of education by charters; and, Shanker's reading of Budde's work, along with his commitment to improve education for children, provided the foundation of the charter school movement we know today.

Albert Shanker and the Great Reversal

Almost five years to the day after publication of *A Nation at Risk*, AFT leader Albert Shanker (1988a) addressed the National Press Club articulating his vision of autonomous, teacher-formed schools within a school. Throughout his speech he lamented what he saw as a lockstep approach to K-12 education across the country that neglected the input of classroom teachers and failed to take into account students' individual needs. Shanker felt it was time to take a major step forward and to do something different to improve schools. He was clear that a new policy mechanism was needed to give teachers and parents the right to "opt for" a new type of school (1988b).

On March 31, 1988, Shanker proposed that the Teachers' Union work with the school district to develop a procedure that would encourage any group of six or more teachers in any building to opt for a different type of school. The group of teachers would submit a proposal to create a new school within that school, which would ultimately create a totally autonomous school within the district whose purpose was to try out new or revitalized ideas and look for new ways to improve student learning. This new school was to be a school of choice. Shanker believed that his proposal could have an impact so great that in just a few years it could result in the creation of thousands of bottom-up reform sites in this country

capable of serving the majority of students (Shanker 1988a).

Shanker's proposal took on a life of its own. The next day, April 1, 1988, *The New York Times*, covered Shanker's speech giving it broad national attention. In his next *New York Times* "Where We Stand" article (Shanker 1988b) Shanker wrote about his proposal, laying the groundwork for the upcoming AFT annual convention. Three months later, Shanker suggested the new schools created by his proposal be called "charter schools," a label he had read in Budde's work (1988). Shanker reiterated Budde's explanation of how early explorers received charters to seek new lands and resources (Budde 1988). Shanker agreed that the charter concept could be applied to public education. Albert Shanker, who Kahlenberg called "the country's leading education reformer of the 1980s and 1990s" (2008, 712), advanced the idea of charter schools, schools within a school chartered to groups of teachers by the board of education in collaboration with members of the teachers' union.

Shanker's (1988a) vision of thousands of charter schools existing in just a few years became a reality. Minnesota passed the first state charter school legislation in 1991. One year later, the first charter school was opened. What started in 1992 as one charter school in Minnesota has grown to over 4,000 charter schools educating a million students in what is one of the "most important education reforms ongoing today" (Kahlenberg 2007). Shanker did not envision the way the charter movement would quickly diverge from his original vision. He was deeply concerned that instead of empowering teachers, as he had envisioned, charter schools were becoming a way to destroy teacher unions and collective bargaining (Kahlenberg 2007).

It is difficult to pinpoint the pivotal moment when Shanker and his colleagues withdrew their advocacy for charter schools. Three key events in the evolution of the charter school movement concerned Shanker. The first was Chubb & Moe's publication of *Politics, Markets, and American's Schools (1990)*. They propose an unregulated system of schooling and recommend restructuring public education based on market principles, arguing for the benefits of choice and competition (1990). Additionally, Chubb and Moe (1990) proposed a voucher-based system – a system in which government would provide funding directly to students in the form of vouchers, and students would use their vouchers to pay for education to the public or private school of their own choosing. Shanker, a national teacher union leader, opposed vouchers in any form. Chubb and Moe's choice system received wide attention and reinvigorated the movement towards vouchers (Kahlenberg 2007). Their system advocated for school autonomy in exchange for accountability and fueled

the charter movement with marketplace theories and metaphors (Henig 1994). Chubb and Moe were cautiously optimistic that attempts to transform schools were not doomed to fail if reformers could gain widespread support and could mobilize the resources of powerful social groups behind the change. Support and resources were mobilizing.

One year later, the second event occurred with Minnesota's 1991 passage of the nation's first outcome-based/charter school law. The Minnesota law authorized charters as independent educational corporations autonomous from the school district and exempt from pre-existing collective bargaining agreements (Laws of Minnesota 1991). In 1988 Shanker helped put the idea of charter schools onto the Minnesota reformers' radar screen when he accepted an invitation to speak at a Minneapolis Foundation-sponsored conference about improving public schools. According to Ted Kolderie, present at the conference, "Reformers in Minnesota, where Governor Rudy Perpich and the Legislature were then introducing public-school choice (inter-district open enrollment and a post-secondary option) were particularly enthusiastic about Shanker's charter school idea" (personal communication, September 12, 2008). The Citizens League, a well-respected local public-policy design-and-advocacy group, created a committee to study the idea. A report recommending the creation of charter public schools was issued and three years later the state passed a progressive charter law with bipartisan support (Nathan 1996).

The ground breaking law caused Shanker a series of concerns. Collective bargaining rights unless reactivated by union organizing were lost. Although Minnesota's original outcome based/charter school law required teachers to constitute a majority of the school's board of trustees, the teachers were not required to belong to a union. Model legislation was in place. As charter laws were passed across the country, charter schools were not required to comply with district collective bargaining agreements and teachers were not required to join the local collective bargaining unit. "Conservatives were quite open about the fact that charter school laws provided a critical end-run around teacher unions (Kahlenberg 2007.p.315)." Shanker was concerned that charter schools were becoming a way to destroy teacher unions. (Kahlenberg 2007)

The third event was the 1991 launch of Chris Whittles' for-profit Edison Schools, an education management company that promised to transform American education (Wilson 2006). The Edison Corporation, like other for-profit companies, unable to raise the billions of dollars required to open a nationwide chain of private schools, turned towards opening and managing public schools under contract with a district. "Shanker warned that for-profit companies in education would care more about

looking after their shareholders than educating children (Kahlenberg 2007, p. 314).”

He was not silent. Shanker (1994 1995) voiced these concerns in a number of his weekly columns in the *New York Times* and in other forums. Ultimately, Shanker led his union and its affiliates in opposition to the charter school movement he helped to launch. Even so, the movement continued and was enhanced by the fiscal support of the national Charter Schools Program (CSP) and reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 2001, generally known as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB).

Federal Support Enhances Charter School Movement Evolution

Federal financial support, presidential endorsements, and federal legislation naming charter schools as alternative schools have helped spur an increase in state charter school legislation and the growing number of charter schools. In 1994, two significant federal charter school events occurred: First, Congress acted to provide newly chartered schools start-up assistance to the tune of \$1.6 million as part of the Charter Schools Program (CSP) authorized in October 1994. In 2008, the federal CSP provided about \$200 million in start up grants for charter schools, a cumulative total of about \$1.9 billion over the last fourteen years (Kolderie 2008). Second, in his 1994 State of the Union Address, President Clinton told the nation that the Goals 2000 proposal would empower individual school districts to experiment with ideas like chartering their schools to be run by private corporation and having more public school choice, to do whatever they wish to do as long as every school was measured by one high standard: “Are our children learning what they need to know to compete and win in the global economy?” (p. 5).

In his 2000 State of the Union Address, President Clinton endorsed charter schools as real public school choice and asked the nation to help meet the goal of 3000 charter schools by next year. There were not 3000 charter schools in 2001. However, through two terms, President Clinton laid the foundation for federal support of the emerging charter school movement which President George W. Bush built upon in the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 2001. The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) has provisions to allow parents of children in schools that cannot make adequate yearly progress under the NCLB guidelines to choose to send their children to academically successful charter schools en lieu of sending them to a different traditional public schools. With federal start up funding, presidential endorsements, and inclusion in federal legislation, the number of states enacting individual state charter school laws has grown and the number of charter schools, each

governed by a separate charter, has increased. Today, charter schools are governed by the “charter” under which they are authorized. Each charter is unique. Hence, as the number of charter school authorizations increases, the number of unique schools grows and the charter school movement evolves.

Ray Budde accepted and supported the charter school movement

Initially, when asked how he felt about the ‘charter school movement,’ Budde (1996a) would reply, “This is not what I had in mind (p 2).” Budde’s attitude changed as he realized that with state after state passing special charter schools legislation, a rapidly expanding national charter school movement was afoot. This movement was challenging the traditional form of local school district organization. In his 1996 article, “The Evolution of the Charter Concept,” Budde (1996a) acknowledged his feelings had changed. He wrote, “There are more powerful dynamics at work in creating a whole new school than there are in simply restructuring a department or starting a new program” (p. 2). Budde saw that the states were creating an expanding movement, challenging the traditional form of organization of local school districts, which was what he originally had in mind (Kolderie 2005).

Budde believed (Kolderie 2005) that there needed to be a formal/legal change in state legislation that would remove power from most central office positions and flow funds directly to schools. In 1998, Dr. Kolderie received his last letter from Budde urging continued transfer of real authority to schools, smaller schools, and the transfer of instructional responsibility to groups of teachers. Dr. Kolderie (2005) wrote that Ray Budde “... was open-minded enough to accept – even champion – the changes and improvements in the concept that were made later by others “(p. 2).

Conclusion

The idea of charter schools began as a simple concept. Teachers within a school would seek a charter from the school board to experiment with an innovative idea or explore a new program. The concept evolved into a proposal to create a system where a group of innovative teachers could propose a charter to start a charter school, a new type of school within the existing school. Charter schools have become an educational innovation that is moving states beyond reforming existing schools to creating something entirely new. They have evolved into allowing schools to run independent of the traditional public school system and to tailor their programs to community needs. Policymakers, parents, and educators look to utilizing charter legislation as a way to increase educational choice and innovation within the public school system. Forty states have passed forty different state

charter school laws. The common thread is the federal recognition and support of charter schools as a choice alternative for a parent with a child in a school unable to make adequate yearly progress under the NCLB law.

In her 2007 statement to members of the Charter School Conference, Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings commented,

They [charter schools] are proving that new approaches to education can work - that breaking tradition and taking risks can yield tremendous results

for students. (2007, p. 1)

The education by charter concept Budde introduced has evolved. Charter schools are no longer about a board of education chartering a group of teachers to try a new program or a group of 6-12 teachers working directly with the school board to create a learning laboratory within the confines of the collective bargaining agreement. Charter schools now refer primarily to completely autonomous schools, beholden to their chartering documents and applicable state and federal laws.

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PARENTING FOR CITIZENSHIP: INTERPRETING PESTALOZZI AND KAFKA

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Introduction

This paper presents a critical analysis of citizenship drawing on an educational novel *Lienhard und Gertrud* (1781), by an 18th century Swiss educator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, an unfinished novel by Franz Kafka *Der Verschollene* (*The Man Who Disappeared*) (1927), and my own experience with motherhood and citizenship in the United States (2008). Although the exemplary sources cited in this paper are historically and socially disconnected, the implications of events in these sources have not lost vitality. I argue that one of the vehicles in fostering *active citizenship* involves the relationships of the learning of both the child and parent and the parental teaching that occurs in child rearing. Although I am relying on my own experiences as a parent striving to instill citizenship, I acknowledge the diverse paths informing citizenship.

At the root of quality child-parent interaction is the teaching/learning process. It is by learning that we get to know, love, care for, and get attached to each other while understanding the necessity of our involvement in the community for the common good. Pestalozzi's character Gertrud is emblematic of the crucial role of parenthood in an individual's learning to serve the community and to be an active citizen first in the family and then in the broader society and its institutions. Karl, Kafka's character, on the other hand, stands in stark contrast to Gertrud. A young, immature man banished by his parents to America, Karl abandons a woman who has had his child. Karl fails to integrate and become a citizen in a foreign society because he lacks experiences with parenthood and an ability to sustain a relationship. Finally, my own experiences, although not as ideal as Gertrud's and not as discouraging as Karl's, echo some of the notions about familial connections and active citizenship evident in both literary works. I am an immigrant and in that regard can relate to Karl and the hardships of integration but I believe that my experience of parenthood is more closely akin to Gertrud's character who serves as a vehicle for and driving force behind my transformation into a citizen and my understanding of the needs for integrating citizenship into the child rearing process.

Active Citizenship and Parental Responsibility

As a permanent resident preparing to become a citizen of this country, I have been asking myself: what are the attributes of citizenship? We often think of three basic conditions of citizenship, 1. the recognized status of being a citizen of a nation, 2. membership in an identified community, 3. the quality of a person's activity as a

member of a community. As the first entry suggests, "the status of being a citizen" is simply nominal missing the qualitative status of the second and third entry. While the legal rights to citizenship are crucial for politically equal participation of an individual citizen, born or naturalized, active and interactive citizenship is vital to the community itself. Aristotle's model of the community presupposes a society built on "friendship" with a complicated internal net of "claims of justice" made manifest in responsibilities and relationships like brotherhood and parenthood (2003 176). Thus, parental duties to children have wider implications to the state than simply the imperative to raise a healthy child.

The implications of citizenship have been persistently revisited and reinterpreted in the feminist literature toward more just inclusion of women as citizens. Some writers have gone so far as to claim women-mothers as role models for citizens. Pestalozzi, dedicates a two-volume educational novel to Gertrud—a mother-citizen who initiates positive change in the overall moral state of her community—a progressive step during a time when women by law were not citizens. Contemporary philosopher of education Jane Roland Martin *reclaims* Jean Jacques Rousseau's character Sophie in his *Emile* as a better citizen than his character Emile. Rousseau ascribes virtues of nurturing and care which, for Martin, are virtues crucial to fulfilling a role of a citizen to Sophie. Ironically, he does not endow citizen-Emile with such qualities:

By his own theory, the people Rousseau claims to be suited by nature to be citizens—males—do not possess by nature and are not allowed to acquire by education or socialization characteristics he himself deems essential for the good citizen. At the same time, the very people who do, or at least can, possess these characteristics by nature and education—females—are barred by his theory from the citizenship role. (Martin 1985, 61).

Gertrud's and Sophie's examples establish not only women's deserved place among citizens but also the important task of mothering that fosters worthy citizenship. However, mothering as "the boundless love, the worry, the guilt, the heavy sense of responsibility, the protectiveness, the need to reach out to others" is not "gender-specific." Martin argues that "men as well as women can and do develop these dispositions, which is to say that both sexes can undergo one or another variety of mothering metamorphosis" (2007, 94). Mothering or more generally child rearing experiences call for a contextualized understanding of a relationship between a child and a

caregiver. The absence of this relationship, socially and historically sanctioned for men, deprives them of the full understanding of their societal and parental roles as citizens – the roles which, if taken responsibly, could contribute tremendously to the children’s and community’s welfare as a whole.

How Gertrud Teaches to Be a Citizen

According to Pestalozzi, creation of a well-functioning community starts with the family as a microcosm of the state. The family-state relationship is a prevailing idea in his novel *Lienhard und Gertrud*. Commonly referenced as a treatise on teaching methods, this novel is primarily concerned with a variety of social issues. Indeed there are several chapters in the novel that delineate Pestalozzi’s/Gertrud’s teaching methods; however, most chapters of his major two-volume work reflect the social milieu of the village in which Lienhard and Gertrud live with their seven children. Lienhard makes a good living by laying brick, but he has a weakness—he often goes to the tavern to drink and becomes indebted to the owner of the tavern who is also the bailiff of the village. His actions worry Gertrud immensely and, finally, one day, when Lienhard comes home, he sees her and all their children crying. He realizes the cause of their distress and promises to better himself. His betterment is impossible without repaying the bailiff who expects him daily in the tavern and threatens him with legal consequences. The only way to find justice is to ask an even higher authority to keep the bailiff in check but Lienhard is too afraid to do it. He cannot overcome his weakness even when Gertrud asks him to act on behalf of his children. Finally, Gertrud decides to go to the lord of the castle herself and obtains his “fatherly” support. Thus, Gertrud initiates a change that improves the moral state of the whole village (Pestalozzi 1781).

The popular proverb goes, “It takes a village to raise a child.” (No definitive source) In Pestalozzi’s work it takes a mother—a responsible and loving parent to change the village so it can participate in her children’s upbringing. Käte Silber, in this regard, writes,

Pestalozzi’s aim is to educate the human being as a whole, that is to train all his faculties; and since he finds this total harmony best represented in woman, he puts education into her hands. He thereby wishes to utilize woman’s harmonizing influence in civilization. [...] [J]ust as she is the centre of the family so she is the centre of the wider circle, the state. (1953, 44-45)

As Silber puts it, Gertrud—an ideal woman—takes the leading and teaching role not only in the family but also in the community. Gertrud is a very skilled, smart, and harmonious individual who strives to realize her full potential in fulfilling her parental and civic duty. As a family plays a crucial role for the community, so, in the

role of mother and wife, a woman fulfills her role of a citizen in the community. By deemphasizing the paternal role, Pestalozzi creates a model for the family in which children are more dependent upon their mother. What if necessity leaves the father as the sole caretaker of their children? Would he be expected to remarry quickly to provide the maternal nurturing?

Pestalozzi places the responsibilities for children’s upbringing and family’s survival almost exclusively in the hands of women. Dieter Jedan claims that “Pestalozzi created with Gertrud’s home a model for social regeneration. As the first teacher of her seven children, she trained them in the home circle in religious, moral, intellectual, and vocational matters” (1981, 34). Nevertheless, maternal responsibility to bring up children so they are capable of satisfying their own needs and becoming worthy members of the community cannot be reduced to sets of teaching methods and curricula. As learning is crucial to knowing, so knowing each other is essential to the relationship between a parent and a child mimicking the bond between people in general. Of course, it takes curiosity, patience, and consideration to learn another human being. The first moments after I gave birth to my son, I remember the moments of fear and questioning my ability to love him as a mother should. Right before I left the hospital, the experienced nurse gave me instructions on how to handle my baby in the home setting. As I was leaving, she reassured me: “Don’t worry. You’ll learn him.” Now I know what is at the root of my love to my son: it is the constant change of knowledge and understanding as I learn, assist, and respond to his developmental/learning transformations. A bigger challenge lies ahead – to learn how to respond to and interact with the community, to build sustainable relationships. In a way, as an immigrant, I am just one step ahead of my son, trying to find my place in this community and to explore the path before I take him along on the journey toward active citizenship. Gertrud’s social position was established by her relations with her family and her community. My journey toward active citizenship is more complicated than Gertrud’s because of my status as an immigrant. Kafka’s character Karl’s experience of alienation from the familiar offers some insight.

Kafka’s Novel *Der Verschollene*: Is it Assimilation Possible?

The process of integration has been often delineated as a separation from one’s identity and the loss of sense of belonging to either country. My own immigrant experience confirms what I regard as a subliminal state of being. Kafka’s novel, *Der Verschollene*, an unfinished novel about a 17-year-old Austrian man named Karl Rossmann, describes assimilation as a process imbued with a power to degrade. Karl’s parents urge him to leave

his native country because of a sexual relationship with the household cook who has had his child. He is sent to live with his uncle—a powerful and rich American—who has capacity to assist and help Karl in his adaptation to the new surroundings. The positive relationship between Karl and his uncle ends and Karl’s powerful relative asks his nephew to leave. In America Karl’s new life is marked by failure to assimilate, or to build sustainable relationships with people and with encounters with various people who more negatively than positively influence his life (Kafka 1983). Ultimately he loses his emigration documents and is virtually enslaved by fellow immigrants who ask “*Wo bekommst Du denn gleich einen Posten? Wer kennt Dich? Wen kennst Du?*” (“Where will you soon find a job? Who knows you? Whom do you know?”) (Kafka 1983, 246).

Kafka’s novel does not describe a classical adventure of a hero who during the adventure learns and grows wise and; rather it offers an unfinished story of a downfall—*Entbildungsroman* (opposite to *Bildungsroman*). Unlike tales from the Middle Ages in which knights educated themselves by traveling and through different encounters with people and adventures, Kafka’s character gets lost and grows more and more helpless in America—his nonnative country. On the last pages of the novel, one finds the Austrian immigrant in Oklahoma, desperate for work, without documents, and using the fake name “Negro” (Kafka 1983, 306). Karl takes the name associated with the lowest class of society in America during this period. Indeed the episode suggests Karl’s regress in the country widely referred to as “the land of opportunity” –an unusual and surprising vision of the *dream land*. Karl’s destination, misspelled as *Oklahama* and his fake name symbolically suggest that it is his destiny to disappear or even to die. This episode brings to mind the picture, *An Idyll in Oklahama*, from Arthur Holitscher’s travelogue *America: Today and Tomorrow* (1911). The picture depicts a lynched African American hanging from a tree. John Zilcosky argues that Kafka “[heavily] drew [from this travelogue] and likely got his idea to send Negro toward Oklahoma” (Zilcosky 2003, 5). These parallels between the image by Holitscher and Kafka’s novel as well as the title of the book might suggest the tragic destiny for the hero. The protagonist who experiences regression throughout the novel will probably suffer his final physical disappearance as the title of the novel suggests.

Kafka’s unusual vision of America raises a question: what exactly prevents Karl from succeeding in America? Is it the lack of close ties and relationships which determine the immigrant’s hopeless destiny in the novel? Had he fathered his son in the U.S., would it be easier for him to adjust?

An active role in the community and active civic role

does not wholly depend on parenting. Individual characteristics such as responsibility and fulfillment of duties are necessary prerequisites for conscientious attitude toward parenting and active citizenship. Acquisition of those characteristics relies heavily on complicated constructs of identity involving ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, age, social status, etc. My inquiry highlights the relationship between parenthood and care giving to a person’s maturation of responsibility and acceptance of civic duty. A set of principles underlying the concept of active citizenship was introduced in the U.K. by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s governments of the late 1980s and early 1990s. She points out that “the basic ties of the family ... are at the heart of our society and are the very nursery of civic virtue. And it is on the family that we in government build our own policies for welfare, education and care” (1988). Thatcher argues for decentralization of the State since “intervention by the State must never become so great that it effectively removes personal responsibility.” The accent on the family encourages more active participation of the family members in social communities emphasizing the centrality of the family’s needs.

Pestalozzi effectively shows the successful co-working of Gertrud and the lord of the castle toward overall moral improvement of the village whereas Kafka depicts progressive *disintegration* and estrangement of his character. Karl Rossman never matures, takes responsibility, assimilates, or becomes a legal or an active citizen. The departing point in Kafka’s novel is Karl’s severance of close relationships while Pestalozzi’s novel starts by embracing familial connections. Indeed, we are left to guess what kind of person Karl could have become as a parent. Although Karl’s parental role could teach him responsibility, foster his maturity, and give him more authority and credibility, his situation turns into a disadvantage for him. Gertrud’s character, on the other hand, is defined by and closely interconnected to her children. In the first chapter of the novel, Pestalozzi describes her as “*die beste Frau im Dorf*” (“the best woman in the village”) adding as a positive detail to her characteristic “*ihre blühende Kinder*” (“her blooming children”) (Pestalozzi 1781, 1) or “*sie sind sittsamer and bescheidender ... besser genährt*” (“they are more modest and smarter ... well nourished”) (6). These descriptions of her children highlight her success as a responsible parent compelled to act as an active citizen on the behalf of her children.

Conclusion

If taken responsibly, parenthood fosters a parent’s major transformation into a more active citizen. Mobilized to act on behalf of the children, people united by child-centered concerns are diversified models for what I term

“parental citizenship.” As parents, we provide for our children’s needs. Our children’s physical growth and social development depend on the quality of our parenting. Keeping in mind Karl’s social alienation and Gertrud’s social engagement helps me understand my own perception of citizenship. Never being actively involved in civic activities even in my own country, I grew even more

passive and disinterested toward social and political issues as a noncitizen and nonparent in the U.S. However, becoming a parent has forced a transformation. It is through a growing understanding of the community’s social, political, and educational environment that I see as my first steps toward an active citizenship role.

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SCOUTING FOR MISEDUCATION: EDUCATION AND THE MASCULINIZATION PROCESS

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Introduction

This paper is part research project and part essay attempting to think about American education and masculinity. Masculinity, and the socialization of boys in male privilege as it is currently enacted in American society. Though my focus is on masculinization, the impact of this masculinization process touches on gender issues, sexuality, sexual identity, violence, social conformity issues, and related issues. In my dissertation, I show that American education faces a problem of miseducation regarding masculinity. I claim that the masculinization process in American culture is a form of cultural miseducation which brutalizes boys. Either boys are learning the masculinity that society values (in which case, society seems to value violence, obedience, and misogyny) or the violence and misogyny that boys seem to be learning are not what is intended. I theorize about masculinity in the context of how boys respond in a variety of ways to the process of masculinization in our culture, and how that process brutalizes boys. These responses play out in a serial masculinity, which can have constrictive and expansive possibilities. I seek to demonstrate the relationship between this miseducation through what Jane Roland Martin terms multiple educational agency and what Foucault refers to as “regimes of truth”.¹

To explore and examine how American culture educates boys in masculinity, I take as my primary sources the educational texts of the Boy Scouts of America. They are the only organization in the United States chartered by the U.S. Congress to educate boys for manhood. Local Boy Scout programs are sponsored by virtually every type of cultural guardian mentioned above: schools, religious groups, voluntary civic organizations, and other cultural entities. They are intertwined with more agencies, organizations and institutions than perhaps any other organization in American society. If there is a compulsory form of masculinity, a process of masculinization, that defines American culture, the way boy scouting understands what it means to be a man would be the first place to start in studying that form. This process permeates school cultures as well. I am suggesting that what we learn about the masculinization process from looking at the Boy Scouts can inform educators about other educational agents as well, including public schools.

Cultural Scouting: Adventures and Brutalizations

While I find Jane Roland Martin’s “cultural bookkeeping” approach very helpful, I do not find the banking imagery of assets, liabilities, stock, and wealth attractive in the context of my particular study.² I

understand the usefulness of that language in her research, and I realize that it parallels the language of benefits and risks in the Belmont report which was published by the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, 1974-78. While balance-sheets can be helpful, I would prefer another imagery for examining the intersection of education and boys. Instead of “bookkeeping,” I suggest the metaphor of “scouting.” Lord Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts, chose this word carefully when beginning his program of education for boys. Scouting is a word that suggests the gathering of information. Besides the military usage of the term, Baden-Powell was fond of the frontier (American and otherwise) and would speak of scouts going ahead of bands of pioneers, gathering information, making sure the path was clear, and mapping the territory, and at times preparing the way. Scouts gather helpful information from which decisions can be made about future choices. To engage in cultural scouting is to conduct an examination of the cultural body in order to survey and assess the effect on the body of masculinization processes. The word “body” refers to a structure and substance and can refer to a collective whole as well as individual within that whole. As Foucault reminds us, the regimes of truth that shape our lives inscribe their claims on our bodies, through the discipline of bio-power. This examination of the cultural body allows us to uncover the ways boys are being taught what it means to grow into manhood by examining the cultural body. An examination of the cultural body will uncover cultural strengths (which Martin calls assets and James calls higher forms) which I will call “adventures.” Any such bodily examination will also uncover what I will call “brutalizations.”

Brutalizations

A brutalization is any aspect of the body that fails to promote or actively works against the care, concern, and connection necessary for human flourishing. Boys are brutalized, body and soul, by practices, attitudes, and ideologies that masculinize in ways that interfere with such flourishing. In *The Schoolhome*, Martin herself writes of the brutalizations that are inscribed on boys’ bodies. Violence, aggression, devaluing of woman and nature are examples of brutalizations.⁴ If care, concern, and connection are at the center of a social reality that promotes the flourishing of human society, then brutalizations can be said to be those acts and dispositions that promote indifference, violence, and heroic individualism instead. Brutalizations are attempts to control boys and men, and to impart a controlling

mentality, that curiously breeds slavish conformity.⁵

Adventures

An adventure is any aspect of the body that enhances a liberating approach to masculinization by encouraging care, concern, and connection. The very word “adventure” suggests a certain openness, a lack of control. New experiences are adventures. Democracy is an adventure. The driving idea behind Lord Baden-Powell’s vision of scouting was that traditional education was experienced by most boys as stifling. Writing for scoutmasters and adult leaders, and even for scouts themselves, he saw this method as congruent with the approach to life he was trying to promote. The good life, the helpful life, was for B-P a game, a great adventure.⁶

Cultural wealth: questions about resources

Cultural scouting is a way of looking at masculine privilege agendas utilizing a variety of strategies. The purpose of such strategies is to help identify adventures that need to be strengthened and nourished, precisely because they help develop, maintain, and further the care, concern, and connection so essential to a healthy, democratically oriented society. Each strategy asks questions in order to uncover and keep track of both adventures and brutalizations. Learning from Martin’s work in developing bookkeeping strategies, we can frame some questions to bring to an interrogation of educational texts for cultural scouting.

Democratic Viewpoint

Perhaps the first important question to be asked is who is teaching what to whom and why? What point of view is being communicated, what form of masculinization is being promoted? This inquiry simply examines content for meaning and viewpoint, counting as constructive those viewpoints that break out of a narrowed valuing of culture and masculinity; viewpoints which are helpful in broadening the scope of inquiry and experience. In her book, *The Schoolhome*, Martin takes into consideration an idea dominant in our society today, which sees schools as production sites, like factories, charged with turning out children as economic and cultural products.⁷ Attention to schools as places for adventure might instead envision schools as places of discovery and conversation, a place which deliberately provides space for students to *explore for meaning*. This resonates not only with William James’ insistence that the search for meaning takes a variety of paths, it also reminds us that the “examined life” constitutes the core value communicated in Socratic philosophy. In looking at Boy Scouts of America texts, it will be important to ask what is the educational agenda in relation to masculinization?

Scouting today (and I suspect historically) has open, public conflicts centered around spirituality and sexuality. I conduct this study concerned about whether there is a

compulsory style of masculinity, a heteronormative male supremacy that defines the way Boy Scouting understands what it means to be a man. If that is true, it would say something significant about the possible outcomes of BSA (mis)education and what they are working toward in their educational project.

Woman/Nature

Any pro-feminist strategy for the examining of BSA texts (or those of any other educational organization) needs to interrogate the attitude toward women and nature. The attitude encouraged among men toward nature is directly related to the attitude about women. Lower forms of masculinity accept and maintain an ideology of nature/woman that sees both as an other/object to be dominated. Providing social and educative space for putting misogyny behind us in raising boys, would require a way of looking at women and nature that does not see either as some other/thing to be dominated and subdued. This question seeks to unmask how attitudes are perpetuated that promote (or at least tolerate) misogyny, homophobia, violence, and an ethic of domination.

Evolution and improvement

A third question to ask is how the organization or agency has evolved over time? How has the message changed in that evolution? How has an institution learned from its past? Where has it strengthened adventures? Where and how has it confronted and reframed brutalizations? Such contextualizing is constructive. In looking at BSA texts, it will be important to ask has the message about masculinity changed in the Scout Handbook and other texts? If so, what does that change suggest about how the BSA engages the masculinization process? What does any such change suggest the BSA has learned from past brutalizations? What do such changes suggest about how the Boy Scouts see themselves serving the social order?

Openness

A fourth question examines the educational proposal of an agency by asking if the information and viewpoints taught encourage openness, exploration, inquiry, and risk (all values in an adventure)? Adventures are experiences and educational settings that broaden experience, while settings and experiences that seek to cast students into culturally approved molds are brutalizations.

Does the BSA educate in a way that offers opportunities for open development and discovery on the part of boys? Is their approach one that inhibits opportunities - their viewpoint simply in unquestioning service to the hegemonic attitude? Does Boy Scouting limit itself to narrow views within the hegemonic culture, or choose instead, not only to offer a wider range of approaches from within the culture, but also to expose the student to ways other cultures have lived with the same or

similar issues. This strategy counts openness as an adventure and admits the interrelationship of cultures, exposing the student to the resources of a much wider world. Obviously, one way to gauge this openness is to evaluate a text to see how many varieties of masculine experience are included for consideration in a text.⁸ If a text is only promoting a narrow range of healthy varieties, then it should be not be considered to promote openness.

Conformity

A fifth strategy will gauge the emphasis placed on obedience, especially in light of what we have learned about obedience from Foucault. It further asks whether the Boy Scouting texts to be examined accept, tolerate, or encourage the use of violence in addressing disputes and difference, as well as the need to obey or conform. Here the task will be to inquire as to what regime of truth is being promoted by an educational text, and how it determines compliance.

Employing these questions as a strategy to examine educational texts might help us think in ways that allow us to move beyond the cultural and ethical traps inherent in the masculine supremacy approach currently in vogue.

Adventures and Brutalizations in the Boy Scouts of America

The first text for boys – *Scouting for Boys* - was written by Baden-Powell himself, at the very beginning of the movement. In the United States, there have been eleven editions of the *Boy Scout Handbook* (also, variously known as the *Handbook for Boys*). Baden-Powell also wrote a handbook for Scoutmasters entitled *Aids to Scoutmastership*. Subsequent editions bear the name *Handbook for Scoutmasters*. These texts provide insight into the way Boy Scouts conceptualize masculinity and reveal how they intend to educate boys. Baden-Powell was clear that what he was founding was intended to be an organization that educates and trains boys for manhood with a distinct method.⁹ In employing the strategies described above for this essay, I will only address the *Boy Scout Handbook*.

Democratic Viewpoint

On its website, the BSA is clear that it has chosen a side in what it considers to be a “culture war” in the United States. Its presentation on sexuality was found in early handbooks in a chapter on health, has been moved in recent handbooks to a separate chapter about becoming a man. A theological undercurrent accompanies the description of adult masculinity, and the language is unequivocal in rejecting any sexual activity that is not procreative. BSA has gotten into legal problems regarding deliberate dismissal of any boys who volunteer to BSA authorities that they are gay, bisexual, questioning, agnostic, or atheist. While the handbook and the boy scouting program encourages boys to learn about different

cultures, it does not encourage discussion or exploration of non-belief or non-procreative sexual expressions. It is interesting to note that while the BSA seems to have a decidedly non-democratic approach to these issues, other boy scouting organizations around the world have moved in a more democratic direction.¹⁰

Woman/ Nature

Nature is to be cared for and learned from. The Handbook teaches respect for nature and chivalry toward women. The understanding that boys are intended to obtain about nature and woman in the BSA is not about partnership or being a part of a natural environment that includes women, but rather the scout sees both as other to be cared for. Early and recent handbooks emphasize stewardship toward nature and courtliness toward women.

Evolution and improvement

It is interesting to note that the first four editions of the *Handbook* contained the same statement about body and sexuality. It was written by Baden-Powell and carried over from the British handbook. Sexuality is addressed in the chapter on health, which stresses bodily purity and cleanliness. The only sexual activity referred to is masturbation. It is referred to as more dangerous than drinking alcohol, smoking, or gambling. The current section on sexuality is a new chapter with theological overtones, something Baden-Powell considered dangerous, and outside the concern of scouting.

Openness

The handbooks talk about religion as if all boys are expected to believe in God and participate in a religion. While Baden-Powell, in *Aids to Scoutmasters* says that Boy Scouting is interested in promoting religion, he purposely left religious belief, doctrine, and practice to each boy’s religious community.¹¹ He was content to say that caring for nature would teach boys reverence. The most recent four editions of the *Handbook* have shifted the focus to belief in a Father God, whose fatherhood all boys are called to emulate in adulthood.

Conformity

Loyalty and obedience are two of the twelve points of the Scout Law. Baden-Powell encouraged the teaching of obedience through team activities and sporting events. He shied away from more military-oriented approaches to obedience. He does relate obedience and loyalty to the willingness to die in service for the nation. The current handbook continues that approach. It should be noted that in early years, the national Jamboree took place in national parks and other public grounds. In recent years, the Jamboree has taken place on military bases, and has focused on recruiting for military service.

Re-framing the Masculinization Project : What can educators do?

The brief look I just provided about Boy Scouting

points up the challenges found throughout our many educational agents, including schools. As educators, what can we do to open broader horizons of possibility for boys caught in the current miseducative strategies? In *The Schoolhome*, Jane Roland Martin cautions educators against making educational choices for students that narrow their experience and their educational viewpoint. In addressing ‘gender crossing’ and the temptation on the part of some educators to downplay female authors and topics in coeducational settings (in order to ‘protect’ boys), Martin points out how educators fall into a trap by depriving boys of a major portion of the cultural wealth.

There is an extraordinary irony here. In the name of preserving the achievements of our past and transmitting to future generations the knowledge that the West has accumulated, our elders have automatically discounted half of the West’s heritage – the portion relating to home and domesticity and to the women into whose keeping culture historically placed them. Education’s critics have also ignored the heritage accumulated by men of color. As a result, the capital that the restorationists want to pass down to the next generation is a small fraction of what has been amassed over the centuries.¹²

Whole portions of history and segments of the population are discounted in such strategies. Segments of history that carry contributions by those not in positions of power or influence are disregarded. This kind of strategy validates the axiom that the victors write history. Martin reminds us that the victors also shape culture. Thus, the victory of such restricting agencies contributes to an anti-democratic culture that ignores other voices that have been part of the formation of that culture. In addition, by their use of language and miseducative strategies, they actually target those ‘outside’ segments of the culture.

If we are to make a difference as educators for boys and girls in our schools and other educational venues, we must think carefully about developing new models for understanding gender, gender identity, and specifically, in the case I am researching, masculinity. I believe we could argue that, given the masculine privilege that currently dominates our culture, any attempt to change the broad range of gender issues in school and society must begin with a reframing of the masculinization project. There is an immense responsibility here to proceed carefully but boldly in offering a different approach to this challenge. I suggest three models from which we might learn something about this task. For these models we turn to Abraham, Socrates, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Model One: Sacrificing Boys on the Altar of Masculinity

I turn first to a story that is in some sense foundational for three religions as well as for western culture as we know it. In the three Abrahamic religions (Judaism,

Christianity, and Islam), a central element in the common founding story is the Sacrifice of Abraham’s Son, commonly called the Binding of Isaac. In Judaism and Christianity it is told how Abraham is put to the test by the God he worships, in Genesis, chapter 22. God calls Abraham to prove his love for God by sacrificing the only son he has, on a makeshift altar on Mt. Moriah. In Islamic tradition, the son is Isma’il, who was his first child chronologically, born to the concubine Hagar. Both Hagar and Isma’il had been cast out of his camp by Abraham at the request of his wife, Sarah, who was the mother of Isaac. In Arab legend and Muslim teaching, Abraham escorted them to a safe place, either Moriah or much further south at Mecca, where Abraham had a vision and was put to the test. In both accounts, he goes through the preparation for the killing, to the consternation and confusion of his son, and is prevented at the last moment from dealing the deathblow by an intervening angel.

This story is a centerpiece of the Jewish New Year celebration, serving to remind Jews that God blesses those who submit to a divine calling without question. There are many different interpretations of the story in Judaism, from a literal understanding, to an interpretation that suggests Abraham was delusional, to an interpretation that insists the story is a clear renouncing of all sacrifice: God would never require such a thing since God would never require injustice, and the murder of one’s offspring is clearly injustice.¹³

Most Islamic interpretations are similar to Jewish ones, with the difference being the identity of the son, as well as location. The clear message for Muslims is that God is Owner and Giver of all, including life and offspring.¹⁴

While Judaism and Islam offer a variety of interpretations, Christianity stands lone in offering but one interpretation, almost universally insisting that God was indeed requiring Abraham to kill Isaac, as a sign of faith. The general assumption is that God would never let it actually happen, and in Christianity, this interpretation must hold true, since it looks at the sacrifice of Isaac as a type, a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Jesus. (Thus, if fathers killing sons is unjust, as many Rabbis and Imams have claimed throughout history, the type would not hold.) The message that seems clear in all three versions is that fathers must be willing to sacrifice their sons for a higher good. Even if the demand by God for the son’s death is a test, in which God never intended to allow the boy to be harmed, the emotional and psychic brutalization of both father and son can easily be overlooked. This story could well be a parable/commentary of what miseducation about masculinity does to boys and men in our society. It has violence, patriarchal themes (Abraham is a patriarch, and the word for God in the story is explicitly fatherly. It would serve as a model of what we now have, and want to

avoid.

Model Two: A Socratic approach to masculinity

Plato addresses masculinity in some of his works, most notably *The Meno* and *The Laches*. In *The Meno*, Socrates discusses the teaching of virtue to young men with Meno. The life of virtue was what made a boy a man, and masculinity was tied up in these virtues. The Greek common wisdom was that men had certain virtues and women had differing virtues. While Socrates does not question this differentiation per se, he asserts that behind these separate virtues there are common universal virtues, such as justice, moderation, and wisdom. Socrates and Plato were among those who believed that the virtues of manhood were not inherent in a person, but were to be taught. Other schools of thought tended to believe that virtues were innate, and that training (such as the martial arts) simply helped boys discover the masculine truth already there.

In *The Laches*, masculinity (andreia) is an ideal pursued by the virtuous man. In this dialogue, the discussion of a Council of (male) Elders discusses how to educate boys for manhood. The consensus is that military training is the surest way to train boys in the courage required for manhood. The heroic vision of masculinity held by the Council exalts courage, especially expressed through strength, as an ideal that males are to hold before themselves. This heroic sense of masculinity sees making right, expects the leader to enrich himself and his friends at the expense of his detractors or enemies, and exalts physical protection and use (or threat) of force. Socrates and Nicias, a member of the Council, bring a different perspective to the conversation.

Laches is not only a member of the council, but a model of heroic warrior masculinity, because of his courage, virility, instinct, service in armed conflict and non-intellectual demeanor. He stands in contrast with the more intellectual and reflective Nicias, who is not known for combat or instinctual behavior. The difference between Laches' approach to being a man and the approach of Nicias is clear in two parts of the dialogue. First is the definition of courage. Laches defines courage as having the guts to stand up against whatever it is that one fears. For Nicias, on the other hand, courage is having the wisdom to know what is worth fighting for. Secondly, they evaluate Socrates' courage in different ways. Laches admires Socrates because he took up arms and fought in battle to defend Athens. Nicias, on the other hand, admires him for his ethical and intellectual courage. Throughout the dialogue, Socrates seems to suggest that there is more to masculinity than either innate behavior or social conformity. As Foucault suggests (in *Care of the Self*) the self is no longer conceived of as a result of social conditioning, but is to become an object of the reflective

activity of continuous learning. In both *The Meno* and *The Laches*, Socrates takes issue with the most common and most traditional ways in which people persuade themselves that what they believe about life's priorities is true, generally by endorsing without serious question the value system of their parents or the dominant culture. This 'examined life' constitutes the core value communicated in Socratic philosophy. Socrates demonstrates in these dialogues that such a life demands introspection and self-tending, rather than conformity to social norms and proper standards of behavior, to ensure the health of one's soul.¹⁵

Model Three: Partnership

One place we might look for ways to broaden our options in addressing education for masculinity is an often neglected classic of feminism, the 1915 utopian novel *Herland*, by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. The novel tells of an isolated land inhabited only by women, who build a distinct civilization. The story revolves around three men who get separated from a scientific expedition (of men) and stumble on this hidden land of women. In a sense the novel plays out the reactions the three men have to what befalls them during their stay in Herland.

While most utopian novels are proposals for social change, reading this novel in a way that focuses on the three men and their differences suggests it is a novel about consciousness. The novel was groundbreaking in exploring what it means to be human by using woman (rather than man) as the template. Since masculinity is often seen as a way of distancing the male from that which is feminine, Gilman's work subverts that hegemonic framing, allowing for a fresh critique. The three men in the novel, Terry, Jeff, and Van, embody three different approaches to issues of gender, three different ways to conceptualize masculinity. Indeed, the development of thought on masculinity in the West can be seen as a playing out of these three types, which I call the Warrior, the Guardian, and the Partner.

Masculinity as Domination: the Warrior

The character named Terry is a "man's man," physically aggressive, strong, clever, brave, a model of the warrior-hero type. When the three scientists stumble into *Herland's* country, Terry insists the remarkable condition of the territory is an indicator that there must be male leaders nearby. He is sure that where there is leadership and intelligence, a man is in charge. He assumes society needs a hierarchical structure, and sees women as dependent on men. Objectifying women, he can only define women as dependent on males. He has a difficult time in Herland. He sees woman as "other," as lesser, and yet as a threat. At the beginning of their stay in Herland they are under house arrest for a short period of time, and Terry decides the best response is to escape. He wants to return to the "normal" world and bring back a military

force of men, to restore Herland to “normalcy.” He convinces Jeff and Van to join him in escaping.¹⁶ Like nature, woman needs the husbandry of men in order to be complete. Terry’s relationships with the women are tense and distant, yet he talks to the other two men about the women as if the women would welcome his power over them. His attitude when he is “captured” by the women is defiance and violence. He later decides he can win them over and is convinced once he does, the women will want to elect him to govern as king.

I call the masculinity he embodies the Warrior model. In various forms, this model has been highly prized in Western thought since before Socrates. Warrior masculinity envisions a man who knows what is right because a male authority defines that right for him. That male authority may be another man, or it may be a Sky-Father God. The Warrior sees himself as a take-charge guy. In relation to others, he sees himself as a leader and a taker. The Warrior vision of masculinity is built on violence, and its vision of masculinity provides clear justification for violence. Sexuality is good when it helps Warriors to reproduce, or demonstrate power. A long tradition of rape and plunder during time of war is merely an extension of this kind of thinking. We can see this throughout history as Warriors envision what it means to be a man.

Concerned with power, punishment, and purity, any young man who acts apart from a strict norm of sexual behavior, or who has doubts and struggles with his sense of masculinity, carries a hidden stigma of guilt and shame. Walking this path as a man, therefore, requires keeping oneself clean or pure as possible, and fighting against the sin and evil “out there” in the world.¹⁷

Masculinity as Custody: the Guardian

The second character in Herland is Jeff. He is not as violent in attitude as Terry, and yet he shares many of Terry’s assumptions, if in mitigated form. Jeff knows what is right because tradition dictates it. If Terry subordinates women, Jeff romanticizes them. He distances women, not by insisting on his own authority, but by placing them on a pedestal. For Jeff, life is about chivalry, and he romanticizes gender. While he admires their intelligence, he is sure they are incomplete without male companionship. Women can be intelligent, but they are still “clinging vines,” ultimately relying on men as guardians. For Jeff, the time in Herland is a great adventure, because he finds the women fascinating, and relishes being a gentleman in conversation and interaction. Jeff strives to be a knight in shining armor. Things are the way they are, in Jeff’s world, because of custom.¹⁸

He is an example of the second model of masculinity we will look at: the Guardian. Like Terry, Jeff sees woman as “other,” but for the Guardian, the emphasis is on

woman as complement rather than as threat. Each sex has a naturally given and innately distinct role. Yet each role is highly valued. The Guardian understands men to be responsible for the care and management of nature, women, and children. We can see how this ultimately (if in a quieter way than among Warriors) objectifies women, children, and nature. He relates to those he sees as weaker others, especially women, as protector. Guardian societies see the status quo as the outcome of tradition. The Guardian resolves differences by appeals to tradition and custom, and only secondarily through violence.

A protective attitude effects relationships by automatically placing one person in an unequal position, on the basis of a tradition of “complementarity.” Men and women, being innately different, can have healthy relationships based on that complementarity. Sexual relationships that ignore that complementarity are to be avoided. Guardian religion and culture, like that of the Warrior, are rooted in hierarchical and sacrificial behavior, though with a somewhat custodial attitude toward women and children. These are both sustained by stories and symbols of safety and purity. As Guardians envision masculinity we see much in common with the Warrior model, though it is somewhat mitigated by de-emphasizing or cloaking the violent aspects.

Masculinity as Cooperation: the Partner

The third character is Van. He is the first of the three explorers to notice that the women of Herland’s country treat the men primarily as fellow human beings, not as men. He is interested in learning why things are so different in this land, and initiates conversation with the women around him. He is aware and envious of their sense of social cohesion. He observes an egalitarian social arrangement among the women in this strange land, and, after a rocky start, he begins to assume a certain equality in his conversations with them. His continuing conversations lead him to examine his assumptions and to look more closely at his own understanding of gender and relationships. Through these encounters and conversations, he awakens to just how male-centered his own culture is, in its social, familial, and religious arrangements. His own experience begins to reveal the givens in his culture to be socially constructed rather than innate. He arrives at newer definitions of what is good through the conversations he has, and the experiences he reflects upon. Van begins to see woman, not as an “other” to be feared or placed on a pedestal, but as a partner in building a meaningful society. Whether he sees men and women as ‘different’ or essentially the same is unclear, but he sets aside differences in the interest of cooperating. He decides to relate to others as a friend or partner. He observes that the task of this Herland society is not to raise girls to be women, but to educate them to be human. He finds himself

learning to be, not a Warrior, nor a Guardian, but a Partner.¹⁸

The Partner sees nature as a home rather than as a hostile place to be conquered, and does not assume a sense of being distinct from nature as the Warrior or Guardian does. In consequence of this, he looks at women as fellow human beings, sharers in nature and society. From this viewpoint flows an egalitarian sense of the social order. Authority and leadership are not dependent on gender assumptions, but is (as Van observes in *Herland*) something that flows through carefully made democratic action. Thus, one could say that authority and meaning are not bestowed or discovered, so much as created by social reality. In the country of women, Van sees social expectations and rules enforced, not with weapons, but group influence. In the path of partnership, violence and coercion are minimalized, since social relations would depend on interaction, conversation, and cooperation. Gilman's character Van is not saying anything new. While Socrates did not question gender differentiation per se, he asserted in *The Meno* that behind these separate virtues there are common universal virtues, such as justice, moderation, and wisdom.

Envisioning Masculinity

Gilman's novel shows us a way to call into question male-supremacy and the array of domination practices that accompany it. It offers an important critique that harkens back to issues raised by Catherine Macaulay and Mary Wollstonecraft in an earlier century. Van glimpses this critique when he realizes that in *Herland's* country, education is not about raising girls but cultivating human beings. Do boys and men see themselves primarily as human beings, or first and foremost as bearers of manhood? Is a model of manhood that rejects the objectification of women and nature, that teaches a child to rely on experience and reflective action, even compatible with masculinity? The possibility of taking bodily differences seriously without buying into current masculinities would seem to invite us to consider the primary question to be, what does it mean to be fully human? Can we see ourselves as human beings?

What happens when we bring to bear the strategies for cultural scouting mentioned earlier? If we look at them as strategies for educating, we might begin to arrive at some practical tactics:

Democratic Viewpoint

Herland would suggest that a democratic viewpoint must be a concern in setting educational agendas. A democratic culture, a culture based on partnership, is inclusive and egalitarian, like the one in Gilman's novel. The way in which the women work together peacefully, even to overcome an incident of violence, is a model for thinking about relationships in schools.

Woman/ Nature

All experiences of masculinity define masculinity over against the feminine, as well as against (or above) nature. Whether or not a particular description of masculinity flows from the heroic model, all such models define the feminine in terms of lack or dependence when compared to the masculine. Every such definition defends and preserves a sense of masculine supremacy. Educators who choose to promote partnership will work to dismantle the subjugation of woman and nature, and foster a variety of ways of looking at women and nature that does not see either as some other/thing to be dominated and subdued.

Evolution and improvement

Educators promoting partnership will question systems and institutions that seem stagnant or narrow and constricting in their expressions of masculinization. Deliberate effort needs to be made, collegially, to help schools and society examine past practices and to evolve carefully. Students should be engaged in this process, along with faculty and parents.

Openness

Educators who promote partnership will be creative and persistent in encouraging openness, exploration, inquiry, and risk (all values in an adventure). Experiences in educational settings that broaden experience ought to be encouraged. What is needed is a variety of approaches that encourage and multiply opportunities for exploration, expression, and growth. Partnership educators will question service to the hegemonic attitudes that brutalize boys, and girls in turn, and work to expose students to ways other cultures have lived with the same or similar issues.

Conformity

Masculinity as lived or performed and maintained in the West relies on obedience to an outside authority, and the neglect of personal reflection on experience. This outside authority may be a deity, a tradition, a male hierarchy, or a social superior. But an outside authority is always present, to be obeyed. The not so hidden threat of violence provides the background for more "peaceful" coercion. It should be noted that in Gilman's introduction of a Partner as a model for potential directions for masculinity, Van never renounces violence, and ultimately returns to the world of male-supremacy at the end of the novel.

To grow into manhood today means recognizing these various masculinities and sorting through them while living in a society permeated with male-supremacy and heteronormativity and the rewards that come with collaboration. No boy can grow up without wrestling with (or simply surrendering to) the authority structures, sex role expectations, and underlying violence against women and nature that marks the current hegemonic model. If

MEINHART: SCOUTING FOR MISEDUCATION: EDUCATION AND THE MASCULINIZATION PROCESS

change is to happen, if violence is to be lessened, if boys are to have a broader and more enriching education in the varieties of masculinity, boys must be educated to be partners in humanity.

ENDNOTES

1. Michel Foucault in *The History of Sexuality, Volume I*, (London: Penguin Books, 1992).
2. Jane Roland Martin, *The Schoolhome: Rethinking Schools for Changing Families* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 107-111.
3. Foucault, see also Foucault, M.. *The subject and power*. In H. L. Dreyfus, and P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
4. Martin, 98-119
5. *ibid.*, 109
6. Robert Baden-Powell, *Aids to Scoutmasterhip*. (Dallas:Stevens Publishing, 1992) 9-13.
7. Martin, 41
8. I conceptualize these varieties in my dissertation research, and a paper given at Philosophy of Education Society in 2007, in Atlanta: Must 'Real Men' Have Sick Souls?
9. Baden-Powell, 22-23, 119-120
10. <http://www.bsalegal.org/>
11. Baden-Powell, 12, 92-97
12. Martin, 76-77, 108-111. see also, Susan Laird, "Backlash: Advocacy for Boys in a Post-Feminist Era". *Journal of Philosophy and History of Education*, Vol.54, 2004. 91-96.
13. see David Hoffman, *Parashat Va-yera*. <http://www.jtsa.edu/x7423.xml> and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Binding_of_Isaac
14. see Muhammad Ghoniem & M S M Saifullah, *The Sacrifice Of Abraham: Isaac or Ishmael(P)?* <http://www.islamic-awareness.org/Quran/Contrad/MusTrad/sacrifice.html>
15. *Meno & Laches (or Courage)* by Plato, Translator Benjamin Jowett.
16. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Herland*. New York: Pantheon, 1979. 33-36, 60-61, 98-99, 130-131
17. See my PES 2008 paper for how I conceptualize these varieties of responses to the masculinization process
18. Gilman, 7-9, 89-93
18. *ibid.*, 74-80, 101-108, 141-142