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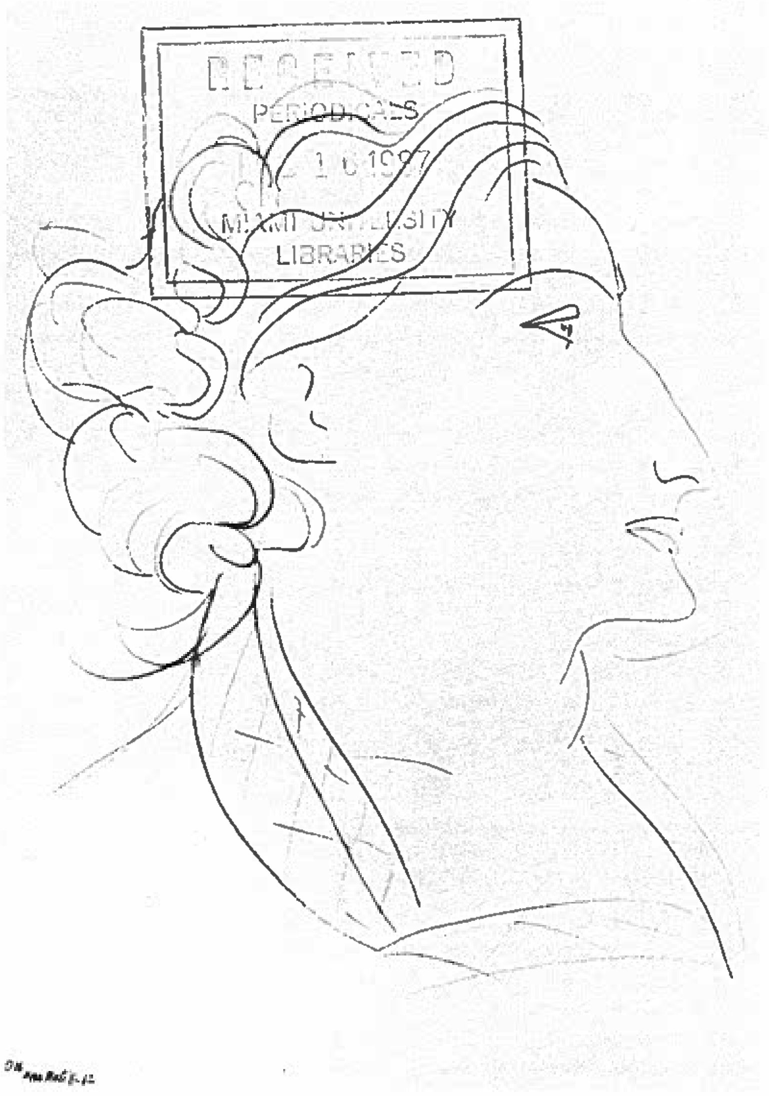

JCT

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The Autobiographical Method in Japanese Education: The Writing Project and Its Application to Social Studies

Shigeru Asanuma
University of Wisconsin-Madison

This paper introduces a writing project that represents a very important historical experience for contemporary educators in Japan. It is called the *"seikatsu tsuzurikata,"* which means writing down one's life experiences (abbreviated as *"tsuzurikata"* in this paper) and was born out of political oppression in Japan before World War II. This writing project shares basic components similar to those of the "autobiographical method" that Pinar (1975) first conceived of and applied to educational practices in the United States. The autobiographical method was initially designed to investigate an individual's personal experiences; its implication is to develop teaching practice on the basis of such experiences. What is needed now is an inquiry into the major goals and procedures by which the individual classroom teacher can embody the proposed ideal in the classroom, as there are not yet many reports about the practical application of the autobiographical method.

Grumet's description (1978) of her experience teaching a college course using the autobiographical method is a rare case study of this type of teaching:

> Students were encouraged to write every day, but to hand in only one journal a week, so that they might develop skills of critical reflection without thinking of those skills as limited to their dialogue with me. (Grumet, 1978: 303)

This quotation illustrates the purpose and a concrete procedure for using the autobiographical method in practical teaching. Grumet concludes her case study as follows:

> In my initial meeting with the theory of estrangement, it was traveling under another name, "distancing." This concept was associated with the phenomenolog-

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> In my initial meeting with the theory of estrangement, it was traveling under another name, "distancing." This concept was associated with the phenomenolog-

> ical practices of bracketing the natural attitude, of suspending a habitual, common sense interpretation of experience in order to achieve a scrutiny of phenomena that would admit information generally excluded by our presuppositions. (Ibid.: 308)

The "distancing" or "bracketing" of the natural attitude means that the student will commence his/her reflecting on everyday life activities. The reflection from a distant perspective is to encourage the student to obtain insight into the objective state of his/her ego. A mere statement of goals of the autobiographical teaching method, however, is not enough to convince educators of its applicability in practice. We need more empirical examples in order to refine the theoretical scheme of the autobiographical method applicable to schooling at elementary and secondary school levels.

Introducing the Japanese autobiographical method, which is not well known in the United States and which is to some degree taken for granted in current school practice in Japan, is expected to give impetus to the advancement of the autobiographical method. In this paper, I discuss the possible use and advantages of the autobiographical method in classroom instruction.

What is the tsuzurikata?[1]

The *tsuzurikata* is a student's essay on his/her everyday life experiences. The collection of students' essays is circulated among students in the classroom. Students are encouraged to write freely and frankly about their experiences. It is a radical movement to reform not only language education but also the social consciousness of the Japanese. The Confucian ethos has forced the Japanese masses to read and write in a certain traditional framework rather than to express their own experiences freely and creatively. The *tsuzurikata* is one of the possible approaches to "currere," the prescription of which is stated by Grumet as follows:

> It is the ambition of *currere* to provide students with the tools of critical reflection that they will need to transform their situations, whatever they may be, to take the objectivity that they are given and to create yet another objectivity from it. In the process of *currere, the* situation becomes *my* situation. *The* criticism that liberates must be *my* negation that arises out of *my* experience. Ultimately, only I am responsible for what I do with what I am given. (Ibid.: 296)

To write about one's own everyday life experiences is to write "about" one's self through reflection. Reflecting on and externalizing the self makes the individual objectify his/her past experiences as "lived experiences." The individual eventually attains "self-consciousness" through the reflective action.

The *tsuzurikata* provides the student with opportunities to express him/herself to the world. It spurs dialectical interaction among students and teachers. The world is constituted in the process of interaction by each student's unconscious consideration of others within the internal sensual process.

The *tsuzurikata* is used to develop social scientific perspectives by exposing students to social reality, which has not been discovered as a thematic and problematic topic in their lives. The *tsuzurikata* teacher provokes students to "objectively" observe the reality surrounding them in terms of their own senses without any intervention of anyone else's authority. The *tsuzurikata* teacher notifies students that they are themselves the sources of authority in their judgments. Students understand that they are situated in the center of various inquiries and that the world is constituted through assumptions tested by their own natural perception.

The *tsuzurikata* is an inter-disciplinary project for approaching the reality of life. It provides a situation in which individual *intentionality* comes out. It deals with a real world beyond the dimension of cognitive knowledge, which is divided into various subjects. An individual's intention constitutes the real world. Instead of analyzing the world in segments of knowledge, students learn to comprehend reality in its totality with love, hatred, anger, and curiosity.

Merely describing the observed objects and experienced events, however, does not necessarily lead to critical thinking about objective reality. The role of critical thinking should not be confined to the paper work but ought to be accompanied with the real action of reflecting upon one's own naive attitude, since the individual cannot be aware of his/her potential to dehumanize others without detaching him/herself from such an attitude. As Freire (1972) suggests, subjective reality ought to be mediated by objective reality for the dialectical development of critical thinking. The important thing is that each subject be aware of his/her potential to dehumanize others, as the oppressed hold the potential to become oppressors unless they are aware of the objective perspective. The potential to become oppressors is determined not only be the social structure but also by the oppressed's own choice. Both the oppressors and the oppressed tend to be unaware that their actions might actually be involved in the process of dehumanization. Freire argues:

> To present this radical demand for the objective transformation of reality, to combat subjectivist immobility which would divert the recognition of oppression into patient waiting for oppression to disappear by itself, is not to dismiss the role of subjectivity in the struggle to change structures. On the contrary, one cannot conceive of objectivity without subjectivity. Neither can exist without the other, nor can they be dichotomized. The separation of objectivity from subjectivity, the denial of the latter when analyzing reality or acting upon it, is objectivism. On the other hand, the denial of objectivity in analysis or action, resulting in a subjectivism which leads to solipsistic positions, denies action itself by denying objective reality. Neither objectivism nor subjectivism, nor yet psychologism is propounded here, but rather subjectivity and objectivity in constant dialectical relationship. (Freire, 1972: 27)

The hidden structure of force, whereby the oppressors as well as the oppressed dehumanize others, has to be uncovered and shown to the oppressed as well as the oppressors.

How can we establish an "authentic praxis," as Freire suggested, for liberation from the individual potential to be an oppressor? Freire (1970) addressed the concept of "codification" that "mediates between the concrete and theoretical contexts of reality" (p. 214), or that "transforms what was a way of life in the real context into 'objectum' in the theoretical context" (p. 215). The *tsuzurikata* is one authentic method to accomplish this goal of codification.

Why is it needed?

What social and historical context predisposed the Japanese to create the *tsuzurikata*? There were two major reasons for its demand and development before the war.

First of all, the development of urbanization expanded the demand for an aesthetically refined educational culture which contradicted the authoritarian strict teaching. The rigidly formalized teaching method, which was based on the odd combination of the Confucian tradition and the Herbertian method, forced students to acquire basic skills, knowledge, and habits. The middle class in urban areas gradually recognized the unsatisfactory circumstances of schooling for the development of humanistic values. The middle class, which had more access to higher education, felt the need for more aesthetically refined culture because their desire was not fulfilled by the technical knowledge that was routinely transmitted in school. They were driven to seek sophisticated modern culture. The original form of the *tsuzurikata* was born to satisfy this cultural need, which grew mainly in urban areas. This type of *tsuzurikata* emerged as one of the manners of restoring artistic expression.

The need of the middle class for cultural refinement was criticized by the Marxist intelligentsia as a "bourgeois" disposition because the desire of the urban middle class did not originate from the needs of life. On the contrary, proletarian literature at that time was regarded as *avant-garde*. Its assumption was that the realism which inspires profound human nature springs from the overwhelming life situation of laborers rather than from fictions such as romantic love which tend to be attached to the interests of the middle class. Therefore, in this argument, only working class people and the intelligentsia who were aware of the social conflict within the social structure were supposed by the Marxists to be eligible to create a new culture based on human needs and interests that were not mediated by the existing distorted communication. The liberation of an alienated modern person was to be attained only by initiating a cultural revolution related to his/her physical conditions. Marxist realism in Japanese literature affected the teachers, and they initiated their voluntary educational movements by modifying the previous educational projects such as the *tsuzurikata*.

The *tsuzurikata* method was developed in rural areas in a different style for other reasons. More than one half of the population in Japan lived in rural areas before the war and most of them suffered by being exploited by the land owners in the tenant farm system. The *tsuzurikata* teacher aimed at awakening social consciousness among students by having them write essays reflecting on their social situation. The prevalence of the *tsuzurikata* in the rural areas over industrial areas exemplifies the special characteristics of Japanese capitalism, which had not developed its industrial capital as much as the advanced European countries. The rural areas, especially the northern part of the Japanese main island, maintained the cultural heritage which had stubbornly remained from the feudal age. The goal of the *tsuzurikata* was to expose rural students to social scientific concepts which challenged the feudalistic customs.

The Great Depression produced political instability both in the cities and in the countryside. In addition, the bad crop of rice at that time damaged the family life of farmers, *e.g.*, they sometimes sold their daughters to light industries as manual laborers. The masses demanded social reform to escape from such despair. However, there was no consensus of values among the people. Ultra-nationalists, socialists, and communists clashed under the domination of a nationalistic ethos. One of the prominent endeavors of social reform was to colonize Manchuria; this desire to expand the nation's land motivated the masses to look outside of the nation rather than to pay attention to the internal problems of the society. On the other hand, Marxist and socialist groups struggled to bring about critical consciousness concerning the traditional and capitalistic society. This reform movement gave the *tsuzurikata* teachers a political orientation in their teaching practice. The *tsuzurikata* was a product of this radical movement.

Characteristics of the tsuzurikata

It is difficult to define the *tsuzurikata* in terms of a single concept because of its diversity in actual practice. The following characterization is an attempt to develop an interpretation based on the original assertions of *tsuzurikata* educators.[1]

The first characteristic of the *tsuzurikata* is its emphasis on the naive observation and description of events and things "as they are." The *tsuzurikata* is based simply upon the perceptions of the senses and personal experiences in everyday life. Eyes are the most important apparatus for an unbiased description of objects and events. Students are advised to observe the life world simply, using their own words, and to include essential elements of their life in the community.

The *tsuzurikata* deeply affects students' social attitudes when school teachers are conscious of the importance of their roles as intelligentsia in the community. The following story is a part of an essay written by Koichi, an eighth grade student in Mr. Muchaku's classroom. Koichi's father died when he was an infant and his mother also had recently died. This essay was named the best student essay by the *tsuzurikata* circle of Japan in 1951:

> My home is poor. I guess the poorest in the village of Yamamoto. As tomorrow is the day of the thirty fifth [a special day for a family that had lost someone in the Buddhist custom], I am reminded of my mother and my miserable family. Tomorrow is also a farewell day to Futao who is the youngest child in my home. Although he is still only in the third grade and such a small boy, he has helped me to do our chores such as carrying wood on his back, without any complaints.

> He will continue to work even after he is adopted by my uncle.
>
> Tsuneko, my sister, will also be adopted by my uncle's family in Yamagata according to the decision of my relatives. But since she has been suffering from whooping cough, she will be taken there after her recovery.
>
> After she goes, my grandmother and I will remain in my home.
>
> My Mother's Death
>
> My brother and sister have to live away from me because of my mother's death and the poverty of my home. We have only a house and two terraces on our farm.
>
> My mother was anxious to raise us to be good persons in such an economic condition. Since my mother was not so strong, she had to take care of her own health and also she worried about our situation after her death. However, she might have worked too hard because she felt embarrassed by bothering others, by borrowing money and receiving small aids from the village office. I had been absent from school after getting a permit from Mr. Muchaku to do manual labor. I was not overloaded because I was not a head of the family. My mother might have been beaten by the mental stress of worrying about problems such as 'how to make a living,' 'how to pay taxes,' and 'how to get rationed rice.'
>
> Even when she was almost dying in bed in the clinic, she asked deliriously, 'Did you wash the cabbage [to make a kind of pickles]?' among other questions. I did not have any words to comfort her in response to her questions and she reminded me only of my house-keeping duties, even in such a critical condition.
>
> The relatives got together around her bed in the clinic after they were informed of her critical condition. I talked about my experiences of the day before, when the villagers helped me collect brushwood, so she smiled without saying anything. I will never forget her last smile at the moment. . . .
>
> I remember my mother had never smiled from deep within her heart in her whole life. She seldom showed her smile, and even if she smiled, she seemed to smile in order to hide her sorrow. However, the smile at that moment was different and sticks in my mind. I think that she had never known how to smile deep from her heart. . . .
>
> After my mother was hospitalized, suddenly I became busier. Until my mother was hospitalized, I felt at ease because she was in my home. Although I did not feel confidence in my sister's nursing of my mother, I had to keep working without having a chance to see her. . . .
>
> At last my mother died on November 13th. The funeral was held on the 15th. Mr. Muchaku, Ueno, and Tetsuo, representatives of the village of Sakai, also came to the funeral. The people in the village of Sakai were also there. Denjiro brought a condolence gift. I could not say anything. All that I could do was to bow toward all the people there. . . . My classmates also offered condolence to me. I really thanked my classmates. (Muchaku, 1969: 18-24)

This portion of the student's essay indicates a candid observation of his real life. Self-criticism and empathy towards others are dynamically organized in this frank statement. This essay provokes the reader's sympathy with his sorrowful situation.

The *tsuzurikata* was not originally designed to have students obtain preorganized scientific knowledge but to attain social consciousness of their community life. In contradiction to this original stance of the *tsuzurikata*, Kokubu (1955) contended that by describing their lives, students, like the students of Muchaku's classroom, begin a conceptualization for structurally organized social scientific knowledge. Thus the second characteristic of the *tsuzurikata* is its pursuit of the goals of cognitive development in social sciences. The following excerpt from Koichi's essay could be considered as an illustration of conceptualization of his life:

> What I Am Thinking Now
>
> I wrote to Mr. Muchaku this noon as follows:
> (1) As I will be a ninth grade student next year, I will try to keep studying at school in order to gain the ability to make my living after finishing school as it is essential for me to work as a day laborer.
> (2) After finishing school next year, I would like to repay the debt by getting a job with a regular income.
> (3) I would like to buy a farm even if I need to borrow money after I finish returning the debt. The farm will enable me to make my living.
> (4) I would like to save money and make an affluent life for my family.
> (5) In order to do so, I have to be smart enough to live in this society.
> (6) Anyhow, I would like to be a person like others who can make a living without any aid from others.
>
> After I wrote to him, I reflected on my proposals stated above. First, I doubt I can save money. Second, if I buy another's farm, the other person will lose the farm and will be poor like me. . . .
> . . . I cannot make a living for my family by myself.
> . . . Therefore, it was wrong to say that I can have an affluent life. Our family has been poor not because my mother has not worked hard enough but because of my dream. I wonder if I can really get out of such a miserable life. (Muchaku, 1969: 15-29)

Although his conceptualization is not sufficiently scientific in the ordinary sense of the word, the *tsuzurikata* teacher assumes that science is always rooted in practical life. Hence, Kokubu believed that the *tsuzurikata* would not contradict the assumption of a discipline-centered curriculum which is constructed according to pre-determined conceptual frameworks. He identified intuitive observation in everyday life with the intuitive process in scientific discovery.

Third, the *tsuzurikata* is a means by which the individual can engage in creative work whenever he/she wants. The physical conditions of a classroom that usually included more than forty students hindered individualization in classroom teaching in Japan. However, the *tsuzurikata* has provided a means of individualization in the conventional classroom environment. Free writing enables the teacher to individualize his/her instruction but still teach all the students together. Everybody in the classroom is supposed to pursue individual goals. This method of individualized teaching has developed in a unique way, though the course of study in general is so rigid that it has contributed to standardization and bureaucratization in the Japanese educational system. Individualization had to be practiced within such a rigid administrative framework in order to create fruitful meanings for the individual's school life.

Individualization is made possible by the diagnostic use of the *tsuzurikata*. In other words, the *tsuzurikata* is used for evaluating and clarifying students' understanding of scientific knowledge as well as for developing critical and rational thinking. Only a story which is built on the stream of subjective experience can illuminate the state of the individual consciousness. Parts and moments in the individual's experience cannot be separated from each other within the world of subjective consciousness. However, the naively perceived world comes to be detached from the self in the individual mind when the individual reflects on his/her own consciousness.

The *tsuzurikata* offers students chances for their reflective action. The *tsuzurikata* is a mirror through which students exchange their internal processes (which are written in explicit forms) and participate in the group dynamics. Each student is aware that the implication of his/her statements in the classroom journal constitutes his/her own social being. Each one's projected language circumscribes his/her existence in the world because it encourages reflection on the self that has been projected in the form of the social context, including other beings.

The ability to reflect, which is an important educational goal of the *tsuzurikata*, is developed by deeply understanding the objective reality on which the subjective reality is founded. The development of the ability to understand another's subjective reality starts with the understanding of the function of the ego that each holds inside. It is possible to identify the development of the reflective ability in the following excerpt from Koichi's essay:

> Tomorrow is the thirty-fifth day after my mother's death. I will tell that to my mother in the grave. I will examine why we have to suffer from poverty and why we cannot save money even though we work so hard. If I buy someone else's farm, however, I might make the other suffer from a miserable state like my mother. Toshio, a classmate of mine, is even more unlucky than me. We can work together. (Ibid.: 32)

Fourth, the *tsuzurikata* has a political orientation. The militaristic and oppressive atomosphere before the war hampered the development of the individual self-consciousness based on the individual "ego-identity." The individual has to return to him/herself before others determine what he/she will be. One of the advantages of Marxism is its humanist point of view that the individual obtains the freedom of spirit as a human being by reconstructing a social structure. The political oppression of Japanese peasants was explicitly related to the basic economic structure in rural areas before the war. It is typically illustrated in General MacArthur's order to liberate peasants from the tenant farm system because of the potential for the communist movement to be rooted in a social class struggle on the basis of the ownership of land. The *tsuzurikata* teacher assumed that the *tsuzurikata* could have a political impact on the naive mentality of students in rural areas, because thinking about reality through reflective activity would lead the individual to speculate about a political ideology that was obstructive to self-consciousness. Students were urged to develop critical thinking by discovering the dominance of political ideology in the natural state of their everyday life experience. The *tsuzurikata* teacher claimed that the subjective reality the individual experiences is a foundation for developing a political assumption. Although students cannot logically reason about their own convictions, they can identify their miserable life situations with political issues. The *tsuzurikata* has the advantage of bringing students' attention to social reality in the

community and convincing them that the social reality they experience should be a source of the truthfulness of the world. Thus, the political orientation of the *tsuzurikata* differs from the "currere," which tends to be more psychoanalytically focused than politically focused.

Kokubu classified students' political orientations in their *tsuzurikata* in terms of valued categories as follows:

1. Facts indicating the new consciousness:
   — I want the United States Army to return home since I heard about the U.S. Army camp in Japan.
   — Koichi said, "We should listen to the talks of Soviet Union and China," and others said, "Yes. Yes."
   — My father and mother stopped saying "Go away" any more when the people of the Communist party came to my elder brother.
2. Facts indicating the internal conflict and unstable state:
   — Kenichi said, "It does not matter whether we follow Russia or America if only our life becomes better," and others said, "It might be correct."
   — I cannot object to the rearmament of Japan because someone says, "Japan will be at risk if we do not have a military."
3. Facts indicating the external conflict and unstable state:
   — Whenever my father drinks, he says to my elder brother and to me, "Do not become just a red [Communist]."
   — Uncle Kyuichi said in the barbershop, "Japan exists only because of the existence of an emperor. The people of labor unions will starve because they forget that."
4. Facts indicating unfavorable consciousness recently appearing:
   — Uncle Goro said, "We had better belong to the United States rather than the communist party taking over Japan."
   — Toshie said, "I wish I could have been born in the United States." (Kokubu, 1955: 104-105)

Internal and External Contradictions of the Tsuzurikata

The tsuzurikata was a distinctive project of Japanese education before the war. Its practice is not comprehended in terms of a single Western notion such as Marxism, realism in literature, or personal development through expressive activity. It is important to note that substantial practice preceded the conceptual formation of the *tsuzurikata*, and the *tsuzurikata* teacher has empirically developed the method of autobiography in the classroom situation. Kokubu's later characterization of the tsuzurikata stressed its social scientific orientation which had not been previously formalized.

It is necessary for the further development of the *tsuzurikata* to clarify the internal contradictions within the project itself. The first problem of the *tsuzurikata* is the difficulty in specifying the particular factor which makes the *tsuzurikata* a successful teaching practice. One could easily stress the technical aspect such as its style or its system. On the other hand, one could point out an intangible aspect of the *tsuzurikata* such as the teacher's spiritual or ethical orientation. The *tsuzurikata* empirically shows that the teacher's ability to educate and humanize the student is not measured only in terms of technical skills and methods. The following part of Koichi's essay illustrates the role played by his classroom teacher:

> When Mr. Muchaku and the school principal visited my house, I was going to ask questions of Mr. Muchaku, but instead he asked me many questions all at once that I did not have chance to do so.
> Muchaku: Do you work carrying leaves of tobacco? How many days do you work? After that what will you do?
> Koichi: . . . Spread leaves.
> Muchaku: How many days will you take to finish it?
> Koichi: I do not know.
> Muchaku: Then show me your diary of last year.
> Koichi: I did not record it.
> Muchaku: Oh, no. Do record the beginning date and days spent for finishing the work in order to plan for next year's project. Do it from today. What will you do after carrying tobacco?
> Koichi: Make a snow fence.
> Muchaku: What will you do after that?
> Koichi: I may be able to go to school after that.
> Muchaku: So you will hardly be able to come to school at all, will you? Tomorrow, you are coming to school to pick up the rationed rice, aren't you? So you should come in the morning. You have not come to school for about one and a half months. Please show up and say thanks to your classmates because they cared about you when your mother died. In addition, make your work schedule. . .
> . . . Next day, I brought the work schedule to Mr. Muchaku and after he thought about it for a while, he suggested that three other classmates and I go to the nightwatchman's room. He handed the work schedule to Tozaburo, one of the classmates, there and asked him to look at it.
>
> After Tozaburo had contemplated if for some time and raised his head, Mr. Muchaku asked whether they could do anything about my problem. After a short time of silence, Tozaburo began to speak to the other classmates, "Yes, our classroom can handle Koichi's problem and help him so that he can come to school. The others agreed with his proposal. Tears almost came to my eyes. Then he added, "Please do not make it a mess by rushing. We need to carefully plan to assign the number of people for the work." I could not stop the tears from flowing.
>
> Eventually, classmates came not only from my own village but also from other villages to help me and we finished all of the long term work by December 3rd.
> . . . I thanked my nice classmates and the teacher for their kindness in helping me to go to school. I could complete the school assignment of social studies titled "Our school." (Muchaku, 1969: 29-32)

As this essay suggests, the teacher's competence in education cannot be replaced by prescribed instructional systems but has its own value in the process of developing human relationships;

the meanings and quality of human experiences are created in such interaction as humanistic dialogue, and the whole existence of the student is cared for by the teacher. Therefore, it is difficult to categorize and specify the abilities needed in the interactive process of teaching and guiding the student in everyday life. One of the important areas to be explored in teaching involves a *charismatic* element, which has been rationally explained neither in terms of behavioral objective approaches nor Marxist aesthetic theory based on materialistic realism. It is an important aspect of the common practice of the Japanese teacher. The aspect of counseling in the *tsuzurikata* has been emphasized, rather than the aspect of its writing, since the end of the war. The teacher's concern for the life beyond the mere writing program is a central reason why the emphasis of the *tsuzurikata* has shifted from a simple writing project to social activities involving the student's life out of school.

The external contradiction of the *tsuzurikata*, on the other hand, is related to the fundamental change in the social reality surrounding the school in Japan. The circumstances in which Koichi lived in his school years show a typical life in a poor area. However, the wave of industrialization and commercialization has now struck rural areas, accompanied by mass media culture. The absolute poverty of the proletariat is no longer defined in terms of a minimum level for survival but in terms of the relative degree of the poverty. The people's drive for possessions is stimulated only by knowledge of others' possessions. The alienation of modern human beings is no more generated from the interest in physical conditions, in the industrialized affluent society. As economically deprived proletariats disappear, practical interest in political slogans has also lost its ground. As the real sense of need has been diluted and distorted through the mass media, the *tsuzurikata* has gradually lost its ability to challenge distorted cultural constructs, such as fad comics for children.

There are, however, two possible alternatives to the traditional *tsuzurikata* which emphasize the conditions of physical reality. One is to approach the development of social scientific orientation through the practice of writing essays. Kokubu attempted to rationalize the *tsuzurikata* as a starting point for

scientific inquiry: writing one's own autobiography is assumed to be a means of developing social scientific concepts and critical thinking among students. In this attempt, the process of developing social scientific concepts is organized in advance, and the role of writing is confined to a very small part of creative activity. However, the gap between the theoretical structure of general sciences and the emphasis on materialistic conditions in the *tsuzurikata* is so wide that the *tsuzurikata* teacher cannot actually reconcile these positions in his/her practice. It is necessary to inquire further, to learn how to remove the discrepancy between these positions.

As has been described, Marxist realism directly points to the physical conditions of life and has been dominant in the traditional *tsuzurikata*. However, it should now be asked whether our experiences are occupied exclusively with materialistic problems. Instead, cultural events and human relations constitute the central interest in our consciousness. "Things" have no value in themselves but can be valued only in the process of the interaction among people. For instance, a gem cannot be valuable unless more than one human expresses an interest in it. The assumptive development of values in the exchange of goods among people determine the value and concept of a thing. This creation of surplus and imagined value is the beginning of alienation from intrinsic values as well as the creation of contrived values in life. Thus, the value of life is constituted on a fictitious foundation. Therefore, as long as traditional Marxists adhere to an absolute scale of economic poverty, they fail to recognize the problem of relative cultural poverty that is related to the inequality of the distribution of educational opportunity. The people's starvation and dehumanization are produced and perpetuated mostly through the media, which determine the relations and modes of interaction among the people.

Another alternative to the traditional *tsuzurikata* is the development of aesthetic elements in writing. The controversy between Marxist realism and bourgeois aesthetics has to be dealt with in terms of the contemporary "post-industrial" society. The main problem of Marxist realism is its reduction of the senses to physical and materialistic needs by ignoring complicated constructs such as intellectual curiosity and aesthetics.

The realism that emphasizes serious life problems encourages the student to delineate the overwhelming problems of real life, as in the following example:

My Home

> My family is worrying about the shortage of rice. Although my father ground rice at home yesterday, he complained that it was at most half of last year's yield. "I am shocked. If this rice is taken as land taxes this year, we will be short of rice for a year," he said. My father and mother said, "We cannot do anything about it," and gazed at the sack of rice with deep disappointment. When I saw them and the poor rice crop, I was almost on the verge of crying because I had asked them to buy rain boots for me. I almost burst into tears, seeing the rice in the storage. (7th grade student, 1931; Kaneko in Obara, 1970: 463-64)

This example demonstrates the critical problem of Marxist realism. It represses the positive emotional aspect of the individual's potential for the emancipation of ego identity, rather than encouraging it. The frank disclosure of the cruel life leads not to the expansion of imagination but rather to its hindrance. Cognitive symbols serve only as guidelines of thought, but the full individual potential is actually developed by aesthetic activities. The potential developed in an aesthetic way can be a solid foundation for creating critical thinking toward the individual's future.

Prior to the *tsuzurikata* of Marxist realism, various efforts had been made to create artistic works in essays, poems, fine arts, and music, within an education movement that occurred during the flourishing cultural reformation of the early 1900's. The ultimate goal of those artistic pursuits is emancipation from an individual's strained reality, through imaginative ability. There are, for example, humor and light rhythm in the free style of this example:

> My mother came to the meeting with the teacher today. I felt shy about my friends seeing my mother. I hid her. I was too shy to look at my mother's face, but I do not know why, because I do not feel that way at home. (6th grade student, 1924; Kaneko in Obara, 1970: 462)

This student lightly, innocently, and frankly expressed internal feelings and conflicts in poetic style.

The student does not comprehend reality in terms of physical reality, itself, but merely sees and feels reality in an aesthetic process which is innately developed. If cultural constructs in process are built on limited human senses, the student sees reality in terms of his/her poor apparatus without recognizing the distortion of reality and the crucial elements needed for creation. It should be noted that the crucial elements of creation do not belong to things, themselves, but spring from the interactive process between the environment and the living human senses that we innately possess and use. Dewey pointed out that the meanings of the world are generated from the context, *i.e.*, "Meaning does not belong to the world and signboard of its own intrinsic right" (1958, p. 83). Meaning is created out of the knowledge of past experiences and one's interaction with others. Artistic expression offers important opportunities for the positive development of imagination. When the *tsuzurikata* is used for sharpening the aesthetic senses, it will contribute to the development of positive creative ability. This heritage of the creative *tsuzurikata* is still partially alive in the writing project in Japanese education, demonstrated as follows:

Hurry

> You know, teacher [students get the teacher's attention in this way in Japan]. Yumi's ears are flushing and her face is hot. Hurry, teacher. (1st grade student; Kurusu, 1966: 11)

Keiko

> "Who is sticking his elbow off the desk?" The teacher's voice was suddenly heard. I was scared and pulled in my arms. "Keiko, you are slouching." Keiko's face turned red. I thought she would cry but she laughed, covering her mouth with her hand. The teacher also smiled. I felt good. (2nd grade student; Kurusu, 1966: 140)

Although these essays do not describe the materialistic state surrounding the students, we can identify sentiment and excitement in their minds that cannot be made explicit by someone else. The dynamics in the mind are the movements in the stream of consciousness. The stream of consciousness is occupied not with routine images but with dialectical dynamics of various factors, especially meanings which are created in the relationship with others.

Aftermath of the Tsuzurikata

Adults who previously had had no opportunity to write about themselves were stimulated by the *tsuzurikata* to organize themselves into writing circles. Many unknown working class men and women started writing their autobiographies in these circles. It was a purely spontaneous mass movement. They reflected on their lives in their communities and working places.

As has been stated, the meaning of their lives was not given in terms of cognitive social scientific frameworks but created through individual imagination based on their natural perceptions in community life. The *tsuzurikata* developed its own cultural tradition, accommodating needs of provincialism and excluding commercial elements in the urban culture, though elaborate aesthetic elements are often generated from the urban culture. The refinement of the aesthetic sense becomes more important than before because the aesthetic sense is expected to be a sound foundation that resists the anonymously-imposed mass media culture of the post-industrial society. The laboring class people could develop critical consciousness because they could find the problem in their communication system according to their natural desire for emancipation. Their critical consciousness should be supported by their aesthetic foundation in the prereflective dimension. The people's desire for regaining the lost "home" might also be reified through distorted communication. The tendency to indiscriminately exclude urban culture as decadent commercialism has dimmed the ability of the masses to appreciate sensually important aesthetic values beyond their physically limited conditions. It is necessary to develop keen sensitivity through aesthetic activities including all kinds of possibilities so as to discern the intrinsic essences in life from more whimsical elements.

The image of ideal life can also be the construct of our imagination, which tends to be provided in the anonymously constructed cultural circumstances of post-industrial society. However, the refinement of natural senses of children can be practiced in the "micro-cosmos" of the school rather than exposing them to the uncovered reality of the world that is contaminated with various kinds of infusion. As Dewey suggested, experiences cannot be separated from environmental conditions. The arrangement of environmental conditions in aesthetic forms ought to be a primary concern in creating children's experiences for their future life. However, there still remains a central controversy concerning the source of creativity: Is it psychological or environmental? Thus the exploration of an aesthetic dimension is still a crucial and intangible frontier in education.

Notes

1. The characterization of the *tsuzurikata* is based on the following materials:

Kaneko, Magoichi. "Shinko kyoiku to seikatsu tsuzurikata undo" [The development of new education and the spelling life], in Obara, K. (Ed.), *Nihon shin kyoiku hyakunenshi*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Tamagawa Kaigaku Shuppan, 1970.

Kokubu, Ichitaro. *Seikatsu tsuzurikata noto*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppan, 1970.

Kuno, Osamu; Tsurumi, Sunsuke; and Fujita, Shozo. *Sengo Nihon no shiso*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976.
Umene, Satoru; Ebihara, Haruyoshi; and Nakano, Akira. *Shiryo Nihon kyoiku jissenshi*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Sanseido, 1979.

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Dewey, John. *Art as Experience*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1958.
Freire, Paul. "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom." *Harvard Educational Review, 40*: 2, 1970: 205-255.
Freire, Paul. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Penguin Books, 1972.
Grumet, Madeleine. "Songs and Situations," in G. Willis, ed., *Qualitative Evaluation*. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1978.
Kaneko, Magoichi. "Shinko kyoiku to seikatsu tsuzurikata undo," in K. Obara (Ed.), *Nihon shin kyoiku hyakunenshi*. Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppan, 1970.
Kokubu, Ichitaro. *Seikatsu tsuzurikata noto*, I & II. Tokyo: Shinhyoronsha, 1955.
Kurusu, Yoshio (Ed.). *Okasan anone*, I. Tokyo: Taihei Shuppan, 1966.
Muchaku, Seikyo (Ed.). *Yamabiko gakko*. Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1969.
Pinar, William F. "Currere: Toward Reconceptualization," in *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists*. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1975. William F. Pinar (Ed.).

Interests, Knowledge and Evaluation: Alternative Approaches to Curriculum Evaluation

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In any serious discussion of school improvement, improvement of curriculum is implied. Curriculum improvement, in turn, implies curriculum evaluation.

In spite of the many years of curriculum evaluation activities at local, provincial and national levels, it is only in recent years that the notion of "curriculum evaluation" itself has been made problematic and subjected to rigorous scrutinizing. It is this meta-level concern in curriculum evaluation that is the focus of this paper, guided by an interest in understanding more fully what is meant when we say "curriculum evaluation."

In recent years, some of us have come to question the tendency of educators to reduce the idiom of educational evaluation to the paradigm of scientistic research. In our search flowing from our questioning, we have come to know some Continental European scholars who did not succumb to the persuasions of logical positivism expounded by members of the Vienna Circle as did North American scholars. Among these is Jurgen Habermas, a German scholar affiliated with the Frankfurt School.[1] He, together with others such as Horkheimer, Marcuse and Adorno, announced what they saw as a serious crisis in the Western intellectual world so dominated by instrumental reason based on scientism and technology. Habermas appealed to philosophical anthropology to reveal knowledge constitutive of human interests embedded in basically different paradigms. In our endeavor to transcend the dominant tradition in curriculum evaluation, we appropriated Habermas's paradigms, and re-labeled them for our purposes.

These we have termed:

1. Ends-Means (Technical) Evaluation Orientation.
2. Situational Interpretive Evaluation Orientation.
3. Critical Theoretic Evaluation Orientation.

Kuno, Osamu; Tsurumi, Sunsuke; and Fujita, Shozo. *Sengo Nihon no shiso*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976.
Umene, Satoru; Ebihara, Haruyoshi; and Nakano, Akira. *Shiryo Nihon kyoiku jissenshi*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Sanseido, 1979.

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I wish to discuss these orientations by grounding my discussion in a concrete evaluation experience: the assessment of the British Columbia Social Studies program.

Public school educators in British Columbia are very aware of the many evaluation activities spawned by the office of the Assessment Branch of the Ministry of Education over the past several years, in response, in part, we sense, to the public clamor for accountability in education.

Our experiences in evaluating the British Columbia Social Studies[2] provides an exemplar of how multiple perspectives can guide curriculum evaluation. From the outset, as we ventured into various centers in British Columbia, seeking out and trying to make sense of concerns about Social Studies expressed by teachers, students, parents, school trustees, administrators and professors of Social Studies education, we seriously posed ourselves a question: "What are evaluation frameworks and approaches we should employ in evaluating the phenomenon called Social Studies in British Columbia?"

We took a cue from what Kenneth Beittel[3] called, appropriately, the "Rashomon effect," a notion borrowed from Kurosawa's acclaimed film in which he disclosed the same event from several perspectives. Simultaneously, we were mindful of the risk of reductionism of evaluation possibilities to the dominant ends-means orientation in evaluation research, a point M.Q. Patton made in the following way:

> The very dominance of the scientific method in evaluation research appears to have cut off the great majority of practitioners from serious consideration of any research paradigm. The label 'research' has come to mean the equivalent of employing the Scientific Method...of working within the dominant paradigm.[4]

We approached our evaluation activities mindful of the importance to us of ourselves being open to fresh possibilities. We began our evaluation tasks guided by paper-and-pencil-oriented questionnaires that sought teachers', parents' and students' views of aspects of Social Studies, and also students' views and knowledge of Social Studies content. We extended ourselves to include on-site studies, guided by concerns for meanings people who dwell within classroom and school situations give to Social Studies. Further, we added a critical evaluation dimension, seeking out underlying "official" perspectives embedded in the Ministry's official curriculum documents.

These activities led to the formulation of five reports and a special paper as follows:

Report A: *Teacher Views of Social Studies*

Report B: *Teacher Views of Prescribed Social Studies Curriculum Resources*
Report C: *Views of Goals of Social Studies*
Report D: *Student Achievement and Views in Social Studies*
Report E: *Interpretive Studies of Selected School Situations*
Special Paper: "An Interpretation of Intents of the Elementary and Secondary Curriculum Guides" in *The Summary Report: B.C. Social Studies Assessment*

Now, some years after the completion of the evaluation, we are in a position to provide a reconstructed version, possessing to some degree a clarity and tidiness which only a reconstruction can give. In fact, it is through such a reconstruction that we were able to provide a portrayal of our evaluation approaches interpreted within a framework of evaluation paradigms.[5]

We must now turn to an effort to illuminate to some extent these three evaluation orientations.

Ends-Means (Technical) Evaluation Orientation

Evaluators acting within an ends-means orientation reflect their interests by entertaining a set of evaluation concerns.

Ends-Means Concerns:

1. How efficient are the means in achieving the curricular goals and objectives?
2. How effective are the means in predicting the desired outcomes?
3. What is the degree of congruency between and among intended outcomes, the content in the instructional materials and the teaching approaches specified?
4. How good is Curriculum A compared with Curriculum B in achieving given ends?
5. Of given curricula, which one is the most cost-effective and time-efficient?
6. What valid generalizations can be made for all schools in a district?
7. How well are inputs organized to achieve organizational goals?
8. What are the principal means used to achieve goals? How do we know that these means are actually enacted, with what frequency, and with what intensity?

These ends-means concerns reflect an orientation to evaluation which can be characterized as technical or instrumental. As such, these concerns reflect the dominant evaluation approach in use, going hand-in-hand with the technically oriented mainstream curriculum development/evaluation rationale, known popularly as the Tyler Rationale. We know it by Tyler's sequentially arranged four-step formulation[6]:

Step 1 - What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
Step 2 - How can learning experiences be selected which are likely to be useful in attaining these objectives?
Step 3 - How can learning experiences be organized for effective instruction?

Step 4 - How can the effectiveness of learning experiences be evaluated?

The ends-means evaluation orientation has for the pragmatically oriented a commonsensical ring carrying with it the validity of popular support. Further, its congruency with the mainstream social theory idioms of basically instrumental reason, such as behaviorism, systems thinking, structural functionalism borrowed heavily by educators, lends ends-means evaluation a credibility which assumes the status of consensual validity of legitimated educator "scholars". Such legitimated authenticity has led many evaluators to regard this evaluation orientation as *the* orientation.

But what does this orientation imply in terms of cognitive interests and assumptions held tacitly? I suggest that underneath the avowed interest in efficiency, effectiveness, predictability and certainty, as reflected in the list of concerns we examined, is a more deeply rooted interest - that of *control*. It is saturated with a manipulative ethos that leads evaluators of this orientation to value evaluation questions such as: How well have the ends been achieved? Which is a better program, Curriculum A or Curriculum B?

Within this framework, the form of knowledge that is prized is empirical data; the "harder" they are, the better, and the more objective they are, the better. Data are seen as brute facts. In scientific terms the form of knowledge assumes nomological status, demanding empirical validation and seeking levels of generalizability. Knowledge is objective, carrying with it the false dignity of value-free neutrality, reducing out as humanly as possible contamination by the subjectivity of the knower.

Evaluators who subscribe to the ends-means view are technologically oriented, primarily interested in seeing how well the system is able to control components within the system as it struggles to achieve its goals. In their tasks, these evaluators seek efficient tools and instruments such as tests and questionnaires, and seek rigor by bringing to bear the expertise of psychometricians and statisticians. They tend to resort to measurable quantitative data subjected to sophisticated statistical analyses.

In our B.C. Social Studies Evaluation, we administered achievement tests to grade 4, 8 and 12 classes randomly selected throughout the province, and we sent questionnaires to randomly selected teachers in order to seek the teachers' assessment of instructional resources. These are illustrations of the instruments we used in the technically oriented dimension of our evaluation.

In summary, we might say that the ends-means evaluation mode just considered is framed within the orienting perspective of the following cognitive interest, form of knowing, and mode of evaluation:

> *Interest* in the ethos of *control* as reflected in the values of efficiency, effectiveness, certainty and predictability.
>
> *Form of Knowing* emphasized is that of empirical nomological knowing. Understanding is in terms of facts and generalizations.
>
> *Mode of Evaluation* is ends-means evaluation which is achievement oriented, goal based, criterion referenced, and cost benefit oriented.

Situational Interpretive Evaluation Orientation

In contrast with the technical interest and concerns reflected in the ends-means approach to evaluation, those evaluators oriented towards the situational interpretive mode of evaluation register interest in the following kinds of concerns:

Situational Interpretive Concerns:

1. How do various groups such as teachers, the Ministry, parents, students and administrators view Curriculum X?
2. In what ways do various groups approve or disapprove the program?

3. How do the various groups see Curriculum X in terms of relevance, meaningfulness and appropriateness?
4. What are the various groups' perceived strengths and weaknesses of the program?
5. What questions do administrators and significant others have about Curriculum X?

The situational concerns expressed in these evaluation concerns reflect an orientation to evaluation which we can characterized as situational interpretive. As such these concerns reflect an approach to evaluation in which evaluators show interest in the meanings those living in the situation give to a given curriculum.

Whereas, the technical evaluator assumes a posture as an outsider external to the situation (i.e., as a disinterested observer or as a stranger), the situational interpretive evaluator attempts to gain insights into human experiences as they are experienced by insiders, as they live within the situation.

For example, at this very moment as I write I find myself situated within my world of teacher educators. In this world of mine, my "I" is at the center. I am experiencing life as I am now living it, guided by my common-sense typified knowledge about educators' writings and about people who read such writings. I define my life now by giving meaning to my paper on evaluation, as I sit at my desk awaiting words to come into view and to on-going events about me as I experience them. I am continuously involved in meaning-giving activities as I am subjectively engaged in constructing my personal world of meanings. The structure of these meanings is my present reality.

I can also picture you seated with the text of this writing before you as you are experiencing the reading of my paper. You are situated with yourself at center, that central point of your being that allows you to say "I." You are experiencing life as you are now living it in your typical "reading" way, giving your own meaning to the text of what you are reading. You, too, are continuously involved in meaning-giving activities as you construct your own personal world of meanings. The structure of these meanings is your present reality.

In a social situation, which a classroom or school significantly is, there are multifold ways in which things, people and events are given meaning by those who are living in the situation. In other words, people are continuously interpreting events that they experience, and these interpretations differ from person to person. Hence, an evaluator oriented towards situational interpretation must keep two significant features in mind: (1) people give personal meanings to each situation experienced, and (2) people interpret the same event in different ways.

Whereas, as we have seen, the human activity of central concern within the ends-means orientation is man's technical productive capacity to achieve ends, the activity of most concern for evaluators in the situational interpretive framework is communication between man and man. Since evaluation guiding interests of the situational interpretive evaluation are insights into human experiences as socially lived, the evaluator needs to direct his efforts toward clarifying, authenticating and bringing into full human awareness the meaning structures of the constructive activities of the social actors in the situation. Thus, the form of knowledge sought by the evaluator within this situation is not nomological statements, but rather structures of meaning as man meaningfully experiences and cognitively appropriates the natural and social world. Hence, when the situational interpretive evaluator comes to know situationally, he knows his world in a different form and in a different way compared with the knowledge gained by the ends-means evaluator.

In seeking out, therefore, the structure of meanings which are not accessible to ends-means evaluators, those in the situational interpretive orientation must attempt to provide explanations of a different kind. That is, whereas "explaining" within the ends-means orientation means giving causal, functional or hypothetico-deductive statements, within the situational orientation, "explaining" requires the striking of a responsive chord among people in dialogue situations by clarifying motives, authentic experiences and common meanings. The evaluator, hence, cannot stand aloof as an observer as is done in the ends-means evaluation, but must enter into intersubjective dialogue with the people in the evaluation situation.

Within the situational interpretive orientation, there are different approaches, each allowing a description of the meaning structure in a situation. There is growing interest among evaluators in studies that fall within the phenomenological attitude. The phenomenology of socially constructed understanding, requiring investigation of meaning-giving activities in the everyday world, is the main interest of sociologists of knowledge such as P. Berger, T. Luckman, and A. Schutz, ethnomethodologists such as H. Garfinkel, I. Goffman, and Cicourel, or hermeneuts such as F. Schleiermacher, H. Palmer and Hans-Georg Gadamer.

Such interpretations of situations are called phenomenological descriptions, providing first-order experiences people directly experience. Evaluators of this persuasion are interested in the quality of life-as-lived in the classroom or school, life experienced by those who dwell within the situation.

Within the B.C. Social Studies Assessment, we experimented with two situational evaluation approaches: (1) an ethnographic approach in which we sought out views of the curriculum-as-plan and curriculum-in-use as interpreted by parents, students, teachers and administrators, and (2) an approach using conversational analysis of the meaning structures of the existential life of teachers and students. The inclusion of these reports represented our attempt to portray more fully the Social Studies phenomenon as it existed in British Columbia.

We can summarize the situational interpretative framework in terms of its cognitive interests, form of knowledge and mode of evaluation as follows:

> *Interest* in the meaning structure of inter-subjective communication between and among people who dwell within a situation.
>
> *Form of Knowing* is situational knowing, within which understanding is in terms of the structure of meaning. Within this orientation, to explain is to strike a resonant chord by clarifying motives and common meanings.

> *Mode of Evaluation* is situational evaluation, which seeks the quality of meanings people living in a situation give to their lived situations.

Critical Evaluation Mode Orientation

Evaluators thinking and acting within the critical mode reflect their interests by committing themselves to a set of evaluation concerns which differ markedly from either the technically or the situationally oriented evaluators. The following concerns illustrate the interest of critical evaluators:

Critical Evaluation Concerns:

1. What are the perspectives underlying Curriculum X? (What are underlying root interests, root assumptions, root approaches?)
2. What is the implied view of the student or the teacher held by the curriculum planner?
3. At the root level, whose interests does Curriculum X serve?
4. What are the root metaphors that guide the curriculum developer, the curriculum implementor, or curriculum evaluator?
5. What is the basic bias of the publisher/author/developer of prescribed or recommended resource materials?
6. What is the curriculum's supporting world view?

The evaluation concerns illustrated above reflect an orientation to evaluation which we can characterize as critical or critical theoretic, rooted in critical social theory, an emerging discipline area. These concerns reflect an approach to evaluation in which the evaluators are interested in bringing into full view underlying perspectives of programs that are typically taken-for-granted and therefore, hidden from view. Implied within a "perspective" are root metaphors, deep-seated human interests, assumptions about man, world view and knowledge, as well as stances that man takes in approaching himself or his world. Critical evaluators are interested in making these visible. But they do not stop here.

As we have noted, whereas evaluation is seen in ends-means evaluation within the framework of instrumental or technical action, and in situational evaluation within the framework of communicative action, in critical theoretic evaluation, it is seen within the dialectical framework of practical action and critical reflection, what Paulo Freire refers to as *praxis*. In critical reflection, the actor, through the critical analytic process, discovers and makes explicit the tacit and hidden assumptions and intentions held. Such reflective activity is guided by interest in revealing the root condition that makes knowing possible, or in revealing the underlying human and social conditions that distort human existence, distortions that tend to alienate man. Thus, critical evaluators attempt to determine when theoretical statements grasp invariant regularities of human and social action or when they express ideologically frozen relations of dependence that can, in principle, be transformed. Richard Schaull captures aptly this critical orientation in the following way:

> There is no such thing as a *neutral* educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, *or* it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.[7]

Thus, a critically oriented evaluator, himself, becomes a part of the object of the evaluation research. The evaluator, in becoming involved with his subjects, enters into their world and attempts to engage them mutually in reflective activity. He questions his subjects and himself, and encourages his subjects to question him and themselves. Reflection by himself and by participants allows new questions to emerge from the situation, which, in turn, leads to further reflective activity. Reflection, however, is not only oriented toward making conscious the unconscious by discovering underlying interests, assumptions and intentions, but it is also oriented towards action guided by the newly gained conscious, critical knowledge. Hence, in the ongoing process, which is dialectical and transformative, both evaluator and subjects become participants in an open dialogue.

Reflection in the foregoing sense is not the kind of activity school people, as actors, engage in in their ongoing lives. For in their everyday existence actors deal with their concerns in routine ways, guided by the commonplace recipes that sustain them in good stead. What is missing is a conscious effort to examine critically the assumptions and intentions underlying their practical thoughts and acts. They may be reflective but not critically reflective. Critical reflection leads to an understanding of what is beyond the actor's ordinary view, by making the familiar unfamiliar, by making the invisible visible. Such reflective activity not only allows liberation from the unconsciously held assumptions and intentions that lie buried and hidden. For example, at the personal level the content of reflection may be the "rationalization" an actor uses to hide underlying motives for his actions. Or at the societal level, the content may be the "ideology" used to support social practices and policies, rendering obscure society's manipulative ethos and interests that lie beneath. Critical interest thus sees interest in uncovering the "true" interests embedded in some given personal or social condition.

But more than that, it is interested in bringing about reorientation through transformative action of the assumptions and intentions upon which reflection and action rest. Critical orientation, then, with its evaluation-guiding interest to liberate men from hidden assumptions and intentions, promotes a theory of man and society that is grounded in the moral attitude of emancipation.

Curriculum evaluation within this orientation would ask that focus be given to the dynamic of the dialectic between the knowledge structure of life experiences and the normative structure as well. Within this critical framework, phenomenological description of educational phenomena will be regarded as incomplete, but significant in making possible critical reflection and action. Within such a framework of interest the

pioneer work of Langeveld, associated with the School of Utrecht, makes sense. He has argued that phenomenological disciplines are conducted within the dialogical context of an ongoing situational interpretive activity but guided by some normative purpose of what it means to educate and to be educated within the critically reflective orientation. As van Manen states, referring to Langeveld's pedagogical position:

> Educational activities must always be structured pedagogically; that is, it should be grounded reflectively in the emancipatory norms toward which all education is oriented.[8]

Within the British Columbia Social Studies Assessment, critical evaluation was included under the innocuous title, "An Interpretation of Intents of the Elementary and Secondary Curriculum Guides," and exists as an afterthought, an addendum to the Summary Report. In it we examined the official text of the Social Studies curriculum-as-plan and gave it a critical look.

To get a sense of the flavor of this evaluation, read the concluding statement of the critical analysis:

> The B.C. Social Studies program approaches the study of man-in-his-world from three different perspectives: scientific, situational and critically reflective knowing. Through each of these, students are exposed to various interpretations of how the social world has been constructed. The program, however, does not provide a balance among these perspectives: rather, it emphasizes scientific knowledge. Through such an emphasis teachers and students are made dependent on one particular way of viewing the social world. Such dependence limits the possibilities which the participants have available for exploring their social environment. The extent to which the perspectives influence classroom presentations (passive vs. active, non-committal vs. committal) stresses the importance

> of providing a balance of knowledge perspectives in the program.[9]

What we have done is to bring the official B.C. Social Studies Program into fuller view by revealing the tacitly held assumptions and intentions. Following the comment we added, as a recommendation to the Ministry, the following:

> To aid teachers in moving towards consideration of perspectives, it is recommended that a full description of the perspectives incorporated into the B.C. Social Studies program be carefully described in the Curriculum Guides. Students and teachers are entitled to a full explanation of the curriculum developers' knowing stance. The curriculum developers' perspective toward the social world should not, in other words, be hidden from users of the curriculum.[10]

We might summarize the third evaluation mode discussed above as follows:

> *Critical Evaluation: A Summary*
> *Interest* in emancipation from hidden assumptions or underlying human conditions.
>
> *Form of Knowing* is critical knowing in the sense of understanding hidden assumptions, perspectives, motives, rationalizations, and ideologies. To explain within critical knowing is to trace down and bring into fuller view underlying unreflected aspects.
>
> *Mode of Evaluation* is critical theoretic evaluation which, involves (1) discovering through critical reflection, underlying human conditions, assumptions and intentions, and (2) acting upon self and world to improve the human conditions or to transform the underlying assumptions and intentions.

In this paper I have attempted to trace out a post-hoc reconstruction of three orientations that undergirded the evaluation we conducted. By embracing these perspectives we acknowledged multiple human interests, each associated with a form of knowledge. We stated that within the ends-means evaluation approach, the implied interest is intellectual and technical control and the implied form of knowledge, generalizable objective knowledge. Within the situational interpretive approach, the implied interest is authentic communicative consensus, and the form of knowledge, situational knowledge in terms of meanings. Within the critical orientation, the implied interest is emancipatory, based on action which brings into fuller view the taken-for-granted assumptions and intentions. The knowledge flowing from this activity is critical knowledge.

It has been said that an educator's understanding of his task as educator is most clearly demonstrated by his method of evaluation. If that be so, the evaluation approaches we used disclose our understanding of possible ways of understanding what it means to be an educator and what it means to be educated. In our efforts we employed evaluation orientations that reflect to some extent our commitment to our understanding of evaluation as human intentional activities grounded in multiple human interests. So committed, we directed our efforts to go beyond technical instrumentalism, to which we educators in North America have been so prone.

We feel that we have gained a fuller and richer understanding of curriculum evaluation and a sense of how this understanding might help in efforts toward school improvement. And yet, in reaching out for a fuller understanding, we have a gnawing sense flowing from having experienced a reaching out that never fully reaches.

We acknowledge that our effort in conducting this evaluation was a human effort and, as such, subject to the weaknesses and blindness to limit situations that all humans, being human, suffer.

And so, when we felt the task was done, we asked ourselves these questions: "Has the job been done? Has the picture of Social Studies in British Columbia been adequately drawn?"

We replied:

Certainly in our efforts to give an accurate portrayal, we have employed not only traditionally accepted techniques, but also more personalized ones aimed at seriously attempting to 'hear' what the people of the province are saying about the subject.

There may be dissatisfactions. Some may feel that this is 'just another assessment' and thereby dismiss it. Others may argue quite rightly that the findings do not represent the true picture as they see it. But all this is as it should be.

Whenever we see a picture of ourselves taken by someone else, we are anxious that justice be done to the 'real me'. If there is disappointment, it is because we know that there is so much more to the 'real me' than has been momentarily captured by the photographer's click. So too with this assessment: there are deeper and wider dimensions to the total subject than can be justly dealt with from such a hasty glance. Any ensuing dissatisfaction should not be simply taken as a measure of the assessment's failing but as testimony to that crucial vitality of the subject that eludes captivity on paper. We know that the true magic of the educating act is so much more than a simple, albeit justifiable, concern for improved resources, more sensitively stated objectives, better pre-service and in-service training for teachers, or improved bureaucratic efficiency. Rather it has to do with the whole meaning of a society's search for true maturity and responsible freedom through its young people.[11]

Notes

[1] I have been influenced greatly by the writings of Jurgen Habermas, principally, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972). The reader will note the relationship between the title of the book and the title of this paper.

[2] The *British Columbia Social Studies Assessment: A Report to the Ministry of Education, 1977*, is comprised of six reports in four volumes. The reports are as follows:

- *Views of Goals of Social Studies*
- *Teachers' Views of Social Studies*
- *Teachers' Views of Prescribed Social Studies Curriculum Resources*
- *Student Achievement and Views in Social Studies*
- *Interpretive Studies of Selected School Situations*
- *British Columbia Social Studies Assessment: Summary Report*

The Contract Team consisted of Ted T. Aoki, Chairman, Caroline Langford, David M. Williams and Donald C. Wilson, and the reports were submitted to the Ministry of Education, Government of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.

[3] K.R. Beittel, *Alternatives for Art Education Research*. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co. Pub., 1973. p. vii. What Beittel has to say about art education research is applicable to evaluation studies.

[4] M.Q. Patton, *Alternative Evaluation Research Paradigms*. Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press, 1975. p. 6. This is a monograph in a series developed by the North Dakota Study Group on Evaluation.

[5] See Ted T. Aoki, "Toward Curriculum Inquiry in a New Key," in Concordia University, *Phenomenological Description: Potential for Research in Art Education*. Montreal, 1978. p. 54.

[6] From Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

[7] Richard Schaull, "Foreword," in Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1968.

[8] An account of Langeveld's conception of phenomenological pedagogy is described by Max van Manen, "A Phenomenological Experiment in Educational Theory: The Utrecht School." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American

Education Research Association, Toronto, Ontario, March, 1978. p. 5.

[9] T. Aoki and E. Harrison, "The Intents of the B.C. Social Studies Curriculum Guides: An Interpretation." In T. Aoki, *et al., The British Columbia Social Studies Assessment: A Summary Report, 1977.* p. 62.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] T. Aoki *et al., The British Columbia Social Studies Assessment: A Summary Report,* 1977. This was written for the project by David Smith, currently professor of education at University of Lethbridge, Canada.

The Development of a Special Type of Curriculum for the Nomads of Nigeria

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The history of the development of formal education in Nigeria reveals that the politics of education are dominated by the majority sedentary people who, as a result of their settled way of life, readily have embraced formal education. The Nomadic Fulani, being a pastoral group and thus in the minority, have been neglected by the educational authorities.

With the introduction of the Universal Primary Education Scheme (UPE) in 1976, the need was felt to educate every Nigerian child, be he sedentary or nomadic, because the government had accepted education as a vital instrument for national development and as a means to an egalitarian society.[1] Therefore, in the effort of the federal and state governments to provide equal educational opportunities for all citizens of the nation at all levels, both inside and outside the formal school system, every Nigerian child has been subjected to the same curriculum, regardless of cultural differences. The problem of educating the nomads has been seen by educational authorities as limited to the challenge of making facilities available to a mobile population, and not in terms of the cultural uniqueness of this mobile population and the implications of that uniqueness for curriculum development.

To encourage Nigerian parents to educate their children the government has employed the mass media to urge them, including nomadic parents, to send their children to regular schools. When it became known that a few of the nomads who are fairly settled and who practice a split seasonal type of transcience had sent a few of their children to school, educational authorities had insisted that all nomads, like every other Nigerian, take advantage of the educational provisions made for every child.

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Education Research Association, Toronto, Ontario, March, 1978. p. 5.

[9] T. Aoki and E. Harrison, "The Intents of the B.C. Social Studies Curriculum Guides: An Interpretation." In T. Aoki, *et al., The British Columbia Social Studies Assessment: A Summary Report, 1977*. p. 62.

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Although recent surveys conducted on the attitude of nomadic Fulani towards formal education reveal that their attitude is positive to such opportunities, most nomadic parents are unwilling to send their children to regular schools out of fear that through education they would become alienated from their work roles and culture.[2] Since 1976, the attendance, adjustment and achievement of some of the nomadic children enrolled in regular schools has been followed to determine the justification of this fear. The studies show that subjecting nomadic children to a curriculum designed for sedentary people has had far reaching consequences.

One major problem is that the standard curriculum has little relevance for the nomadic way of life. The contents of the curriculum of the schools attended by the nomads in Dukku, Toro and Ningi (Bauchi State), Guri (Kano State), Jebu and Miango (Plateau State) support this observation.[3]

Some of the books used include:

(1) English-S. J. Miller and D. C. Miller, *The New Oxford English Course.*
(2) Arithmetic - D. A. Adeniji, *Oxford Arithmetic Course.*
(3) Vernacular - Nuhu Bamalli, *Bala da Babiya.*

All these books are illustrated with examples that reflect the cultural background of sedentary people. Because nomadic parents do not see the relevance of the school curriculum to their lifestyle, they do not support the enrollment and attendance of their children in schools which rely on this curriculum. Therefore, the attendance of the children to the school has been characterized by absenteeism and a high rate of withdrawal.

A second consequence of employing the standard curriculum is that nomadic children have achieved poorly in these schools. The survey under consideration showed low academic achievement on their part in Arithmetic, in which they are started with base 10 in their counting and problem-solving, rather than the base 5 with which they are familiar. Low achievement was shown in Language, which is Hausa and English rather than Fulfulde (their first language), and Social Studies, which deals mainly with events and personalities drawn from sedentary peoples' cultural setting. It was concluded from these findings that one of the causes of maladjustment and low academic performance on the part of nomadic children of primary school age is that they are taught curricular content which has no relevance to nomadic Fulani culture.[4] Following this finding, it has become increasingly recognised that the availability of facilities alone does not necessarily create equal educational opportunity. Taken alone, facilities cannot guarantee outcomes commensurate with the potentialities of individual nomadic Fulani.

Recognition of Cultural Differences

Recent studies on the strategies for developing nomadic Fulani education[5] have revealed that there are cultural differences between the sedentary and the nomadic peoples resulting from their different modes of life, the sedentary people being mainly land cultivators and the nomads being migratory animal herders.

Because of their mode of life as people constantly on the move, the nomadic Fulani have developed their own ways of managing the education of their young. Obviously, the way Fulani pastoralists perceive themselves is directly related to their pastoral way of life. Not surprisingly, then, the way in which they design their way of life and the up-bringing of their children differs from their sedentary neighbors. Their strategies, which emanate from the aims of their traditional education, can be effective in organizing formal "Western" education for their children. Any educational provisions made for their children should be based on their occupational roles and cultural values. That is, education provisions should start from their own situation. This is essential because culture not only influences every aspect of learning, but also it influences the ways of establishing rapport, communication, which educational variables are going to be effective, ethnic differences, and teaching methods.[6]

In a detailed study of the learning processes of Australian Aboriginals, Harris (1978) concluded that to teach children content that is outside their cultural context using non-cultural teaching and learning processes speaks a silent but clear message to the children that "you don't have much that school can use."[7] Agreeing with Harris in recognizing the importance of children's cultural contexts and processes in the teaching-learning situation, Dixon (1976), in her studies on teaching strategies for Mexican children, observed that if an individual's culture is rejected and in turn this is perceived by him as also a rejection of his cognitive style, failure in the classroom may result.[8] In recognizing cultural differences between the majority and minority ethnic groups, special facilities and staff have been provided for the development of special curricula for Aboriginal and Mexican children.

Therefore, teaching nomadic Fulani children sedentary peoples' cultural content, and using sedentary peoples' teaching-learning strategies, is tantamount to a rejection of the Fulani's culture and cognitive style. Their perception of this rejection has resulted in their failure and maladjustment in school.

If education is defined in this context, as a symbolic process of knowledge transmission and the development of relevant skills to maintain and develop a society,[9] the knowledge and relevant skills that will be meaningful and useful to the nomadic Fulani child are those enamating from his culture. These should form the basic knowledge and skill transmission for him. Too, if curriculum is defined as the set of activities planned by the school in order to socialize the pupils in relation to the societal tradition and the tasks for developing this society, and also to achieve better self development,[10] then socializing the nomadic child through formal educational processes must be related to his societal tradition.

The areas in which the pastoral Fulani can contribute to national development have been recognized and emphasized. In his keynote address to the Seminar on Curriculum Development for Nomadic Fulani Education in Plateau State, the Honorable Commissioner for Education, J. N. Gamde, noted that the nomads contribute greatly towards the agricultural production of this nation.[11] He further explained that

> ... cattle rearing is the major agricultural sector that goes a long way to boost the nation's economy so that the programme (nomadic education) should, therefore, assist the nomads to acquire the technical know how of cattle rearing and farming. It is in the light of this that the need for a special curriculum to be designed for the nomads arose.

In pointing out other areas in which the nomadic Fulani are contributing to national development, such as art and music, the participants agreed with the Honorable Commissioner that unless the young nomads who herd cattle today, and who will own them in the future, are given relevant adequate education, the age-old non-productive practice of animal husbandary will continue. The young nomad's level of education must be such that he appreciates and employs modern techniques of animal husbandry and other related skills. In other words, such a curriculum only can become functional by considering the nomadic society, their interests, needs, and the level of the nomadic learner.[12] It should give the nomadic child a relevant body of knowledge that will help him to develop himself, his work roles, and the entire society. The methodology of such education should synthesize his indigenous teaching/learning strategies with contemporary methods of effective education.

Curriculum Development.

To match words with action, the Plateau State Government has developed a special type of curriculum for the nomads within the State. To give the development of such a curriculum proper guidance, a policy statement[13] was made which clearly specified the following:

1. The objectives of nomadic education.
2. The type of curriculum to be developed.
3. The type of schools to be established.
4. The administration of nomadic education.
5. The teacher training program and condition of service of teachers.
6. The funding of nomadic education.

Since curriculum development is the main concern of this paper, the objectives supporting it and the curricular content will be described briefly.

The Objectives of Nomadic Education

In order to enable the nomadic Fulani children to develop skills in the various professional fields related to the needs of the nomads in Animal Husbandry, Agriculture, Home Economics and Dairy Farming, and acquire further education, the following objectives were stated:

1. To eradicate illiteracy through the ability to gain functional literacy and numeracy.
2. To develop the child's initiative and scientific thinking in order to enhance self-reliance.
3. To help the child to adapt to any social and physical environments he encounters through environmental change or his constant movements. To improve the sanitation of his surroundings to help him better raise a family.
4. To develop the child's ability to manipulate objects in order to encourage creativity and innovation within the nomadic setting.
5. To develop the child intellectually, emotionally, morally, physically, and to encourage social and educational integration.
6. To help the child acquire simple livestock management skills that will enable improvement in production.
7. To endow the child with the ability to communicate with livestock establishment officials and other public functionaries involved in livestock management.
8. To promote technological awareness among the nomadic children in the use of methods of livestock keeping.
9. To enhance the child's sense of civic responsibility, thus promoting good citizenship among the nomads.
10. To help the child accept his social environment and accommodate to other peoples.
11. To prepare the child for further educational pursuits.

These objectives are relevant to the nomadic child's lifestyle in a changing environment. They guide his education on the short and long-term basis. That is, on a short-term basis the objectives enable the nomadic child to acquire functional literacy, numeracy and a scientific outlook so that he will be able to use these skills in dealing with basic situations affecting his social, economic and political life.

The long term objectives will enable nomadic children to acquire functional knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household, which will include family health, good child care, nutrition, sanitation, cultural activities and recreation. They will also enable them to gain the knowledge and skill necessary for participation in civic life. And finally, these objectives will help them to settle down and apply modern scientific techniques to animal husbandry and agriculture which will afford them more leisure to improve their minds and culture through education.

The Curriculum

In order to achieve the above objectives of nomadic Fulani education, the following subjects are included in the curriculum:

(a) Language Arts
(b) Mathematics
(c) Social Studies
(d) Elementary Science
(e) Creative Activities
(f) Health and Physical Education
(g) Agriculture and Animal Management
(h) Religious and Moral Instruction
(i) Home Economics.

Language Arts: Fulfulde should be used intensively for the first three years of primary school in reading, writing, drama and language study, for effective communication. The aim is to ease the young child's entry to the school situation by establishing literacy in his own language and recognizing the place which the child's heritage of language and culture should occupy in his education. It is believed that the approach of first establishing literacy in the child's own language, followed by literacy in Hausa and English, will lead to greater competence in these two other languages and in all school work, than has been the case for those children who are in regular schools now. Benefits to the child's personal growth and development, his self-esteem and pride in his own culture and community, are also looked for from these programs. English should be used as a medium of instruction after the first three years. Hausa and Fulfulde should be taught as separate subjects.

Mathematics: Mathematics in the Nomadic Primary School should adhere to number and numeration, basic operation, measurements of shapes, and day-to-day problem-solving. Base 5, which is the Fulani traditional method of counting should also be used, after which emphasis could be given to base 10, a universal method of counting. The study of Mathematics should be practical and related to the nomads' way of life and environment, e.g. a child's knowledge of counting should be associated with cattle, sheep, and goats, and liquid measurements should be associated with quantities of milk.

Social Studies: Social Studies should be taught in order to encourage a sense of civic responsibility, a knowledge of historical processes, and a full understanding of the immediate and remote environment. Emphasis should be given to Fulani history and culture, with other aspects of social studies (such as Geography, Economics, and Politics) sufficiently incorporated in the subject matter.

Elementary Science Studies: Elementary Science should deal with immediate environment of the Nomadic child, covering such topics as animal breeding, plants, animal and plant diseases and their control, effects of sun and air on living things, etc. The knowledge obtained should be utilized to imporve the environment. Scientific knowledge should be inculcated in the nomadic child in order to develop scientific reasoning through problem solving. Learning skills for using science in his daily life should help to eradicate superstitious beliefs, to understand

the cause and effect basis of certain phenomena.

Creative Activities: Creative and cultural activities, such as Music, Modeling, Handicrafts and Fine Arts should be prominently featured in the curriculum. Talented Fulani craftsmen, musicians and others with useful traditional skills could be invited to help in developing the children's abilities and interests in these respects. Creative activities should be geared towards the development of the child's initiative and creative tendencies.

Health and Physical Education: Health and Physical Education should include personal hygiene, cleanliness of the living environment, knowledge of diseases, especially those common to the nomads, and the designing of an appropriate physical fitness program with suitable bodily exercises for the sound development of the nomadic child.

Agriculture and Animal Management: The nomadic child should have a sound knowledge of animal care. A prominent place should be given to mixed farming, and learning about the techniques which are so vital to the livelihood of the nomads.

Religious and Moral Instruction: Religious and moral instruction are essential. Religion should be taught according to the wishes of the parents.

Home Economics: The Nomadic child should be taught the art of cooking, buying, cleaning, sewing and equipping the home according to the accepted values and economic standard of his or her community.

It should be noted that the curriculum is not to give the nomads a special or separate type of education but rather is aimed at the total integration of nomadic education with that of the normal educational system. However, the complexity and the remote nature of the nomadic people's environment should be considered at all times.

The above curriculum will be effectively implemented in "ruga" or on-site schools for a number of reasons: First, the shift method of herding can be used to advantage. Children who do not herd in the morning of some day can be taught, and when the other groups are relieved of their herding task they, too, will be taught. Because the teacher will be teaching about ten to fifteen children during each shift, he will be able to deal with individual problems better than in the regular classes of about forty-five children. Second, the implementation of the curriculum in the "ruga" will make for an easy transfer of what has been learned in solving some of the daily problems of the nomads. Third, teachers will be able to use some of the traditional teaching/learning strategies of the nomads. Recent studies show that young nomads identify closely with members of their family; they learn in groups from their older brothers and other relations. They will do well when placed in learning settings where they relate directly to their teacher and other children as a group. They will also learn effectively where the elder brother relationship situation is introduced.

To work in "ruga" (on-site) schools, teachers must not only have competence in the subject areas to be taught, they must also be given special training in certain nomadic cultural areas which affect their teaching/learning style.

Conclusion

The above curriculum guidelines which emphasize nomadic Fulani culture do not deny that the nomadic child shares behavior universals with all other children: he is intelligent, he responds to personal warmth, and he has pride in a job well done. The curriculum reminds the educator that although in many ways the nomadic child is like all children everywhere, in many other ways he is different. He grows up with a distinctly nomadic social, cultural and cognitive orientation to life which he brings with him into the formal educational system. If this nomadic orientation is ignored, he becomes frightened and then alienated from formal education.

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The Case For Teacher Directed Curriculum Evaluation[1]

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Introduction

Although it is hard to specify the optimum level, some conflict in held philosophical outlooks is good; it enables a society to respond constructively to changing conditions. In education, as in the political arena, we have a continuing conflict between those who favor the careful and systematic molding of people so as to approximate some pre-established ideal and those who wish to establish conditions within which many divergent approved tendencies can be encouraged and cultivated. This dualism is currently expressed most vividly in the field designated "Evaluation." Unfortunately, from my point of view, the molders and controllers seem to be gaining the upper hand.

And so we arrive at my topic.

I shall make a case for teacher directed curriculum evaluation. My adversaries are the proponents of evaluation by specialists, that is, by professional evaluators. Our weapons are arguments. The prize at stake: the power to profoundly influence curricula and the status which such power bestows.

To begin, I shall sketch the history of the conflict. In Part II, I move to specific arguments for teacher directed evaluation and document the evidence for its feasibility. Objections are entertained in Part III, and an effort is made to rebut them. Finally, some implications of wide acceptance of the proposed teacher role are spelled out.

I. *Background*

In the late sixties, evaluation, construed as a means of understanding the situation in which a curriculum unfolds or is lived, came to be seen as a necessary prelude to the design of curriculum materials. For in evaluating the curricula produced by teams of experts it was discovered that their actual use was rarely consistent with their intended use. It became obvious that classrooms were far more varied and complex than had been supposed. More important, it appeared to many people that the ideal of uniform packages or "inputs," producing uniform results or "outputs," was a myth to satisfy administrators. Since explaining how a project in fact fared required some analysis of the classroom and its occupants as a society in microcosm, new methods of curriculum evaluation were needed. Quantitative evaluation could not provide the desired data. Qualitative methods, a variety of techniques for depicting the dynamics and unique life within classrooms, seemed the answer.

Evaluation came of age. From being primarily the final act of curriculum development, evaluation evolved as a key element from the conception, initiation and design of curriculum innovations, to their implementation and revision. If the 60's was the decade of curriculum projects, the 70's was the decade of curriculum evaluation.

Now the method selected for evaluation is linked to a network of decisions and beliefs about curriculum, and about basic educational, political and ethical principles. Let us isolate a few of the threads in this network for closer scrutiny.

A contiguous thread represents the curriculum model. For evaluation is one element of several involved in the organization of any educational program. Those who opt for a behavioral objectives model will necessarily see evaluation as requiring information about causal relations. Under certain specifiable conditions, given certain treatments, what behavioral outcomes should result? If the desired outcomes are not realized, how can conditions be altered so as to achieve them? These questions can only be answered if the methods of the natural sciences are employed. Intersubjective agreement upon categories and procedures is required. Data must be provided in a form which permits replication, comparisons and precise generalizations. Quantitative results are essential.

It is obvious that the methods and goals, the means and the ends of education and evaluation are bound together. Quantitative methods lie within a network which includes a commitment to education as a molding process, conducted within a hierarchical educational and socio-political order. Not only is this historically the case; it is also a necessary condition for the design and conduct of systematic quantitative evaluations that such ideological assumptions be implicitly endorsed.

A very different view of educational research in general and of evaluation in particular has roots in the United States but finds its most vigorous contemporary support in England.

In 1928, Dewey wrote about the importance of school-based research conducted by teachers. In the progressive's view of education, the conditions of learning should be the focus of attention. Dewey observes:

> A series of constantly multiplying careful reports on conditions which experience shows in actual cases to be favorable and unfavorable to learning would revolutionize the whole subject of method. (Dewey, 1964, p. 181)

To prepare such reports, says Dewey, one requires "judgment and art," "candor and sincerity," "trained and acute observation" (Ibid.).

We find, in Lawrence Stenhouse and his associates in England, researchers who share Dewey's concern with the conditions of learning and his belief that teachers must be involved in research. In an early 1980's paper about the group with which Stenhouse works, it is noted:

> The teacher is at the centre of the enterprise, and research at CARE seeks growth of understanding and the creation of a self-monitoring teacher or school. (Barton and Lawn, 1980, p. 8)[2]

To use Stenhouse's own words: "Curriculum research and development ought to belong to the teacher" (Stenhouse, 1975, p. 142).

In the dominant American (and Canadian) conceptions of evaluation we have fine illustration of the connection between knowledge and control examined in such work as Michael Young's anthology, *Knowledge and Control* (Young, 1972). Evaluating curricula is declared a highly sophisticated enterprise requiring special training. Teachers are laborers in the classroom and must stick to the practical job while the specialists study the results of their work and give them instructions on how to put out a better product, more efficiently.

An appropriate response to criticisms of qualitative evaluation is to challenge the assumptions of the person who demands that evaluation generate data by means of which one may come to predict and control classroom phenomena in the interests of centrally determined objectives. Evaluation may be seen as essentially a means to heighten the teacher's perception and understanding of what happens in a particular classroom. This is the basic assumption in the work of CARE and other groups in England. The split between the professional evaluator and the teacher is seen as a defect, as a distinction to be minimized. As Burgess (1980) suggests, there may be roles in which teaching takes priority or vice-versa. Thus, there can be teacher-researchers and researcher-teachers. But the distinction is in terms of how one's time is spent rather than in terms of competencies.

The British have moved in the right direction. As MacDonald and Walker (1975) have argued:

> A specialist research profession will always be a poor substitute for a self-monitoring educational community. (p. 11)

Let me try to persuade you that they are right.

II. *The Teacher as Evaluator*

Following Stenhouse (1975), I see evaluation as a research activity which should "lead the curriculum rather than follow it" (p. 126). Ideally, the teacher should evaluate his own curriculum, help other teachers in performing this task and be helped by them. He should also choose "outsiders" to assist him from time to time.

In speaking of the "curriculum," I refer to not only a plan of instruction and learning, but to the actions involved in putting it into practice and their results. The dynamics of what happens as a teacher and pupils interact with each other and materials is more important from the point of view of evaluating a curriculum, of understanding and assessing its virtues and deficiencies, than the plans *per se* or the static objects which may be generated.

Now this conception of the curriculum as essentially an emergent phenomenon entails that curriculum evaluations must be done *in situ* and must involve more or less continuous observation of what is going on. Given the number of classrooms in a typical administrative jurisdiction, it is clearly impossible to have significant evaluation unless teachers do most of it.

Notice that on this account it is what happens *between* "input" and "output" that matters most. Indeed, the meaningfulness of the plan and output only becomes apparent if the lived curriculum is perceived. By contrast, the advocate of a systems model must claim that predictable outcomes and thus control over potentially interfering variables is, in principle and in practice, possible. Provided that the "output" falls within a certain range, a program is judged a success. If it falls outside, then revision of input, and if that fails, of treatment, would be proposed. Experimental and control groups would be used to determine what was required. To admit that the findings of such research designs might fail to locate the system's deficiency would be tantamount to questioning the scientific methods which are the foundation of the Tylerian model and its variants.

It seems to me that the emergence of qualitative evaluation has been, and is, a powerful force for promoting teacher directed curriculum evaluation. Highly sophisticated skills in statistical analysis are not required in order to prepare a report on a passage of classroom life, or to read and assess such a report. For example, whereas quantitative accounts, such as Neville Bennett (1976) offers in *Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress*, are hard to read and the analysis of results a subject of controversy among experts,[3] the report of CARE, edited by Elliott and MacDonald (1975), *People in Classrooms*, is accessible to anyone with a basic level of reading skill. In fact, among my students, the few passages of Bennett's book they judged illuminating were those in which an observer and a pupil reported on the activities of a segment of class time (pp. 49-52).

Concern about making research on evaluation accessible to a wide audience is found among most champions of qualitative evaluation. For example, in their 1972 "manifesto" a group of new wave evaluators declare that not only should evaluation involve observational data and relate to school practice, it should be written for "differing audiences" and should be "reported in language which is accessible to ... [these] audiences" (Hamilton et al., 1977, viii).

As a result of researchers' interest in classroom life, teachers have become involved in reporting upon their own perceptions. Thus it has been shown that teachers can become effective "self-monitors." Fundamental research on this has been done by John Elliott (1976-77) in the course of a project funded by Ford. The point is that teachers can be trained to evaluate the program of which they are a part.

Self-monitoring, "the process by which one becomes aware of one's situation and one's own role as an agent in it" (Elliott, 1976-77, p. 5) was the key means to making possible improvements in performance. But the observational skills could also be used by a teacher acting as an observer for one of his peers. In Elliott's research, the teachers progressed from being members of a trio of observers (teacher, researcher, pupil) to being teacher-researchers who might make use of pupil reports and act as observer in other classrooms. The self-monitoring was initiated within the process of "triangulation," a process which "involves gathering accounts of a teaching situation from three quite different points of view" (p. 10). However, recognizing the threat posed by observers, Elliott notes that responsibility for collecting accounts should be given to the teacher as soon as that is feasible (p. 11).

Once the teacher is able to monitor and frame hypotheses to account for what he and others observe, he is equipped to conduct evaluation as research and as a "lead" into curriculum development. Innovations can then be evaluated by teachers as hypotheses supported or undercut by observations of classroom life.

Reporting on their experiences with Elliott's research, a principal and teacher conclude in their paper that "the Project is going to prove extremely valuable for in-service training, especially as it allows teachers to evaluate their own performances, and to see and judge other teachers at work" (Cooper and Ebbutt, 1974, pp. 70-71).

To at least some degree, every teacher may be a self-monitor and tester of explicit hypotheses. He is then an evaluator and researcher. If he works with other teachers, at times playing the role of participant observer and at other times engaging in self-monitoring, he is directing evaluation. To be a researcher in a full-fledged sense, it might be argued that he must publish his findings. This clearly raises further problems, as Robert Burgess (1980) explains in his paper, "Some Fieldwork Problems in Teacher-Based Research." Just how far an individual goes along this road to being a reporting researcher is a personal and political question rather than a practical one. That most practicing teachers can at least take significant steps in this direction seems clear.

So the program which I am advocating is feasible—has been shown to be workable. What practical arguments for it can be marshalled?

In a society which values efficiency, return on investment is a key consideration in any choice. Harlen, after evaluating a British science project concluded:

> Where resources are limited and it is necessary to concentrate upon gathering information to give the greatest return on money, time and human energy, then the choice would be for teachers' reports and direct observations in the classroom and not for tests of short-term changes in children's behaviour. (In Stenhouse, 1975, p. 105)

Given that resources are always limited, this is a valuable testimonial for the proponent of qualitative evaluation performed by teachers.

Further, the willingness of teachers to make use of their peers' suggestions makes curriculum evaluation by and for teachers more likely to issue in classroom improvements than studies conducted by transient experts. In a paper reporting research in Alberta, Holdaway and Millikan (1980) note:

> The major contribution of these studies to our understanding of the consultative process in education lies in the support given to the importance of peer consultation. . . . (p. 208)

There is a sense in which the marshalling of arguments to demonstrate the virtues of teacher directed as opposed to researcher directed curriculum evaluation is an unnecessary exercise. As John Eggleston (1979) points out:

> No authority outside the individual classroom can possibly make many of the decisions now required of the teacher because no external authority can have access to the evidence on which they must be based. (p. 2)

In other words, the evaluation of classroom life upon which most decisions must be based *can* only be performed by the teacher.

For those concerned to promote liberal political and ethical principles, this is cause for celebration. Yet even if effective centrally directed and performed evaluation were possible, structures which promote teacher initiated evaluation and innovation may be deemed desirable. Ernest House (1974) suggests that promoting innovation controlled by teachers is preferable to a pattern of hierarchical control. As he puts it, "The distributive equalizing strategy would result in less frequent, but more varied, pluralistic innovation that would be more widely and deeply embraced by all organizational members.... Apart from more elaborate and pragmatic arguments, the equalizing strategy is simply more just" (p. 98).

House sees the promotion of teachers' evaluation of their peers within a school as "a very mild form" of the equalizing strategy (p. 97). I would agree, and would go on to argue that teachers should also formulate research problems and decide if and which experts might be brought in to explore them.

On the ethical front, such a proposal has the virtue of protecting the educational interests of the children. Their program of study is not subject to disruptive experimental interventions.

Most important, decentralization of educational authority would be promoted by teacher directed curriculum evaluation while the expert "bureaucratic" evaluators and implementers would for the most part be rendered obsolete.[4]

Practically, then, curriculum evaluation performed and directed by teachers is a means of promoting curriculum improvement, teacher commitment, and useful wide-spread study of educational phenomena, in a relatively efficient fashion. By contrast with the evaluations of contracted and bureaucratic evaluation experts, it promotes democratic and humanistic values in educational institutions. The techniques grouped under the heading "qualitative" provide effective and proven methods by which teachers can gain insight into the conditions of learning.

Before turning to the implications of opting for teacher directed curriculum evaluation as opposed to administrator-expert direction of it, I should like to face some objections which such a proposal does or could provoke.

III. *Objections and Replies*

Malcolm Levin (1980), reacting to Elliot Eisner's book, *The Educational Imagination* (1979), insists that to influence the practice of teachers, qualitative evaluations must be so written as to "engage...(the teachers') own critical facilities in reflecting upon their situations" (p. 290). He is thus suspicious of Eisner's "connoisseur." Yet in insisting that practical constraints prevent teachers from being effective evaluators, Levin himself champions the expert. He claims that those who would have teacher connoisseurs, "simply ignore the constraints under which teachers labor and the centrality of specialization to the modern educational enterprise" (p. 290).

But surely the point is to challenge the status quo, to reduce or eliminate the constraints. One way to do this, as Stenhouse and his colleagues have rightly perceived, is by helping the teacher become a researcher.

The advocates of expert quantitative curriculum evaluation will insist that measuring changes in student competence requires sophisticated skills in test design and in the analysis of results. The appropriate response to this is to challenge the usefulness of such results for the improvement of curricula. Even the value of such results as information is limited. True, records of performances upon standardized tests allow us to compare the competence of different groups on a given set of tasks. And these tests may be seen as "instruments of exploration" (Stenhouse, 1975, p. 139) which provide us with research topics to explore. Why is group A below the norm on

reading comprehension? But such data, alone, tell us nothing about causes or whether, indeed, significant remediation is possible.

The appeal of such tests can be traced to the simplifications which they permit. They help bolster the idea that one need not enter the classroom to keep tabs on what is occurring there. If a false sense that one is "monitoring" a situation is wanted, quantitative evaluation makes a splendid opiate.

Any attempt to promote the idea that teachers should be, and be seen as, "extended professionals"[6] will encounter the scorn of the self-proclaimed "realist." By the "realist" I mean here the person who claims that the majority of teachers neither want nor have the abilities needed to evaluate their programs, to theorize and to test their theories in on-going curriculum evaluation and development. Elliott's research suggested that the personality of the teacher was a critical factor in the success or failure of triangulation and independent self-monitoring. Cooper and Ebbutt (1974) concluded that "teachers of a sensitive nature might not be suitable for this type of research" (p. 71). But we need not devise policies to suit the exceptional case.

There is empirical research to support my contentions about teacher attitudes. Carson and Frieson (1978) cite Pellegrin's study which found that "both high job-satisfaction and increased effectiveness were attributed to teacher involvement in decisions affecting their work" (p. 6). Their own studies showed that teachers wanted more authority over major educational decisions (p. 81). (This is consistent with research findings in the field of psychology of work. See e.g., Rinehart, 1975.)

The expert in evaluation may object that the proponent of extended teacher power is a fanatical egalitarian disguised as a tolerant liberal. The specialist claims that he is made the target of an anti-intellectual witch-hunt.

Here I think the critic has a serious and legitimate complaint. That is why I have proposed "teacher *directed* evaluation". There most certainly is a place in education for the trained and skilled observer and the psychometrician. But that place is not as servant to an administrative or research elite. It is as a person at the service of teachers: one who can help them evaluate their own programs and can respond to the problems which they and their school principals perceive. It is also appropriate for such persons to write up reports on the work in which they have been engaged.[7]

I have been speaking of course within the context of state funded educational institutions. In fact, I would hope that other educational activities and research would exist independently of the state system. Scriven's "autocratic evaluator," as MacDonald (1976) rather disparagingly dubs him, seems to me a useful bird. What I am attacking is the conception of evaluator or evaluation epitomized in Arieh Levy's *Handbook* (1977). There, it is assumed that curriculum development will take place under jurisdiction of an administrative center. In such a system, as Levy puts it, "Essentially, evaluation is concerned with the efficiency of a program as a whole" (p. 23).

The alternative is to "go local." If you do this, as Hamilton (1976) observes, then "many of the operating assumptions used by evaluators would need to be revised...it would no longer be possible to focus primarily upon the evaluation of curriculum materials or the assessment of pupil performance" (p. 89). In brief, the alternative model demands that the nature and control of evaluation and evaluators be quite different. The teacher becomes an essential actor in the evaluative process.

At the level of theory, the charge of subjectivity will promptly be laid by the opponent of evaluation by teachers. But if by this it is meant that bias or prejudice will enter the evaluation, the same point can be made of evaluation by an expert. Moreover, typically, in the qualitative evaluation the particular values of the evaluator are spelled out or made evident, whereas the value decisions of the quantitative evaluator are much less accessible.[8] They operate in deciding what to test and by what means and are not stated explicitly in the instruments themselves or in their results, although they do come out in interpretations of data. At all events, bias and debatable values are involved no matter who does an evaluation or by what means it is done.

Of course, it will be said that a favorable bias is unavoidable in giving an account of work for which one has some responsibility. However, if the account is not for administrative consumption then the tendency may not seriously distort perceptions.

More likely than the charge of subjectivity as bias will be the objection that the open-ended report or case study, the anthropological approach favored by those who advocate teacher participation and qualitative evaluation, is unscientific. Here the charge seems to be that without pre-specified and agreed categories for reporting behavior, objectivity is unobtainable.

Richard Pring (1978) suggests that as long as a teacher's report indicates what "critical tests" of findings are possible and how actual tests are done, then it is objective (p. 239). Here I think it is evident that just how rigorously you understand "test" will determine how narrowly "objectivity" is used. I think that Pring is getting very close to the narrow positivistic view which he ought to see as a threat to espousal of the teacher as researcher. Rather, I think it is fair to say that if an experienced teacher or researcher reading a self-monitoring teacher's report finds that it "hangs together" and coheres with his own experiences, then he has reason to think that had he been in the room he might have made a similar report. Eisner (1979) suggests that "structural corroboration" (the support which the facts give to each other) and "referential adequacy" (features of the situation which justify the interpretation offered) constitute critera by which qualitative evaluations may be assessed for their validity (pp. 213-219). To the extent that the account meets such requirements, we have reason to judge it objective, here meaning more dependent upon the way the events unfolded than upon some unique features of the reporter. By contrast, a highly subjective report would recount the flow of consciousness—personal reaction, reflections, associations and so on. It seems to me that an illuminative report *will* include statements about personal reactions, but only if they bear upon an understanding of observable events.[9]

While as a participant the teacher may miss some important features of classroom exchanges, it is also true that the very presence of an outside observer constitutes an extraneous variable impinging upon the way events unfold. According to LaBelle, Moll and Weisner (1979), "there is reactivity in all techniques of participant research" (p. 92). Clearly the "reactivity" is reduced to a minimum if the "participant researcher" is in fact the teacher.

John Newfield (1980) claims to find a quite high degree of consistency between self-reports of teachers and reports of the same events by observers, using a check list of specific behaviors. I cite this as a piece of "hard" data to support the contention that teachers may produce reports of equal validity with those of outside observers.

There is a sense in which administrators don't care about *curriculum* evaluation. They want evidence on student competencies. Given that test results on such competencies at best can only suggest something about the effectiveness of a particular curriculum, it is only a convenient illusion to think that a massive student testing program will give us useful information about curricula.

Student testing is an invaluable resource for the administrator who seeks to keep the teacher on a pre-specified course. It is in the administrator's interests to insist that a direct causal connection between curriculum and student performance exists and is revealed in test results. But this gross and absurd oversimplification has suffered at the hands of qualitative evaluators. Yet because it is an essential myth underpinning and legitimating the educational hierarchy, it will not go down to defeat easily. The proponents of expert evaluation, and in particular quantitative measures, have recognized the dangerous political dimension of the "new" evaluation.

IV. *Implications*

The political dimension I have alluded to, that is, power over curriculum decisions, would be seriously affected by the proposed alterations in the teacher's role. Paradoxically, the possibility of instituting significant shifts in educational practice would almost certainly be enhanced by such a change. As evaluations of mandated curriculum innovations and a multitude of curriculum projects have revealed, many or indeed most innovations are successfully subverted by teachers. My choice of words may be misleading—for often teachers carry out a "translation" unintentionally. For example, as Elliott's work (1976-77) and a study of a British integrated science program by John Olson (1980) demonstrate, there is an inevitable tendency to fit new ideas into familiar patterns or "construct systems" used in the past.

At least two different responses may be called forth by this research. On the one hand, one might argue that initial teacher training is critical. If you want instruction done in a certain way, instill it thoroughly—it will stick. The trouble is that you are then fostering conditions which will make any subsequent change extremely difficult. The price of obedience and docility is an absence of creativity and innovative drive.

On the other hand, one might propose teacher training which promotes autonomy, self-criticism and the exploratory investigative spirit. The price is potentially disruptive activity and a "grass-roots" power base. As a pay-off, the conditions of successful innovations would be institutionalized.

Choosing the latter path seems to be in the interests of serious educational innovator-researchers as well as teachers. Those researchers who wish to establish themselves as independent powers or as the servants of administrative authorities will prefer the former path since it protects their positions. What happens at the political level has profound ramifications for the social ordering of educational institutions, that is, the relations among their members. The present system ensures that limits are clearly placed upon the extent to which teachers may reflect and innovate. Moreover, given that a close study of what one is doing opens the door to the charge of incompetence of some sort, it is threatening to engage in such study. As Stenhouse notes (1975), "the social climate in which teachers work generally offers little support to those who might be disposed to face that threat" (p. 159). But were innovative activities institutionally encouraged at the school level, indeed, expected of teachers, a supportive climate could be generated.

Wynn Harlen (1977), a researcher who appears to share Stenhouse's conviction that curriculum innovation must begin with the reflective teacher's recognition of a problem, has noted the funding difficulties which must be faced. She observes that committees are not inclined to fund open-ended projects. As a consequence, "the flexibility needed to respond to new aspects of the problem as the work proceeds is squeezed out" (p.27). The demand for "glossy" products and the publishers' wish to attract many buyers are other deterrents to locally devised projects which she identifies.

Decentralization of economic control over curriculum evaluation seems to be required. Once again, of course, strong resistance will come from the administrative center.

It seems clear that teacher directed curriculum evaluation would require significant shifts in power. Educational research would cease to be primarily a specialists' preserve, and curriculum development would start at the periphery, that is, with the teacher.

Perhaps one could summarize the implications of a shift to teacher directed evaluation as similar to those involved in a shift from authoritarian to progressive classrooms. Ironically, whereas the progressive methods of teaching have enjoyed considerable support from administrators and researchers, such persons have rarely wanted to see the philosophy applied in their own dealings with teachers.

Notes

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for the 1981 Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies.

[2] CARE is the acronym for the Centre for Applied Research in Education at the University of East Anglia in Britain.

[3] It is also interesting to consider a 1980 report by the education correspondent of *The Observer*, on Bennett's 1976 study. Ariol Stevens notes that researchers "have reanalysed their data by new statistical methods and have come up with different findings." She goes on to explain that "the revised results still favour formal teaching, but where informal teaching appeared to be a disaster it now shows up better than mixed methods" (see *The Observer*, Oct. 26, 1980). Too often it is forgotten that decisions on how to present data are essentially at the researcher's discretion.

[4] See MacDonald, B. "Evaluation and the control of education," in Tawney, D. (Ed.), *Curriculum Evaluation Today: Trends and Implications* (London: Macmillan, 1976) for a typology of evaluators.

[5] In fairness to Eisner it should be noted that in his reply to Levin he states that he does not consider his position elitist: "I have said in the book that all of us have levels of educational connoisseurship, what we want is more. At the same time I do not believe that all views of classroom life are created equal" (Eisner, E. "A Review of Stone's and Levin's review of the *The Educational Imagination*," *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1980, p. 326). It should also be noted that in his book Eisner states: "Sometimes the educational critic will talk to the teacher to try to find out what kind of information the teacher might want, in which case a *part* of what the critic would do is to observe in light of the teacher's needs" (p. 228). He also observes that "the non-specialized use of educational criticism...would help make schools the kind of supportive and humane places that they can and should become" (p. 222).

[6] Stenhouse (1975) states: "In short, the outstanding characteristic of the extended professional is a capacity for autonomous professional self-development through systematic self-study, through the study of the work of other teachers and through the testing of ideas by classroom research procedures" (p. 144).

[7] The ethical problems this can raise have been widely discussed. See, e.g., Elliott (1976-77) and Burgess (1980).

[8] See, for example, the qualitative evaluations of three different critics in Eisner, 1979, Chapter 12. The "orientations" of the critics are readily discerned.

[9] For a discussion of these matters, see House, E. *The Logic of Evaluative Argument*. Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Evaluation, 1977. See also McCutcheon, G. "On the Interpretation of Classroom Observations." *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 10, No. 5, May 1981, pp. 5-10.

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Reconceptualizing Professional Literature: An Aesthetic Self-Study[1]

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Introduction

The impetus for me to reconceptualize professional literature (the profession being Education) came simultaneously from several different sources. I am going to share those sources and several incidents with you as back- ground to the examination of some literature which I have contributed to the field of professional education. My intent for so doing is to build a rationale for reconceptualizing professional literature from an aesthetic point of view, to illustrate a process of reconceptualizing and to explore the implications of that reconceptualization process for professional educational literature.

I have a recent interest in the idea of "naturalistic research paradigms." After discussing these ideas with students in a seminar conducted by my colleague, Michael Belok (1982), he asked me if I would be interested in coediting an issue of *The Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science,* of which he is the editor. The particular issue would be entitled, "Naturalistic Research Paradigms: Theory and Practice." I was pleased at the opportunity and undertook the task, which is now completed. Several of the papers submitted for the Journal piqued my thoughts about professional literature. In a paper entitled "Naturalistic Generalizations," Robert Stake and Deborah Trumbull wrote:

> As educational researchers and program evaluators, we are interested in improving instructional practice. In this paper we argue that naturalistic inquiry provides a neglected element in facilitating change and improvement of practice. (1982: p. 1)

And to the point which made me think of research reports (literature) in a different way, they said:

> Research typically aims to produce explicit, articulated, formal knowledge. The knowings which arise from experience are more tacit, implicit, personalistic. These are self-generated knowings, *naturalistic generalizations*, that come when, individually, for each reader, each practitioner, new experience is added to old.
>
> The naturalistic researcher seeks to present selected raw data—portrayals of actual teaching and learning problems, witnessings of observers who understand the reality of the classroom, words of the people involved. These raw data provide the reader with vicarious experience which interacts with her existing naturalistic generalizations, formed previously from her particular experience.
> (p. 4)

Stake and Trumbull call the role of the researcher as writer of literature that of vicar, and they suggest that the outcome of the writing is to provide the readers with vicarious experience.

At about the same time I had received and read the Stake and Trumball article, Gail McCutheon from The Ohio State University was on out campus at Arizona State University. She made several presentations on "naturalistic research." One remark impressed me most: "We need to find ways to write our research reports that will allow the readers to sense the experience of those who are the subjects/objects of our research." She, too, seemed to be calling for research reports in the form of literature which fostered vicarious experience on the part of the readers.

Subsequent to McCutcheon's visit to our campus I read her article, "Educational Criticism: Reflections and Reconsiderations" (McCutcheon, 1982), in which she asked, "Which forms (of aesthetic criticism) are more appropriate to the metaphor of educational criticism, and in what ways?" Her article added to my thoughts regarding reconceptualization of professional literature and contributed to its realization.

Sherrie Bartell (1982), California State University at San Bernardino, wrote an article for the *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science* in which she discussed the aesthetic experience she as a researcher had in studying "synergistic couples," using naturalistic research methods. I don't know how many researchers have aesthetic experiences while doing their research, but I do know that not many write about the experiences as part of the literature. So now, added to the notion that the research report litera-ture should provide vicarious experiences for the reader was the idea that the researcher who had aesthetic experiences while doing research should report those experiences as part of the research.

Within the same month that I had read the three papers mentioned above and heard Gail McCutcheon I received an invitation to participate in a conference on "Writing for Publication." The conference was jointly sponsored by several professional organizations in the Phoenix area and was to be national in scope. That was possible because they chose the conference date to precede the National Conference of the Association for Teacher Educators which was to be held in Phoenix. The invitation was issued by Blanche Hunt, Arizona State University, via telephone.

"Nelson," she said, "We want you to discuss the creative pieces you have written and published. We consider them professional literature. They have done more to change many of us as professional persons than has some of the formal research literature we have read. Furthermore, we have a title to suggest."

"Yes, what is the suggested title?"

" 'Dancing with an Angel and Other Creative Endeavors.' "

I anticipated the title because my shortest poem, "Imagine the Joy of Dancing with an Angel!" (Haggerson,1971) was one of Blanche's favorites.

Professional literature, I was beginning to conceive, can be reconceptualized to include items once thought of as "arty" and not included in many professional journals.

Concurrently with the other happenings mentioned here, I was chairing a dissertation being written by Geraldine Cloud (1982) entitled, *A Model for Artistic Analysis*. While I was thinking about naturalistic generalizations, vicarious experiences, and dancing with angels, Jerry turned in another draft of her dissertation. She had developed a model for criticizing literature, music, and visual art. The model was based on several aesthetic theories, a kind of meta-aesthetic model, theories of criticism, and theories of learning. I was reading it when all of a sudden I realized that I was pondering professional literature in new ways, and she had placed in my hands a model of criticism that I could use to examine and re-examine professional literature—after all, it is considered literature as well as professional, and Jerry's model was designed to critique literature. It was also designed as a teaching model, and in some ways, answers some of McCutcheon's (1982) questions.

Now I had sufficient information, concepts, background and inspiration to begin the formal process of reconceptualizing professional literature. I had concluded that the kind of writing called for by Stake and Trumbull, McCutcheon et al. was similar, if not identical with that artistic writing which has as some of its goals: to incite the reader to become emotionally as well as intellectually involved, to create the proper stimuli to allow the reader to have vicarious experiences, maybe even to give the reader reason to change, and certainly to experience aesthetic values and to excite the imagination.

I had two other nagging tasks before getting on with the process. One was to select some professional literature to analyze and one was to decide on an approach for the reconceptualization report.

At the same time I was grappling with the approach problem, I was sitting on a doctoral dissertation committee guiding a student in a hermeneutic[2] study. (Interestingly, in one of the papers in the "Naturalistic Research Paradigms: Theory and Practice" issue mentioned earlier, Thomas Sergiovanni (1982) calls for using the hermeneutic rationale for interpreting educational administration acts and policies). The hermeneutic rationale includes what is called the hermeneutic spiral.[3] In brief, it asks for interpretation of, say, a piece of literature from varied points of view in a way resembling a spiral. The interpretations overlap and interact with one another, always giving richer meaning to the piece than with the previous interpretation. Hence the product (opus) would be vastly more meaningful than had it been done from a single point of view. The hermeneutic process, itself, is a type of research which incites naturalistic generalizations, about which I have already written. It seemed appropriate for me, then, to use the hermeneutic rationale and process in reconceptualizing.

I decided to use several pieces of professional literature that I had written and published and from which I had received considerable response. I decided to use my works because of my intimate knowledge of them, of myself, and of the responses I had received about them. I realize there are several risks involved in using one's own works to critique but the advantages seemed to outweigh the disadvantages.

Before the detailed examination of the three pieces, let me re-set the scene of professional literature and its reconceptualization. The professional literature in education is that body of writings which make up the knowledge base for our profession. A major emphasis in the literature has been information reporting, opinion giving and theorizing, with the hope of increasing knowledge, clarifying ideas, producing change and improving practice. The major assumption regarding literature as a change agent has been that information giving, including "explicit plans with clearly stated goals and objectives and timelines" is most effective. Stake and Trumbull characterize the literature this way:

> Almost absent from mention is the *common* way in which change or improvement *is* accomplished, the way followed intuitively by the greatest and least of thinkers. Is it embarrassing to mention such a commonplace? One may change by adding to one's experience and reexamining problems and possible solutions intuitively. (1982, p. 1)

It is this intuitive, aesthetic, vicarious, tacit dimension of professional literature that is at the heart of my reconceptualization. My hope is that by critiquing professional literature through aesthetic perceptors I will illustrate that the goals of vicarious experiences, aesthetic excitement, and tacit discoveries will have been met to varying degrees by some literature, and that the interpretation process, itself, will give insights to writers of professional literature who desire to communicate their naturalistic generalizations to others through a more or less intuitive process. Futhermore, it is my contention that in doing this work, I am engaged in a research project in the naturalistic paradigm, and having completed the task, I will be able to report some naturalistic generalizations myself.

Literature: Description, Interpretation, and Evaluation

In describing, interpreting and evaluating each of the three pieces, using the hermeneutic spiral, I addressed the following questions: Which aesthetic theories apply? Here I used both Cloud's (1982) and McCutcheon's (1982, p. 173) notions of aesthetic theories. The *mimetic* or *representational* theory asks the "extent to which aesthetic objects or events faithfully represent nature. The *emotionalist* theory considers the response of the viewer, as well as the personality of the author or artist. The *formalist* theory is concerned with the "extent to which they (opus) follow the rules of a particular art form." The *functionalist* theory considers "the extent to which the work performs an instrumental function such as critiquing society, uplifting us, helping us understand religious events" and helping us appreciate aesthetic values. The *contextualist* theories are global and include the unconscious archetypal influences as well as conscious meanings. They emphasize the settings in which the works were created, viewed and applauded.

Other questions included: Who or what inspired the work? What is its form—poem, satire, narrative or textbook? Who published the work? For which audience was it intended? What was the kind and extent of the responses (applause) to the work?

While description, interpretation and evaluation may be separate aspects of an aesthetic critique, I have used them here as integral parts of the hermeneutic process.

"The Box Thing (The Tradition Dilemma)" (Haggerson, 1975:47-48) is a thirty line free verse poem which I wrote after a four hour counseling session with a doctoral student. She felt boxed into her past, to her tradition, to her stereotypes. She wanted to get out of her boxes, but she didn't know how and wasn't sure she had the courage to do so. Interestingly enough, the night before our counseling session I saw the movie, "Fiddler on the Roof." I remembered so vividly the father who, exasperated with the diverse behavior of his daughters, said, "On the one hand . . . and then on the other hand. . ." He, too, was boxed in and he didn't know how to handle the fact that his daughters were not. The two instances inspired me to write "The Box Thing (The Tradition Dilemma)."

When I showed the poem to the student she responded, "Oh, my God, yes, that is where I am." I am including the poem here, to be examined as we go through the hermeneutic process.

The Box Thing
(The Tradition Dilemma)

See our boxes? Aren't they neat?
I can tell you about every nook and cranny
...in every box.
This one is for emotions; small and tidy.
That one for intelligence: larger with
logical corners....

Just look. They are so straight, tidy,
beautiful and ever so rational.

I'm not sure how they got that way,
but there they are.
I like them. Besides they are good for us
All. Good for all of us....

Oh, my God! I'm having strange feelings!
What shall I do? They must fit in the emotion box.
But, they are running over. I can't stop them.
What do I do? Do I do?

Intelligence can be improved by man—ridiculous!
That isn't even logical. Intelligence is a God-given
capacity.
Some of us have a lot; others have very little.
Why that notion doesn't even fit into the logic box.

It doesn't even exist, exist!.....

Boxes, boxes, boxes, boxes....boxes everywhere.
And nothing seems to fit in any of them.
Oh, my God! What have I done to deserve this
punishment?
You know what the boxes are for, don't you?...

You aren't playing tricks on me like the rest, are you,
God?
There is no doubt in my mind about our boxes, no
doubt....is there God?
God....the boxes....all the boxes....some of the
boxes............a few?.........

I then met Patricia Cabrera, Director of Teacher Corps, USC, at a conference on competency based education. She was doing a section on "humanistic values and competency based education." After sitting through her session I realized that she was asking, "Is advocating competency based education just another way of boxing yourselves in?" I shared the "Box Thing" with her to see if we were understanding each other. In a few days I received a call from her asking if she could use the "The Box Thing" as the introduction to a chapter she was writing for a book entitled, *Exploring Competency Education*, edited by W.R. Houston (1975) and to be published by McCutchan Publishing Company. That is how the poem became part of the professional literature.

As I look at the poem from the point of view of various aesthetic theories I find it compatible with several. First of all, it does represent real life sit-uations, it represents stereotypical ways of viewing the world. In that sense it fits both the simple imitation and the universal aspects of the mimetic theory. On the other hand, it does not seem to fit the ideal representation criterion of the mimetic theory. It does not portray life worse than it is, nor does it propose an ideal world.

The poem is a form of communication. It conveys the writer's notion of the dilemma of findings yourself in a box and either wanting to get out or fearing you will have to get out of the boxes. As the writer I know that was my intent.[4] Having listened to and read readers' responses I am sure they have received the message. Hence the poem can be addressed through the communication aspect of the emotionalist aesthetic theory.

The author set out to objectify some very personal feelings of a struggling woman. It turns out that those feelings were not just personal, they were global. The poem helped the woman know she was one of many, and that helped allay her fears. Hence the poem has an instrumentalist function, and evidently it was written in attractive enough language and format that the readers liked it; that is, it has an aesthetic function also.

When looked at solely from a formalist point of view, that is, the form of the poem itself, "The Box Thing" would probably take its most negative criticism. It has redundancies, using exclamation marks for emphasis rather than appropriate words. . . . What I am saying is that if it were criticized solely from a formalist frame of reference it might not fare very well.

Finally, "The Box Thing" can be interpreted through the contextual aesthetic theory. That is, the work takes an enormous range of human experiences and puts them in sharp focus. It does embody experiences common to the reader, listener and writer, and the aesthetic experiences generated by the poem are an extension of the human situation—a vicarious experience.

So it would seem that "The Box Thing" meets several of the goals posited under the reconceptualized literature rubric. It has provided vicarious experiences for the readers and the writer, it has touched into the intuitive and aesthetic dimensions of human beings, and according to the applause from readers and listeners who are professional educators, it would seem acceptable as professional literature. From an equally large number of nonprofessionals, the responses indicate that the poem transcends the professional literature boundaries.

Notice that the intended audience of one has grown to an audience of many. This perhaps reflects that the poem best fits the universal[5] aspect of the mimetic aesthetic theory, and perhaps explains why it also seems compatible in varying degrees with all the aesthetic theories used in interpretation.

This calls me to look more closely, in the mode of the hermeneutic spiral, at the poem and its universal qualities. First of all, it seems to encounter the long held but now slipping notion that intelligence and emotions are separate entities and that intelligence is not only the greatest human attribute, but that human nature by God's design is that way. And if you take that position then you probably also take the position that God's design is good and shouldn't be questioned. Now the notion that human nature (intelligence) can be changed is to flout God's will. Besides, the idea that some persons have lots of intelligence and others have little is an easy explanation for differences and also takes away individual responsibility for change. Many people view the world in the way just described, and that is manifested in the poem.

In recent times the existential revolution, the scientific paradigm shift, the hippie revolt, the relativity theory . . . have questioned all of the earlier assumptions, some of which were just referred to. Some persons, then, want to break out of the tradition boxes while others want to stay in the boxes which give them security. Whether you are breaking out or staying in you are experiencing fear and ambivalence. You may be hanging on for dear life and yet feel yourself and others slipping.... "You aren't playing tricks on me like the rest, are you, God?"

And now that I get to this point I see myself in the picture, too. At first, for years, I saw the poem as an expression of mine for others, but now (as any good poet knows) I see myself there, too. Having reared six children in the '50's, '60's, and '70's, having gone through several transformations myself I not only understand how others feel, I feel myself breaking out of the boxes, afraid, excited, guilty, free . . . and so now the universality includes, me too. Imagine! That may be why I can read the poem with such feelings. (I read the poem when I presented the paper at The Fourth Conference on Curriculum Theory and Practice, Airlie, Virginia, 1982).

And so we have gone through the hermeneutic spiral, starting with the author's experience in writing the poem, expanding the audience, applying the aesthetic theories while interpreting and evaluating, and finally coming back to the author. Each step has added meaning to the poem. It has given the poem more meaning to me, the poet, than I have had in the eleven years since the poem was written. I must have experienced what Gadamer meant when he said: "Only with the passage of time can we grasp what it is that the text says; only gradually does its true historical significance emerge and begin to address the present" (Palmer, 1969, p. 185).

The hermeneutic process, as well as the new interpretations, are what I am now considering as reconceptualization of professional literature.

Now let's look at a different kind of literature. This opus is the product of two editors, Naomi Cohen (1971) (now Wamacks) and myself, who used the works and ideas of many others and arranged them into an appropriate format for presenting *"Accountability, Performance Contracting, Morality . . . What are the Issues?"* This was the Sixth Semi-Annual Edition of the Arizona Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development *Review*. It was published by AASCD with the Arizona State Department of Education doing the printing. This issue of the AASCD *Review* was designed in the form of a contract. The contract was for the reader to read and understand the *Review*, the content of which was put in the form of a "branching" program. The designated level of accomplishment was 75%.

The programmatic part of the text begins with a question and three answers. Each answer is keyed to a symbol and a page number. Each answer is then explicated in the form of a triangle, square or rhombus. A "yes" or "no" answer is given at the beginning of each statement followed by an elaborated answer. If the answer is "no," a suggestion is made as to where the reader will find another answer.

The editors intended the issue to be a satire. Satire is defined in the Glossary: "Satire should, like a polished razor keen, wound with a touch that is scarcely felt or seen."

The *Review* was re-printed two times, 3000 copies in all, and used as a text in several classes, including one taught by the President of the State Board of Education.

The audience for whom this issue was designed included state and national members of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development who lived in Arizona. It was also sent to the national offices of ASCD. It was used in classes offered to both graduate and undergraduate students in teacher education, administration and community education.

The issue was printed in brown ink on white paper. The cover was tan with brown print and trim.

In contrast to "The Box Thing" examined earlier, this opus seems to fare well when viewed from the formalist aesthetic theory. The content and the format are integrated in such a way that the piece stands by itself. The combination of symbols and language enlighten the reader and make understanding easy. The use of color—a golden brown/tan—seems to give the opus the dignity of a legal document. "It made me feel like I was reading a legal document in preparation for signing it," one respondent wrote.

On the other hand, the opus had as both its intent and consequences, communication. We wanted the readers to pick up the subtleties as well as the main point of the "accountability" issues. It was our intent to have the readers realize that accountability issues are, at base, personal decision issues. We also intended to communicate the notion that the technology of format has a strong effect on the content, in fact, it often completely blurs the content, as did some educator's penchant for writing behavioral objectives according to a given format despite the content (value) of the objective. Feedback indicated that readers did pick up this idea. One respondent said, "This makes me aware of my habit of answering questions to get the right answer solely."

Furthermore, we intended for the piece to have both helpful and aesthetic function. It was evidently thought of as helpful by those teachers who ordered it for use in their classrooms. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction who authorized its printing through the State Department of Education seemed pleased to print 500 additional copies. He paid for the printing out of State Department funds.

When applying the mimetic theory to the opus, we see that the format and the "accountability" issues were representative of professional concerns at the time. The branching program was being used at that time for curriculum of various kinds, as was the contract written in behavioral and competency terms. So it seems representative of both the content and the format of professional education at the time.

The piece doesn't seem to have the universal appeal to emotion that "The Box Thing" did. If, on the other hand, one considers the underlying issue, "Does technology dominate our values and behavior or is technology used to help express or implement values?" then the issues tend toward the universal. And, of course, if the morality of responsibility is considered a basic issue, then the opus hits on another universal question. Our feedback from the readers, however, did not indicate that they were emotionally involved with these issues as they read the opus. The emotional involvement came when teachers were told by superiors that they were accountable for carrying out the objectives of the district. Now as I raise this matter to consciousness, I see that "accountability" is an emotional issue. That gives me an additional dimension of meaning regarding the *Review* being discussed.

The question of how well satire contributes to the goal of giving readers impetus to change, to improve instruction, to intuit the essence of research, to have vicarious experiences, needs to be raised. Did the piece "like a polished razor keen, wound with a touch that is scarcely felt or seen?"

The applause of the audience indicated that they saw the piece as a clever way to put forth some important issues. The fact that so many copies (relative to other issues of the *Review*) were requested indicated that readers probably liked both the content and the way it was displayed. Little response came to indicate that people changed as a result of reading or studying the *Review*.

This opus was dedicated to an artist who had been intimately involved in the previous three issues of the *Review*. She had given us the inspiration and some of the skills and ideas for making a piece of professional literature an art piece. She had encouraged us to break through the formal/normal format for a journal putting forth professional issues. She was the inspiration for early stages of reconceptualizing professional literature. She gave us non-artists the encouragement to publish an issue of the *Review* in an artistic format without the direct assistance of an artist. It is not difficult to see why we dedicated this issue to her.

As I now think about it, that was the beginning of my perceiving myself as a person who might be an artist of sorts. Subsequently I have published many artistic pieces, both literature and multi-media programs, and now I feel very comfortable with myself as an artist.

As I assess the hermeneutic process used in interpreting these pieces of literature, I sense a satisfaction in deriving new meanings from works that I have written; I have a feeling of both probing deeper for meanings and creating new meanings through new relationships heretofore unknown to me. For instance, the notion that Virginia Brouch, the artist mentioned above, had been the inspiration for me to perceive myself as an artist, had never occurred to me before now. And yet when I recall the past events just described and others, I see clearly that she was that inspiration. Hence another level of meaning is derived from the hermeneutic interpretation of professional literature.

The final piece I will examine for this article is an opus entitled, "One Man's Journey in Search of His Roots" (Haggerson, 1981). The article was first written as a project in a class I was taking, "Women in Mental Health: Feminist Therapy." It happened that I was the only male in the class with twenty-three women. Prior to that semester I had done extensive reading in an area referred to as "androgyny." It seemed appropriate to me and to the instructor that I continue the study of androgyny as part of my class work, since it was an issue in that particular class. During the semester I attended a conference on androgyny sponsored by the Analytic Society of Chicago and chaired by June Singer, at that time a Chicago analyst.

Having written the article and put it in multi-media form, I presented it to the class. The response was so good that I was asked to present it at a colloquium at the University, then to several classes in college, and then to a number of high school classes in humanities and home economics. By that time I had sufficient applause to give me the courage to send it to June Singer (1976), whose book entitled *Androgyny* had just come out. Her letter in response said, in part, "It is good to know that you are deeply touched by this archetype. So many people see the manifestations and mistake them for the reality." The article was published in March, 1981,in the first issue of a new journal, *The Journal of Journeys*. The title of the journal indicated the nature of the articles it contained. It had a target audience of those who were interested in journeys: personal, geographical, psychological, philosophical, existential ... journeys.

Interestingly, in December of the fall I wrote the original article Alex Haley's *Roots* was put on a TV series. My title was conceived before I saw his series or read his book; however, nobody ever mentioned the coincidence of names.

June Singer's letter was not only a gratifying response but it identified an aesthetic approach which is referred to by Cloud(1982) as mythological or archetypal (both of these notions actually are subsumed under the contextualistic rubric). By the very definition of archetype the universal is implied, and so the androgyny archetype meets the universal criterion. However, at the time I wrote the article most of the people I shared it with did not know of the archetype or the word. When I discussed the archetype with them they picked up on the meaning rather quickly.

Androgyny also has a sociological psychological aspect which has been examined by Sandra Bem (1974), among others. She has developed an androgynous scale which I sometimes use in explaining the idea. In that context, it is interesting to me to recall that when I wrote the article I was the only male in a class of twenty-three females. For the most part they were interested in other feminist issues as they saw them. To some members of that class androgyny was a cop-out. It was particularly irksome to some who were focusing on lesbian issues and dispositions. I quickly discovered that androgyny was an emotional issue and anticipated that a published article on the topic might arouse emotional responses on the part of the readers.

I observed that my twenty-one year old daughter was the first to respond emotionally. At seeing and hearing the multimedia presentation for the first time she became very upset. I picked up her reaction during the presentation. Afterwards we discussed androgyny and her response to it. She had immediately connected it with homosexuality despite the fact that that issue had been specifically addressed in the presentation. A similar concern arose among high school students. Boys in particular seemed uneasy with the notion of androgyny. A common question by high school boys was: "Suppose I think of myself as androgynous, how do I tell my friends? They will call me a queer and no longer accept me." Girls didn't have much trouble accepting the idea, at least the ones who spoke up.

From these observations and responses I came to conclude that I was communicating with an audience of varied ages, backgrounds, genders, and sexual dispositions. I sense the universality of the archetype as I explain it to those with whom I share the article or multi-media presentation. I can't think of one person with whom I have talked about androgyny who didn't understand the notion. There were many who viewed it as positive, others who viewed it as negative, and others who didn't seem to put a value on it, but none who didn't understand.

There was no question from the very first that I was personally involved with the meaning of androgyny. I wanted to know more about my own sexuality. Once I found out more about it through the study of androgyny I wanted to be identified as an androgynous person. My intention in writing the piece seems to have been clear to both myself and those who have read it.

The form of the piece, a narrative poem (as well as a slide-tape, visual-auditory presentation) gives it an aesthetic appeal. In an organic sense the piece is androgynous in form. It is written in a sensitive, attractive way. It handles a delicate subject in an artistic way (the slides are beautiful). The questions are probing, analytic.

From these comments, then, the piece can be interpreted from the mimetic, emotionalist, formalist, and contextual aesthetic theories as well as from sociological, psychological, and mythological approaches to aesthetic understanding.

In a recent bulletin from the Institute for Religion and Wholeness, School of Theology, Claremont, California (Clinebell, 1982), there was a report of a futures conference. The report cited a number of guiding principles which evolved from the conference and which subsequently were adopted by the Board of Directors. One of those principles is that all activities of the Institute be "androgynous in perspective." It appears that a notion that but a few years ago had hardly reared its head in the population had now gained sufficient recognition to be a policy matter for an educational institution, probably several.

It seems pertinent in reconceptualizing professional literature that articles containing ideas and phenomena that seem far removed from the experimental, descriptive and objective type have places to be published and be acknowledged as professional.

Discussion

The purpose of this article was to explore the meaning of reconceptualizing professional literature and to give examples of an aesthetic approach to critiquing some of my own published works.

First of all, I used the context of naturalistic research to build a rationale for reconceptualizing professional literature. It is important to provide ways to report naturalistic research findings so that readers can experience vicariously, intuitively, personally and subjectively. This kind of experiencing is near, if not identical with, aesthetic experiencing. That being the case, at least the assumption, I selected some aesthetic criteria to discuss several works. I did this in what I referred to as the hermeneutic spiral. I started by describing the work in a very personal way. I then used a number of aesthetic models as bases for discussing both form and content of the pieces. I integrated the evaluation dimension as I went around the hermeneutic spiral. By the time I had come full spiral I had found new meaning in all the works.

By reconceptualizing professional literature in the ways described in this paper, I have reaffirmed in my own mind that poems, satires and other "creative" pieces can contribute to a reader having vicarious experiences, to uncovering tacit meanings, to making personal/professional changes, and in so doing can improve practice. Hence, the type of literature used here as the focus of reconceptualization can be meaningful as professional literature. This type of literature has a special meaning to those researchers doing and reporting research in the naturalistic paradigms.

Some "naturalistic generalizations" I derived from this research process are:

The hermeneutic process allows one to look at a piece of literature from various points of view and, invariably, to get new insights into the meanings of the opus being interpreted. As Dilthey says, "Meaning changes—meaning is always in context" (Palmer, 1969).

One starts the process with a personal description and then moves to more objective interpretation and then comes back to self in a far richer way.

One can have an aesthetic experience in the writing, reading, or critiquing of a work in this hermeneutic process.

When one attempts to describe the hermeneutic process one becomes involved in using the hermeneutic spiral.

There is no one aesthetic theory sufficient to cover all the dimensions of a piece of literature. It turns out that there needs to be a meta-theory.[6] Often I found that I was using one theory to explain a phenomenon and then slipped to using another. It was also evident that interpretation and evaluation were difficult to separate. As a matter of fact, description is difficult to separate from interpretation and evaluation. When I began this paper I had determined to have separate sections for description, interpretation and evaluation. By the time I got to that place in the paper I decided to have just one section: *Description, Interpretation and Evaluation.*

Using the hermeneutic spiral brings out much of one's own experiential background. It also helps one move out of the isolation of "individuality" and toward the realization that each of us is an inseparable part of the universe.

There is a discernible relationship between the writer, the critic, the reader, the piece of literature and the hermeneutic process of interpretation. As a writer of "The Box Thing" (and others) I did not know the piece contained so much meaning. As a critic, I found more than I had as an author. As a reader (reading out loud to others), I found aspects of the poem that I didn't find as a writer or critic. As a listener to the responses of others, as well as a reader of their written responses, I discovered still other dimensions of the opus. It behooves us as writers, readers, and critics of literature to try on different roles, to let the hermeneutic spiral work in that way, too. I conclude, with Dilthey that "(a piece of literature) is a form of spiritual nourishment which brings to expression other well springs of the life in which we move" (Palmer, 1969, p. 122).

The hermeneutic spiral rationale and process seem to bring out the creativity of the critic as well as the author. On the day I presented this paper at the Fourth Conference on Curriculum Theory and Practice at Airlie, 1982, I realized that putting a research report in an art form, as I had done in the three pieces interpreted, one risks having the reader see only the art form and not understand the naturalistic generalizations. This came to mind as I was discussing the "Accountability" opus and realizing that the contract/programmatic format in which the *Review* was printed may well have blinded the reader to the moral issues involved. I am sure there are other risks, too, but this interpretation process led me to conclude that reconceptualizing professional literature, as I have done, is well worth the risk.

There are precious few outlets through which to explore those ideas expressed here. Thanks to the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* for permitting a forum from which to present these ideas. Thanks, too, to the Arizona State Department of Education for printing the AASCD *Reviews*, one of which was interpreted here, and to John and Sue Meyers, editors, *Journal of Journeys*, for publishing "One Man's Journey in Search of His Roots," and to Patricia Cabrera who included "The Box Thing" in her article in the book published by McCutchan. Sadly enough, the Arizona State Department of Education is now so overwhelmed with printing policy documents, curriculum, and forms that they no longer are able to cooperate with a professional organization in printing such documents as the AASCD *Reviews*. And, John and Sue Meyers who struggled so hard to make a go of the *Journal of Journeys* have had to quit publishing the journal because of financial difficulties. We need to reconceptualize our professional literature, and we also need to support in every way possible those outlets for publishing our reconceptualizations. We also need to support doctoral students and young scholars who desire to write and publish in these modes.

"Naturalistic Generalizations II"

(In To Dance With Joy, Haggerson, 1971)

The Sculpture
(The Naturalistic Writer)

The artist walking by
picked up a lump of clay
and moistened it.
With fingers warm he smoothed,
plucked, shaped and urged
his life into the form.
Spirit for his spirit
danced in clay.
It caught the music
of his heart, and breathed.

(Dorothy Lykes:10)

Creativity
(The Risk of Being Different)

Creativity
the cross
on which
you bare your soul. Any wonder why
she lies
dormant in
atmospheres
where
nakedness
is risky?

(N.H.:43)

Shining Eyes and a Train Ticket
(Vicarious Experience)

Shining eyes, gateway to my soul,
announce my love, my joy, my excitement...
See them? Weep with me?

Train tickets to freedom through
courage, trust, pain, risk...
Buy one? Join me?

(N.H.:85)

New Life
(Reconceptualization)

He blew seeds from a pod.
They scattered and brought us forth new life.
We built our strength on roots of faith.
Our spirits sprouted in celebration
As we encountered tunes of life,
Each lived moment experiencing
Souls with whom we make ourselves.
Let us blow seeds into the winds
That they might generate other
New Lives.

(N.H.:55)

Poems
(Professional Literature)

Anesthetics dull feelings, sensitivity,
shades of distinction pain.
Medicine, greed, jealousy, slavery,
unfeeling are anesthetics.

Anesthetics sharpen feelings, sensitivity,
enrich living, being...
Poems transmit love, caring, fears,
subtleties, freedom...are anesthetics.
(N.H.:18)

Footnotes

[1] This article was originally presented as a paper at the 1982 Fourth Conference on Curriculum Theory and Practice at The Airlie House near Warrenton, Virginia.

[2] According to Gadamar "the task of hermeneutics is to bring the text out of the alienation in which it finds itself (as fixed, written form), back into the living present of dialogue, whose primortal fulfillment is question and answer" (Palmer, 1969, p. 200).

[3] The term, hermeneutic circle, was used by Ast and Schleiermacher in early works on hermeneutics. Schleiermacher said, "By dialectical interaction between the whole and the part, each gives the other meaning; understanding is circular, then. Because within the 'circle' the meaning comes to stand, we call this the hermeneutic circle" (Palmer, 1969). I envisioned yet another dimension to the circle and used the "hermeneutic spiral" as the metaphor of understanding.

[4] I recognize the "intentional fallacy" which befalls one criticizing a work as an outcome of the "intent" of the author. That is, the work is to speak for itself; it should not need the "intent" of the author in order to be interpreted. However, for this particular critique I deliberately chose my own works so I could get the feel for interpreting from many frames of reference, including "intention."

[5] Universal in this case has the meaning of "transcendence," not of totality.

[6] This concurs with Gadamer (Palmer, 1969:183) who said, "There is not 'presuppositionless' interpretation...hence one 'right interpretation' as right in itself is a thoughtless ideal and an impossibility."

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Curriculum-in-use and the Emergence of Practical Ideology: A Comparative Study of Secondary Classrooms

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Introduction

Critical curriculum theorizing about the contributions of schooling to a dominant ideology which legitimates social stratification and continues existing material relationships has rather adequately challenged the image of classrooms as neutral or apolitical environments. Numerous theorists (Apple, 1979; Apple & Weiss, 1983; Bernstein, 1977; Everhart, 1983; Giroux, 1983; Willis, 1977) have suggested that the process of schooling is reproductive of existing social inequities. These works, many of them descriptive of the lived experience of students in classrooms, have begun to establish the complex nexus between the dominant ideology of this society and the practical manifestations of that ideology found in schools and classrooms.

Practical ideology is of consequence as it embodies the daily commonsensical understanding and explanations through which students, and later adults, interpret and make sense of their social and materials world. More significantly, practical ideology, while providing taken-for-granted surface meanings and explanations, often obscures or discourages more detailed analysis of underlying social and economic dysfunctions. The dominant ideology, espousing a capitalist economy, infuses social institutions such as schools with a set of explanations which discourages examination of underlying premises. Rachel Sharp (1980, pp. 123-124) suggests:

> It is largely through practical ideology that the school manages to secure conditions for continued capital accumulation and the reproduction of capitalist class relations. The manner in which schools, classrooms and knowledge are socially organized, the material practices and routines through which learning and teaching take place provide the socially significant context which mediates any explicit transmission of formal knowledge, concepts and theories.

Schooling, according to this analysis, provides an active setting within which practical ideology is formed and transformed. Furthermore, schools are perceived as settings where the dominant ideology can be legitimately and explicitly reinforced either directly by the state, as through the recent publication by the National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983), or indirectly, as through the participation by a variety of foundations in the formulation of reports that have imaged and prescribed desirable futures for the educational establishment (Berman, 1984; Beyer, 1985; Giroux, 1984; Shapiro, 1983). Such activity may be recognized as evidence that the economics of the marketplace may have seriously challenged the dominant ideology, thus evoking this defensive response.

The most recent popular studies of schooling (Boyer, 1983; Goodlad, 1984; Lightfoot, 1983; and Sizer, 1984) are descriptive of life within those settings but are ideologically innocent in that schooling is portrayed as a neutral entity rather than as an enterprise constituted within a distinct and interested political economy. Although the studies of Anyon (1981), Apple and King (1977), Everhart (1983), Larkin (1979), and Willis (1977) have begun the process of examining the concrete experiences of students in schools with a view toward interrogating the generation of practical ideology, there remains a paucity of descriptive and explanatory data with respect to meanings which students attach to these experiences of schooling. Practical ideology, carried by the classroom message system, is also mediated and transformed by students in interaction with the educational institution and in response to previous school experience, family history and social class. The beliefs and behaviors which constitute practical ideology are not merely learned as components of a cultural milieu, but are also generated and mediated within a system of concrete material forces. Conscious explication of social and material relations, practices and routines permits examination of the meanings and assumptions which form the basis of school knowledge.

This study seeks to understand first, the nature of the message system distributed by two teachers representing divergent epistemologies; secondly, the meanings generated by students, that is the practical ideology by which they make sense of their world; and finally, the nature of the dialectical struggle by which students negotiate, resist or create meanings within the classroom culture. Two classrooms, one traditional and the other humanistic, will be described. Although humanistic pedagogies may claim to alter the unequal modes of selection and distribution of knowledge long identified as a function of the hidden curriculum, this study suggests that the embeddedness of such practice in a traditional middle-class institution diminishes its vitality and distinctiveness. Conformist and nonconformist students in both the traditional and the humanistic classroom interpreted the meanings of the classroom message system in terms of their personal dispositions, family histories and social class. The study concludes that the formation of beliefs and behaviors, the development of practical ideology, is not strongly influenced by curriculum but, rather, that the material world both mediates the curriculum and influences the manner in which students interpret its messages.

I shall, first, discuss the methodology and setting of the study and present a summary of the epistemological assumptions which guided instructional practices in each classroom. Evidence of the differentiated, class-based distribution of knowledge will then be offered. Finally, student interpretations of the curriculum-in-use will be discussed and related to social class factors in the generation of practical ideology.

Methodology and Setting

To examine the reproduction of knowledge and the generation of practical ideology within a school classroom requires a methodology which can illuminate relationships incumbent in that complex structure. Apple (1977), Giroux (1981) and Sharp and Green (1975) suggest an approach which combines social

phenomenology with a critical perspective, a theory of social totality, an approach which identifies the context within which school meanings are negotiated and which permits analysis of meanings beyond the level of consciousness. Although descriptive studies of the phenomenology of schooling are illuminating, by merely dwelling at the level of consciousness we ignore the inner mechanisms of reproduction and transformation (Sharp, 1982, p. 51). Knowledge of the structure of social totalities cannot be gleaned from the cumulative results of school ethnographies since those totalities are absent from the surface structure of everyday life. This study illustrates the concept of determination defined by Apple (1980, pp. 58-59) as a set of influences which exert pressure and set limits on (rather than mechanistically determine) meanings, beliefs and behaviors.

As a daily observer of classroom events for six months (Kickbusch, 1981) my role was to record evidence of the selection and distribution of knowledge by students. Observational data was supplemented by formal and informal interviews with the teachers and students of the two classrooms. Twenty-three students were interviewed at the end of the semester using "descriptive questions" (Spradley, 1979) on a prepared protocol. These interviews elicited information about student knowledge systems, student role definitions, attitudes toward teachers, education and learning, and goals for the future. Two months later fourteen conformist and nonconformist students were interviewed a second time. These interviews focused on educational and career aspirations, family influences and social group membership.

The setting for this study was Golden Valley High School[1] (enrollment) 2250 students), situated in a suburban, largely middle-class coastal California community with an approximate population of 70,000. The community's economic base is diverse and includes agricultural industries, electronics manufacturing, research and development facilities, and a major university.

Golden Valley High School was selected as a site for this intensive study because of the opportunity to observe two distinctive classroom epistemologies within a single restricted setting. The presence of one "reformist", humanistic social studies class, as well as a traditional class, permitted an observational framework within which school organizational variables were relatively equal yet where the epistemological assumptions held by the two instructors were diverse enough to allow me to examine the generation of practical ideologies by students of differing class backgrounds within two distinct contexts. Although the two classes were different in some respects, they did share several similarities. Both were elective semester American history courses which could fulfill the requirement that all students have at least one semester of American history. Both classes were undifferentiated by grade level, with each having students from all four grades enrolled, and both were undifferentiated by student ability level.

Two groups of students—which I have labeled conformist and nonconformist—were the focus of the investigation in each classroom. Group memberships became clear following some six weeks of observation as data involving attendance, tardiness, student volunteerism and teacher nomination accumulated and was supplemented by the cycle of exams, assignments and research papers from student to teacher and back again.

These two groups in each classroom, each rather small and representing the extreme of a continuum of conformity to the basic value and worth of academic expectations, became the focus of my continuing observations. Although the labels "conformist" and "nonconformist" were used to delimit groups, the boundaries were not exclusive as non-conformists did not totally reject middle-class norms of schooling nor did conformists totally accept them.

The Practice of Knowledge in a Traditional Classroom

Beatrice Bergie, who taught the course in Civil War History, was identified by an administrator as an excellent traditional teacher. With a clear sense of significant historical knowledge, she indicated that she identified "the most relevant things—key events, key points and key people" and using the lecture method transferred the information "into the students' computers." Traditional student-teacher role relationships were established during the first several days of the semester through the assignment of classroom seating and explication of policies and procedures. Talking without raising one's hand was forbidden; homework assignments were due at the beginning of each hour; late assignments were penalized by a loss of points. Bergie was friendly but communicated a sense of distance and place.

The message system of Bergie's classroom—curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation—was clearly the product of a traditional epistemology. She selected all classroom content on the basis of her understanding of and special interest in the Civil War; she controlled student encounters with historical content by allowing them to pursue research topics only after securing her approval. Her pedagogy was largely didactic, exhibiting temporal control and limited interaction among students (small-group work occurred twice during the semester), while her evaluation procedures emphasized the recall of discrete data.

Curricular content selected for classroom distribution by Beatrice Bergie was carefully controlled through the use of daily lectures. The significance of that content was reinforced by an outline placed on the blackboard during the opening minutes of the class period. Her most frequent method of reinforcing lecture or textbook knowledge was through careful questioning of the students. When the passivism engendered by the didactic presentation continued during such periods of questioning, Bergie employed a reward structure. she began one review session with, "I've pulled some questions out of the reading. Let's see how you do." However, students were unresponsive. To further motivate students, a reward for answering was offered: "Let me give you some points for answering today."

Since the selected content had failed on its own terms to motivate students, points were given. The issue, no longer so much the understanding of information, was now the accumulation of points which were ultimately translated into a letter grade. Such class discussions, while typically dominated by eager conformists, were ignored by non-conformist students.

Historical knowledge distributed by Bergie was not perceived as being relational, i.e., as touching the students' lives in any way. A discussion of the New York draft riot of 1863 was limited to questions of contributing conditions and categories of participants. Conflict, resistance and opposition were perceived as aberrant events, unrelated to present circumstances, with questions concerning resistance to perceived injustice remaining unstated. A dysfunctional view of social conflict was thereby reinforced.

A final and significant characteristic of social studies knowledge distributed by Bergie was that she encouraged its differentiated distributed. In one instance at mid-semester Bergie assigned a research project but counseled students not to worry: "I'm going to give those of you who don't do well writing or don't like to write, I'll give you a chance to do something else, to make something." Several days later Bergie distributed a list of approved topics and again reassured the class:

> There is some leeway for some of you. For some of you writing and research is a real chore. You work and have other obligations and research and writing is not your bag. You may do a flat poster, banners, visuals—we really don't have room for three-dimensional models. If you have a Civil war uniform at home and want to explain in detail about it, that would be fine. I just want to make it less painful for you.

Bergie's differentiated assignment singled out non-conformist students for special treatment, treatment which might be labeled "humane" by a casual observer. By mid-semester she had become aware not only of the non-conformists' inadequate linguistic competencies, oral and written, but also of their personal aspirations. While she was perhaps correct in her assessment that writing a research paper would be a "real chore" for Burt, Josh and Dover, all non-conformists, because of their inadequate skills and their part-time employment, what is of greater interest is Bergie's acquiescence to what she assumed to be the boys' preferences. Her decision not to require the boys to write a paper meant that she did not teach them and they did not learn the mechanics of manipulating data. She had thus concluded that working with ideas was anathema to the culture of the non-conformists.

The pedagogy practiced by Bergie followed naturally from her epistemological system, a system in which knowledge was circumscribed, static and hierarchical (Bernstein, 1977, pp. 89,116). Within such a visible pedagogy the role relationships, the degree of control exercised by teacher and student over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received, were both specific and explicit. Direction and control were clearly defined and hierarchically structured.

Bergie's expectations for most students were that they be present, be prepared and not fall behind the schedule of classroom events. In response to my question as to whether she reduced grades because of excessive absence, she replied, "I don't grade down because of absence; some teachers do but I don't. I think it's unfair. It usually takes care of itself." The process of things taking care of themselves was evidenced by an episode in which five students returned to the class following a day or two of absence and found the class at work on a map assignment. Absentees were informed by Bergie that another thirty minutes would be allowed to complete the map assignment and then a lecture on the election of 1860 would be given. The absentees scrambled to complete the map assignment but found they needed to choose between the map and the lecture.

Bergie's use of power and definition of choice were mediated by student group membership. Conformist students found they had limited choices within a visible pedagogy where alternatives were determined by the teacher. Deviance from established norms by non-conformists, however, was largely ignored by Bergie. Classroom norms were those already internalized by conformist students, yet by ignoring the deviance of the non-conformists Bergie was, in effect, encouraging its continuance. This selective application of a visible pedagogy, then, served to perpetuate class-based student responses to the distribution of school knowledge.

Evaluation procedures within Bergie's classroom, the public declaration of worth or value, confirmed assumptions about knowledge and knowing. The function of evaluation appeared to be motivation, control and differentiation among categories of students. Bergie explained:

> I really don't know what they "know" or will do with it. As far as retention for a month or longer, I don't know. I test over what we have covered in class, what they have been exposed to. What I do is total all the

> points for the whole semester; *I find that people pretty much group themselves* (my emphasis).

While evaluation served to motivate those students who accepted the intrinsic value of grades, it also controlled behavior and regimented thought processes. Evaluation isolated students from each other and placed them personally at risk vis-a-vis authoritative knowledge and the grading authority of the teacher. Students were reminded, "I expect you to do your own work," to "close your books," before tests began. During a review for an exam, Bergie stated, "I want to be sure that we're all thinking the same way." While reviewing the results of an exam with students, several boys questioned Bergie's judgment. She responded, "I can see what you were thinking, but it isn't what I was looking for." Selection, distribution and evaluation of knowledge were clearly the prerogatives of this teacher.

Evaluation also involved a process of differentiating among students according to several levels of criteria. Bergie explained that her criteria for assigning grades involved

> . . . point totals with the exception of the bottom of the barrel, the D's and F's. Human beings seem to fall into categories. You can't rationalize truancy. But with F's I consider whether they failed other history courses, whether they are a senior and it would really do any good to fail them, and their ability level. With habitual truants there is little leeway.

A student might pass Bergie's course by meeting one of two criteria— either by successfully demonstrating competencies in reading, writing, researching and remembering, or by demonstrating good faith—by trying. Trying, for the academically untalented, meant attending—coming to work. Bergie offered examples of several students whom she had evaluated according to the latter criteria:

> Josh and Burt are misplaced. They've missed a lot and have a hard time. Josh more than Burt. Many times their written work will be identical and I'll put on it, "Whose work is this?"

The boys, both identified as non-conformists, had attended frequently enough to receive a D for the semester. Yet Dover, another non-conformist, received a D for reduced credits (two credits instead of the usual five) since his attendance was so inconsistent that it was not clear that he had even learned the lesson of attendance or trying. These non-conformist boys had "fallen into a category" through a process which Bergie believed was "natural" and of their own choosing.

Student Mediations of a Traditional Epistemology

In the preceding discussion I have explored the mechanisms within the classroom message system by which a traditional teacher reproduced a dominant ideology. Both the "practice of history" and the "practice of daily classroom life," the curriculum-in-use, gave evidence of the reification of consciousness (Giroux, 1981, p. 20). The order of classroom life, role relationships, hierarchical structures, evaluation procedures, excessive absences of non-conformists students, and conformist responses to the point system—all appeared to be natural, commonsensical and fair. These have been, then, glimpses of institutionalized hegemony behind the practical ideology of Bergie's classroom at Golden Valley.[2]

In the following discussion I shall describe the manner by which students came to construct personal realities in this classroom, the processes by which practical ideologies, i.e., beliefs and behaviors, emerged and were confirmed or denied by the dominant structure of schooling. I shall explore the complex interrelationships within which students negotiate, affirm or resist the dominant meaning structure of the school. The experiences and interpretative structures of two groups of students, conformists and non-conformists, will be discussed in terms of three informing categories: classroom knowledge, roles and rules, and significant personal meanings. Personal biographies of students within each group will be examined prior to describing their beliefs and behaviors.

Conformist students were so labeled for their consistently positive responses to classrooms norms. They were absent infrequently, usually volunteered for class discussions, prepared homework assignments, took lecture notes, and by all accounts appeared to be doing well in class. Grades received at the end of the semester tended to confirm my earlier judgments; John, Randy and Gail received A's from Bergie while Arno received a B.

My interviews with these students revealed common long-term goals including college or university attendance, while personal and school experiences were somewhat more varied. John, a senior, had a thirty-five hour a week supermarket job which he believed would be valuable for a future career in business and accounting. John's class schedule at Golden Valley allowed him to leave school each day at noon and, therefore, to be more flexible with his working hours. He changed jobs during the semester to a business which promised to give him experience in all departments of supermarket management. John had received good grades at Golden Valley and shrugged off a perfect score on one of Bergie's exams with: "All you have to do is memorize your notes."

Arno, also a senior and an admitted "stoner" in the ninth and tenth grades, had given up social drinking and smoking in favor of good grades. Education had become important to him: "You can't get anywhere without it." His goal, a degree in business accounting, seemed within reach now that his grades had improved. Arno lived with his father, a university professor, who had remained supportive during his difficult early years at Golden Valley.

Gail also planned to go to college, perhaps to study accounting. She believed that she had had good classes and good teachers at Golden Valley, "teachers who prepare you for college by teaching you how to take notes." Although she planned to study accounting, Gail's first love was music and she participated in two musical groups at Golden Valley. She had seven friends who were "all school-minded" and all planned to go to college. They spent weekends together listening to music, seeing movies, shopping or going to the beach.

Although Randy was only a ninth-grader, he was already impatient with what he perceived as the minimal academic rigor of Golden Valley: "Teachers can't comply with my capacity (to learn) without leaving others in the dirt. I could finish high school by the eleventh grade." He planned a career as a systems analyst and had strong support from parents who believed their son should attend Yale.

Students whom I have labeled non-conformist, Dover, Burt and Josh, first came to my attention via their attendance records. Other evidence of nonconformity followed: incomplete assignments, late assignments, and poor or failing grades. At semester's end all received D's; however, because of Dover's excessive absence his credits were reduced from five to two.

Dover, a senior, found his graduation plans threatened by Bergie's reduction of credit allowed for her course; however, she agreed to supervise an independent study project which would recover the lost credits. Despite his attendance and credit difficulties, Dover aspired to a two-year college upon graduation. He would be the first of five older siblings to graduate from high school. His mother was a high school graduate but his father was not.

Burt lived with his mother and a younger brother; his father, now deceased, had been a career military man. Burt intended to join the Army upon graduation. He hoped to receive construction training and later form his own company in Oregon. Burt's mother was supportive: "She thinks it's good because she knows I have troubles in school." Burt had thought about college but decided he couldn't tolerate more books, grades and homework. He explained his frequent absence from Bergie's class with: "It's so boring to sit there and do nothing." Burt worked every afternoon as a mason's helper learning the details of cement construction. Taking the job had been an important step since it meant he had to leave the varsity wrestling team. He emphasized, "It was a big decision because I was varsity."

Burt's only close friend at Golden Valley was Josh who didn't like school and who was "sick" most of twenty-three days he was absent from Bergie's class. He shared with me his belief that difficulties in the first and third grades were responsible for his continuing academic problems. Josh planned to join the Navy following graduation, learn radar and perhaps "stay in" like his father had. His parents were not concerned about Josh's future since five older brothers had joined the military as well. Josh's job also conflicted with school activities, particularly with his involvement in a theater group; however, the need to keep his car running was, in his judgment, preeminent.

None of the boys in this non-conformist group had families supportive of goals which would require higher education. All three boys placed heavy emphasis on jobs they held, all were responsible for their own cars, all had poor attendance records and poor grades, and all had friends and families whose histories were not oriented toward higher education. I shall turn, then, to an explication of student beliefs and behaviors, an exploration of their practical ideology.

School Knowledge

In my initial inquiry into conformist students' conceptual model of knowledge and learning, I asked them to talk about education and learning. The request elicited responses such as "beneficial," "enjoyable," "good experiences," — in short, schooling was perceived as a pleasant, satisfying and necessary experience. Randy's definition of learning was functional: "What I know helps my employer; everyone will profit." John believed that "history and business courses will help me." Arno, however, was less certain about the functional value of Civil War knowledge: "It's important but I don't see why it should be."

Arno's ambivalence toward classroom knowledge was occasionally reflected in the conformists' classroom behavior. Most typical of that behavior was working on the other subject matter while Bergie lectured. Randy was challenged by Bergie for reading a novel while she lectured, and Gail's conversations with friends were never ignored even while the daily bulletin was being read. Alternative behavior could be sustained only if Bergie remained unaware. Conformists were frequently reminded of work that was due or of the necessity of placing a call to the attendance office so that absences would be excused. Bergie clearly possessed high expectations for her good students; they should be present, be alert and participate, and produce work of a consistently high quality.

Grades were understood by conformists as comparative symbols: "They show you how you compare to other students, how you stand, how intelligent you are." If the context of this classroom was not always significant for these conformists, grades were; the value placed on grades was confirmed by their conformity to roles and rules.

The three boys whom I have labeled non-conformists, Burt, John and Dover, did not meet Bergie's standards; they were absent too frequently, did not complete all assignments, did poorly on exams, and did not pay attention to or participate in class discussion. Non-conformist images of education generally reflected negative attitudes and minimum commitments to it. Josh's criticism was most specific:

> The school day is set for you, all laid out. Your whole life is planned; you go to school, go to work, come home, do homework and that's it. You can't make any plans.

Josh believed that learning had to do with experience: "If you've experienced it, you can explain it later." The practical value of learning was that it could lead to a job, thus Josh was doubtful about the value of history: "I don't know what good it is. Maybe it's just social, something you can talk about." Burt was certain that knowledge of history was unimportant: "You don't need it unless you're going to be a teacher."

The boys' behavioral response to Bergie's definition of knowledge as static and unrelational was characterized by opposition and resistance. Excessive absence (Burt, 19 days; Josh, 23 days; Dover, 29 days), tardiness, incomplete assignments, and lack of classroom attentiveness communicated a lack of commitment. Bergie believed them misplaced, believed they copied each other's assignments, and believed they intercepted and destroyed unexcused absence notices sent to their homes; however, at no time did she publicly call them to account for their absences.

Classroom behavior not tolerated by Bergie, if exhibited by conformist students, was generally ignored if initiated by non-conformists. Seated at the rear of the room, Burt and Josh regularly discussed lunch hour plans and their girl friends or simply put their heads down and ignored classroom activities. Bergie's non-intervention in these oppositional behaviors thus communicated differentiated behavioral expectations of conformist and nonconformist students. Non-conformists were allowed by Bergie to not pay attention as long as their activities did not interfere with her distribution of knowledge, thereby suggesting that such knowledge was of little consequence for their futures.

Non-conformists were ambivalent about grades; for example, Josh believed that they communicated success or failure but that "pets have it easier, they get better grades." Dover claimed not to worry about grades while Burt expressed a desire for better grades while blaming his lack of success on Bergie's boring lecture-homework-exam cycle. Passing Bergie's course, rather than good grades, appeared to motivate the boys' minimal efforts. They appeared resigned to the grades received, giving no indication that they believed in the possibility of improvement.

Roles and Rules

As a category organizing student beliefs and behaviors, roles and rules includes as referents the understood role of the student and teacher in the instructional setting as well as the rules for student success. The category is designed to illuminate student interpretations of the codes conveyed by the classroom message system.

Conformist students described the teacher's role as "giving students what they need to survive," and "preparing us for the world outside." Randy believed that Bergie was an ideal teacher, "about the favorite of all the teachers I've had." John concluded, "If someone wants to learn,I don't see why they couldn't in her (Bergie's) class." The student role, accordingly, was to pay attention, do homework, listen, come to class, allow the class to flow, and be courteous.

Student roles and rules for succeeding, then, were synonymous; to succeed students must do homework, listen, come to class, take notes, study and work hard. Students recognized that Bergie made all decisions although John did surmise that while a student could make unpopular choices, the citizenship grade might be affected. Asked how he would change the class if given an opportunity, Arno replied, "The class is fine." Randy praised its "college class" structure because it was appropriate to his talents.

Finding it difficult to separate the role of the teacher from the way they perceived Bergie, non-conformists described Bergie as "boring, bland, depressing, a monotone." According to Dover, a teacher's job was to "get the subject across to students;" however, he believed that Bergie "asked stuff (on exams) that wasn't important, like the way Lincoln dressed." Although the boys were critical of Bergie's pedagogical style, they continued to define their own roles in passive terms: students should sit and listen, try to understand, and do homework. They understood the rules for success in similar terms: come to class, do the homework, and study for exams. Furthermore, they believed their classroom choices were limited: "She's the boss: you have to ask her to go to the bathroom or get a drink."

While the non-conformists spoke of boredom, of irrelevant content, of babysitting, of their absence of choice, their resistance was tempered by a perceived need to graduate from Golden Valley. Thus they had a partial understanding of their alienated relationship to the production of knowledge but did not perceive themselves capable of altering that relationship. An awareness of material forces beyond the doors of Golden Valley High School effectively mediated the boys' oppositional behavior to the perceived inequities and irrelevance of a traditional classroom. The culture's dominant ideology, then, serves to strengthen the hand of supporting institutions such as schools in circumstances where client populations have successfully penetrated the explanatory mythology.

Significant Personal Meanings

While student perceptions and interpretations of classroom knowledge have been explored, the question of personal value remains. What mattered in the lives of these students? What were the sources of significant personal and collective meanings? How, when, and with whom did students create a meaningful culture, a vision of reality outside of the classroom? How did the material world outside of and within the classroom influence the process by which students interpreted classroom knowledge?

Conformist students believed that being with friends, listening to music, eating out, going to the beach, shopping and partying were the most significant aspects of their lives. The high point of the day at Golden Valley was the lunch hour which provided an opportunity to socialize and to see friends. Nevertheless, factual historical knowledge, the focal point of life within Bergie's classroom, was also embraced by these conformist students whose families, friends, and personal goals reinforced the passive acquisition of such knowledge. They accepted the necessity of its acquisition and perceived no conflict between their active life outside of the classroom and their relatively passive life within it. Personal matters were set aside in favor of school work and must be attended to during times not committed to formal knowledge.

Non-conformist boys spent numerous class hours sharing and confirming their own realities. As long as voices were subdued and laughter minimal, Bergie permitted the private dialogue to continue, believing that it would all "take care of itself" when grades were finally determined. Discussion of money problems, car problems, girlfriends, work, lunch hour plans, weekend parties, and a generous amount of horseplay helped the class hours pass more quickly. The lives of these boys affirmed the value of personal knowledge, the generation and confirmation of knowledge through group interaction and shared experiences.[3] Family histories, friends, job experiences and school life did not support Bergie's position that valuable knowledge was non-interactive, was learned through a rational, passive process, and was selected and distributed according to criteria estab lished by an authority figure. The non-conformists tolerated Bergie's classroom not for the value of its reified, rational knowledge, but because it was one of the unpleasant requirements for high school graduation.

The subtlety of labeling, of differentiated expections, of internalized ascriptions of personal competence were impressive when observed in practice. Burt, Josh and Dover need not be told that writing a research paper was optional, nor did Bergie need remind the conformists that they had no options, that they must complete the paper. Each group implicitly understood what practices and skills were expected and therefore

accepted the system of differentiation as practiced by Bergie. Classroom norms were those already internalized by conformist students, and by ignoring the deviance of the non-conformists, Bergie effectively encouraged its continuance.

Summary

The labels used to identify two groups of students in Bergie's classroom —conformist and non-conformist—refer to both the attitudes and behaviors of members of these groups. Conformist students generally accepted and responded favorably to the socialization and reproductive functions of schooling as well as to the authoritative role of classroom teachers. Non-conformists accepted schooling as an unpleasant necessity which had to be endured before one's working life could begin and yet they chafed under the passivity incumbent in a visible pedagogy. Unwilling to tolerate activities for which they saw no future use, they chose to simply do minimal work or to absent themselves from the class as much as possible.

Successful conformist students accepted the extrinsic rewards associated with the mastery of static knowledge in the belief that their success in school was related to future opportunities to confront other high status knowledge. Such beliefs were confirmed by families, friends and previous school experiences, experiences not present in the lives of students who resisted Bergie's distribution of technical knowledge. Non-conformist students perceived few extrinsic rewards associated with their mastery of classroom knowledge as their future goals were unrelated to mastery of specific historical knowledge. Thus, at a generalized level, school knowledge was perceived by conformist students to be valuable and related to the successful achievement of personal future goals. Non-conformist students valued school knowledge in permissive terms: Minimal compliance resulted in a high school diploma which permitted them to work in chosen fields unassociated with school knowledge.

In this context, then, the historical material presented in Bergie's class seemed to have little effect on the students exposed to it because the class background of conformist and non-conformist students helped to mediate its meaning. The conformists "learned" history because it resulted in "points" and because their parents expected "good grades." The subject matter did not matter as much as did the symbols growing out of interaction with historical content. For non-conformists, however, social class context did not reinforce the value of the symbol system, thus their resistance to learning history and their "formed belief system" that history was for "brains" but not for them.

But there is more to the formation of practical ideology than the influence of class culture external to the school. As is clear by now, the pattern wherein students adopt passive classroom roles was accepted by non-conformists as well as conformists, despite the formers' evaluation of Bergie's class as boring. The curriculum-in-use interacted to reinforce the practical ideology held by non-conformists and by Bergie. That ideology confirmed non-conformist self-images as well as beliefs about these students held by Bergie. Bergie's assumptions and judgments conveyed differential meanings to these two groups of students. Her pedagogy, which was differentiated through implicit labeling, confirmed the dispositions of these students. Conformist students, perhaps not usually inclined or not expected to digress, were not allowed to digress from assigned tasks. Their absences were closely scrutinized; their unacceptable behavior was challenged; traditional school roles and rules were reinforced. With non-conformist students, however, the normal, neutral commonsense schooling processes were allowed to take their course. Bergie's expectations for these students had been so reduced that only minimal compliance to institutional norms was required. They were, in fact, expected to digress from the classroom norm, to not pay attention, to not complete assignments, to not volunteer in class discussion, and to not attend regularly. Not expected to complete normal assignments, they might be permitted to attempt "alternative projects" which ostensibly were of equal value but which Bergie did, in fact, downgrade. Given the class culture created and lived in their lives, family histories, previous school experiences or peer cultures, these boys did digress. They did "tend to group themselves."

In reality, then, the classroom teacher played an important role in the unequal distribution of knowledge and the perpetuation of a class-based educational experience. Dover's case is illustrative of the powerful, conflicting forces which emerged when contradictions were present. Bergie's labeling placed Dover in the non-conformist group since he exhibited the typical characteristics of excessive absence, incomplete or late assignments and poor test grades. Her response was to let "things take care of themselves," that is, to not actively challenge Dover's deviant behavior, thereby giving the deviance the appearance of inevitability. Dover, however, was struggling with conflicting forces in his own life. He struggled consciously with tardiness and attendance, but the primary message he received from Bergie was one of fulfilled expectation. His goal, after observing older brothers and sisters struggle with unemployment and drift in and out of the family home, was to attend a two-year college. Dover's social group at Golden Valley—music and band students—seemed supportive of his goal, but in Bergie's judgment, "he'll be lucky to graduate." The conflict among the meanings of the classroom message system, Dover's personal knowledge system and dispositional tendencies in his own life remained unresolved. Yet it was clear that the direction of his and others' decisions was strongly influenced by the assumptions held and the consequent actions of Bergie and other teachers. All were influential in the creation of the practical ideology and behaviors of members of conformist and non-conformist cultures.

The Practice of Knowledge in a Humanistic Classroom

The literature of humanistic education suggests that active student participation in the instructional process and intentional human development are essential components of an epistemological system which defines learning as an interactive process (Phillips 1976; Shapiro 1975). The criteria of intentionality in the integration of subject matter with the personal needs and goals of the student in humanistic education accordingly reduce the tendency to perceive knowledge in static terms. A humanistic classroom which responds to the needs of the student integrates personal experiences of the student with the content, provides opportunities for the attribution of meaning to experiences, and provides for building environmental competence. Such a class is particularly important because its expanded epistemology offers the potential for modifying and mediating class-based patterns of cultural reproduction in the classroom.

Harold Stockman's humanistically-oriented, one-semester survey course in American history at Golden Valley High School was a class undifferentiated by age and ability. Stockman, in response to a question about the daily conduct of classroom instruction, observed:

> I think the key to the whole thing is ambiance. It has to do with a general attitude, a feeling, an aura, a milieu. It's an easy environment, not authoritarian. The class has structure but it is loose and open; I have a plan but within the plan there is much flexibility. There is an openness to discuss personal problems with students. Attendance and tardiness are not critical things with me although I'd prefer to have them present and on time.

The easy environment of which Stockman spoke did not include assigned seats, raising hands to obtain permission to get a drink or visit the bathroom. Students were not asked to explain absences or tardiness; late papers were accepted without penalty; students were invited to negotiate grades they deemed unsatisfactory. Monday morning essay questions might be taken home for completion and submitted on Tuesday; hence, there were permissible exceptions to most classroom procedures. Structure was provided by weekly reading assignments from two or three texts, by map work, by suggestions for personal enrichment, and by an essay exam given each Monday morning.

The complexity of Stockman's epistemology was apparent when he discussed classroom goals:

> I try not to ask questions to which I know the answers, only about things about which there are genuine questions. Otherwise it is an inferior-superior relationship. The weekly essay is based on reading and requires thought answers, not book answers. Writing integrates reading, discussion, thought and opinion. It develops the skills of thinking, remembering, organizing and analyzing. We do personal work at two levels. We work with personalities in history and the students relate to those, and we do identity and fantasy work. We meet the school district requirements and the AP (Advanced Placement) requirements in history. Students contract for grades. That is, they decide what kind of grade they want. I tell them basically what they have to do to get various grades and they decided what they want to do.

Stockman's interpretation of humanist philosophy included personal development, group process skills, empathic understanding of the historical experience, and mastery of traditional historical data. The development of practical ideology in this classroom will be explored by examining both classroom and student epistemologies.

Stockman's expanded epistemology espoused both traditional and non-traditional sources of knowledge. He elaborated:

> Students should appreciate the complexity and fascination of history, that history is a matter of thought and interpretation. They should understand how it was to be human in those days, a slave in the 1800's. They should recognize that history is a matter of groups, and they must learn to work in groups, to develop the ability to think and interpret, to speak out, to relate to other people and practice leadership. There is not a body of knowledge they must have. I don't have a set of facts they need to regurgitate, rather, students should have a sense of themselves.

Illustrative of Stockman's use of personal experience was an introductory assignment in the study of nationalism and sectionalism when he asked students to think about change in their own lives:

> What kinds of changes are important to the everyday lives of people? Can you remember the very first time

> you were in love? Can you recall your first day of school? How have you been affected by the space age? The atomic age? On the top of your paper write, "I am now 76 years old. These are the changes that have affected my life during the last 60 years." Let your minds take you into the future as you write.

This validation of personal experience by Stockman represented a significant departure from the definition of knowledge in Bergie's traditional classroom. His approach confirmed the validity of students' life experiences, invited them to bring meaning to those experiences and, in so doing, reduced the degree of overt control exercised by the teacher over classroom knowledge.

Stockman's students confronted the facts of history largely through reading traditional texts. The manipulation of these data, while seemingly open-ended, suggested an unproblematic approach to historical fact. For example, during a study of the War of 1812 students were given documents available to Congress prior to the declaration of war and were asked to make a decision for peace or war. Four of the six groups of students quickly opted for war while the remaining groups would give England six months to comply with demands. Given the historical fact of the war of 1812, the documents upon which the decision to go to war was based, and no alternative paradigm from which to examine this thrust toward empire, students could only reconfirm the past and the sense of inevitability which accompanies the traditional study of history.

With the class undifferentiated by ability, not everyone possessed the competencies implicit in Stockman's somewhat traditional criteria for success. As in Bergie's class, students experiencing difficulty in meeting the criteria were encouraged "to build something that fits in with what we're studying." After returning a set of essays, Stockman suggested, "If you've been hurt by the essay, you may do something extra like build a scale model of Boston Harbor and the Battle of Bunker Hill." Alternative work "like a project or a map" was suggested for those who wished to "do something differently from home study," i.e., reading and writing. It was possible, as in Bergie's class, to succeed by demonstrating linguistic competencies or, failing that, by working with one's hands. The messages associated with this differentiated distribution of knowledge remained implicit since Stockman did not identify or isolate students for whom the alternative assignments would be appropriate. It was apparently assumed that students "understood" whether their writing and speaking skills were adequate or not and would take appropriate action.

Where Stockman's class was most distinctive was in the use of small-group work units, meant to integrate group process skills with academic knowledge. In such settings conformist students dominated the discussions and maintained close adherence to the assigned task. Non-conformist students, however, often utilized small-group settings to pursue topics of personal interest—cars, jobs, discussions of music and weekend activities. In the end, the nature of student participation in the humanistic classroom did not appear to be significantly different from that observed in the traditional classroom. Conformist students stayed on task to get the grade while non-conformist students students participated minimally in formal requirements. In Stockman's class, however, the, non-conformists found that their inattention was positively sanctioned through the emphasis on group process.

The pedagogy of Stockman's humanistic classroom was consistent with his broad definition of knowledge, a knowledge system which embraced personal knowledge, group process skills, empathic understanding, and mastery of traditional historical knowledge. Classroom activities could be best described in terms of the human interaction involved: "alone time," small group activities, and large-group interaction. During "alone time"students usually completed a task in preparation for one of the two other modes of instruction.

Stockman's control of classroom events during periods of small-group activities was minimal, a consequential factor since on the average at least one-third of each class period was spent in some small-group configuration. Beyond the physical structuring of the groups (which took into account sex, grade level and verbal skills), Stockman did little to motivate students to remain on task. His use of an invisible pedagogy where the hierarchy between teacher and student remained implicit and thereby masked the power of the teacher, allowed students to share, create and validate personal meaning structures.

Stockman's posture was undifferentiated whether students conformed or gave the appearance of conforming, whether students made no pretense about conforming and pursued their own agendas, or whether there was active resistance to the day's activity. There were occasions when Stockman was totally ignored, as during a class hour when the non-conformist boys, Rick, Jack and Harry, spent the entire class period perusing each other's wallets, sharing traffic tickets, fishing licenses, ID cards, pictures—as a means of reliving personal histories. Stockman continually instructed the class, "I have a suggestion— work on the paper or complete the map work." He was ignored as Rick continued to entertain the group with an account of "four-wheeling in the hills." Although aware of this passive resistance, Stockman made no attempt to focus on their agenda or the reasons for its domination of their classroom experience.

Occasionally Stockman's pedagogy produced active resistance. Active resistance, occurring infrequently even among non-conformist students, entailed a direct, overt challenge to the content or process selected by Stockman. During one such incident Stockman had initiated a discussion of documents relating to the American Revolution. He noted, "OK, look at Document B. Kate, does this document say anything about social structure?" Before Kate could respond, Jack interrupted, "What's social structure anyway?" in a tone of derision, not of inquiry. Jack pressed his attack: "We go along as settlers and all of a sudden this!" There was further discussion of the documents when Jack interrupted again: "How is this going to help us in future?" Jack's question was ignored by Stockman and the class. Jack had verbalized his doubts about the relationship between the content and his own life and those doubts remained unanswered.

We see then that Stockman's pedagogy was an "invisible pedagogy," one that shaped and formed patterns more by what was not done than what was done. It was a "natural process," one that allowed the class culture of non-conformists and conformists to continue—to seek its own level. Conformist students used the freedom to confront the static nature of historical knowledge, while non-conformist students used it as an opportunity to share and explore personal experiences and to generate personal knowledge. With the reduction of teacher control, following from personal development and group process goals, Stockman's pedagogy allowed non-conformist students to define their own purposes within the classroom. As in the traditional classroom, the humanist pedagogy acceded to the non-conformist behavior which frequently rejected school knowledge, and the pedagogy thereby legitimated and perpetuated the anti-school dispositions of the non-conformists.

Formal evaluation in Stockman's humanistic history classroom was predictable; evaluation occurred every Monday morning in the form of an essay. It was perceived by Stockman as a learning mechanism:

> I don't preclude use of texts, notes or talking with each other during tests. There is no way they can cheat. Knowledge is there or if not there, they can get it, integrate it and then write. It is another form of group work in which cooperation is basic.

Stockman's articulated position on knowledge was forthright: "I'm not looking for specific knowledge. I don't have a set of facts they need to regurgitate, rather, students should have a sense of themselves." Classroom processes tended to reflect this belief as students engaged each other in small-group activities, manipulated and speculated about the facts of history and sometimes looked at their own lives in relation to the crises historical figures had experienced.

The evaluation process of this classroom, however, revealed only a tentative commitment to these beliefs. By mid-semester the study of the Revolutionary War was over and a Monday morning essay was on the board:

> If it is true that the most revolution is precipitated by the propertyless and underprivileged, account for the fact that ordinarily conservative aristocrats in America assumed the leadership of the Revolutionary movement.

Jack (a non-conformist) strolled into the room and immediately asked, "So what's the right answer?" Stockman responded, "There is not right answer. Make a hypothesis and use a few facts to back it up, a date or two."

The theme, "there is no right answer," was repeated frequently by students while working in small groups. While accurate on the surface— that is, students were indeed free to take a position on an historical issue and defend it—that sentiment obscured the necessity to know dates and facts in order to present a cogent argument. While no position taken on an essay question might be "wrong," there were clearly degrees of adequacy dependent on the presentation of historical data.

Physical presence, in the absence of all other qualities, was an adequate demonstration of learning, of trying. Jack seldom completed homework assignments and, according to Stockman, wrote essays that were "short and mechanical. If he didn't come to class, he'd probably fail." Jack might not learn history or write well; however, he learned that to succeed one must at least come to work. For those who were linguistically competent, however, attendance was not mandatory. One of Stockman's students, a "super-bright" girl, lectured in another class once a week and often was not present but nevertheless received an A for the semester. Yet, as a non-conformist who did not write well, Jack had to attend class in order to pass. The message here was that attendance at least demonstrated socialization to basic work norms. For the bright, conformist student, mental competence compensated for actual physical presence. Her relationship to her work, which was mental and creative, clearly had social class implications (Anyon 1980). Jack's preoccupation with personal knowledge, in the final analysis, was not as valuable as the "super-bright" girl's facility with factual school knowledge. This was, then, a differentiated evaluation system, one for those who were bright and one for those "not so bright."

The focus on student participation in the humanistic classroom exposed another dimension of student life to evaluation, a characteristic of "open" classrooms previously identified by Sharp and Green (1975). The "open" or "loose" humanistic environment allowed students to reveal attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors not usually exposed in more traditional settings, and for which there was not adequate support in the humanistic setting. For example, Jack's choice to "take a free one," i.e., not to write the essay on a particular Monday, while an exercise of personal choice that was encouraged by the setting, also placed him in jeopardy because he ultimately would be penalized for his choice.

In my description of the classroom message system of Harold Stockman's humanistic social studies classroom I have noted both differences between and parallels with Beatrice Bergie's traditional classroom. The influence of a "humanistic epistemology" was most pronounced in Stockman's selection of curriculum and pedagogy. Evaluation appeared to be most impacted by the technical rationally prevalent at Golden Valley High School. It was here that the dominant ideology exacted the price to be paid for the inclusion of this humanistic reform in Golden Valley's curricula. While an alternative knowledge system and pedagogy were tolerated within Stockman's classroom, hegemonic forces would not permit "value" to be attached to the regenerative knowledge (Everhart, 1983) which emerged from such curriculum-in-use.

What, then, was the student response to these contradictions within the classroom message system? What were the dimensions of the practical ideology to emerge from such a setting? I shall offer brief biographical sketches of conformist and nonconformist students in Stockman's classroom and then present their interpretative structures of experiences as ordered by the categories of classroom knowledge, roles and rules, and significant personal meanings.

Practical Ideology in a Humanistic Classroom

Conformist students in Stockman's survey history class, Kate, Tiny, Mary, and Tessa, maintained a commitment to high status knowledge, that is, excellence on the weekly exam, in a classroom where the pedagogy encouraged the generation of personal knowledge. They volunteered for leadership roles during small-group activities, participated in large group discussions, completed homework assignments and possessed good literary skills.

Kate was committed to a university education in order to pursue a career in English or journalism. A serious student, she was not amused by the antics of non-conformists in small-group settings. She had little tolerance for the "geeks," the "nobodies who do strange things." Two school musical groups and the student senate consumed much of Kate's free time. Kate's father, well known in the scientific community, taught at the local university.

Tiny, another serious student, opted not to take "Mickey Mouse courses and get easy credits." To accomplish his goal of becoming an engineer, he was willing to sacrifice now and work hard to get an education "instead of working hard the rest of my life." His parents, both university graduates, gave Tiny much support and encouragement. Tiny, a basketball player, considered himself a member of the "jock crowd" at Golden Valley. His crowd preferred to "sweat through school life during the week and unwind by partying on the weekends." Tiny had a job as a bus boy but quit because it interfered with basketball practice.

Although Mary was only a freshman, she "had always thought about going to college." With a sister and her mother enrolled at the university and her father a retired accountant, Mary believed her choice was a natural one. Mary's nonacademic identity at Golden Valley was associated with her success in a swimming club and the hope of participating with the school swim team.

Tessa, new in the community, lived with her mother who worked as a graphic designer. Her friendship circle at Golden Valley included mainly upperclass students who were able to give weekend parties. As a recent migrant from the Midwest, where she had experienced outstanding success, Tessa found the Golden Valley atmosphere impersonal but had used extracurricular activities as a way to develop friendships. She hoped to study television production at the local university.

Jack, Harry and Rick, non-conformists in Stockman's classroom, had interests and personal aspirations which they believed were inadequately addressed by Golden Valley High School. The boys, exploiting opportunities to digress within Stockman's invisible pedagogy, could be described as tolerant dissidents. Not angry with Stockman or the knowledge he distributed, the boys simply complied with classroom norms when essential and then ignored the remainder of the content and process. Rick communicated greater desire to succeed and received a C for the semester while Jack and Harry received D's. Stockman was impressed that Rick would take the Monday essay to the reading center, work on it and return it later in the week.

Rick, a junior at Golden Valley, aspired to a career in carpentry; he hoped that his job with a local boat builder would become permanent following graduation. He indicated that his parents, both university graduates, were supportive of his interests. Rick's part-time job financed his outdoor recreational activities: boating, diving and four-wheeling with his own vehicle.

Jack worked five hours after school each day in a machine shop to finance his own boat, an automobile and a rally car. Yet, after eight months on the job he found machine shop work boring and noticed that other employees did "a lot of bitching about pay." Believing that he couldn't "get rich" as a machinist, Jack was considering learning air conditioning and refrigeration. Jack's father, an engineer, supported Jack's career aspirations while an older brother, a punch press operator, served as a role model. Golden Valley had not impressed Jack: "The only thing I learned here was welding."

Harry's goal was to work out-of-doors, perhaps for the forest service or on an oil platform. Simply put, Harry was not interested in "getting ulcers sitting at a desk." His present job, operating a mobile truck-washing unit, had no future but did keep him in money while attending Gold Valley. Harry also had the support of his parents, both college graduates: "Whatever I want to do is OK with my parents." Although his grades were poor, he insisted, "When I try I can get any grade I want, but I don't care enough to try in most classes." Stockman required him to do additional work to compensate for seventeen absences before giving him a D for the semester.

The personal dispositions of conformist and non-conformist students described above, their family histories, school experiences, career aspirations and social group membership illustrate both the complexities and the contradictions among the determinants within their lives. I shall, then, turn to an exploration of the practical ideologies of these two groups of students using the categories of knowledge, roles and rules, and significant personal meanings.

School Knowledge

Conformist students in Stockman's classroom provided a variety of descriptors associated with schooling: "colorful," "responsibility," "advantages," and "opportunities," descriptors suggesting that positive feelings and experiences were associated with schooling. At semester's end they remained consistently positive about the study of history. Tessa believed, "History affects us and will help us deal with the future." Tiny described history as "building understanding of why our country is the way it is." Although Kate liked history, she was critical of the textbook in use because it didn't provide "standard dates and events." As a conformist she recognized the practical necessity of having access to and mastering factual historial data.

Conversations with the non-conformist boys also revealed positive attitudes with respect to schooling. For Jack, education was "basic, decent and worthwhile," and Harry ascribed his marginal success to his own decision not to try. Rick simply believed the experience to be "cool." Jack perceived a functional relationship between some forms of knowledge and life: "If something ever comes up in life I'll know what to do, like when I get a house I'll be able to rebuild it." Knowledge of history was of no use: "It has not value for the future." Unlike the conformists, these boys resisted the technical aspects of Stockman's complex epistemology while, at the same time, maximizing the personal opportunities provided by the invisible pedagogy. Stockman's unwillingness to intervene as the boys generated practical knowledge communicated an implicit affirmation of the utility of that knowledge.

Roles and Rules

Conformist students enjoyed and appreciated Stockman's presentation of self. They described him as "jolly," "smart," "humorous," "a good teacher," "compassionate," "a happy person." They understood the teacher's role to be one of stimulating people to learn, generating student interest, preparing students for the future. Still, these conformist students were critical of Stockman's methods, primarily because every student didn't share the commitment to technical knowledge which the conformist students did. Kate believed that Stockman should insist on the completion of homework assignments and that group work was unfair: "We are forced into groups where only one person works, the rest just copy." Tessa, too, was unhappy with the level of academic rigor:

> He tends to be too easy with the whole class. Like today, everyone was talking; he doesn't force you to learn. Half of the class doesn't care. He should be reserved for smarter students. If he was stricter, people who want to get off easy wouldn't take him.

The predominance of group work concerned Mary as well; she found group progress too often impeded by "spaced people." Tiny said he would be tougher, noting that "too often he (Stockman) doesn't have enough discipline. I'd lay down some rules and take points off for talking."

Stockman's invisible pedagogy, which placed much of the burden for learning on students, clearly upset the presuppositions of students dedicated to high status knowledge. The absence of persistent temporal control in Stockman's pedagogy, designed to facilitate the development of self-knowledge and to provide the opportunity to develop small-group skills, challenged the purposes of schooling as understood by these students. Nevertheless, they implicitly understood that there were few genuine choices for conformist students if they wished to meet Stockman's criteria for excellence. They were expected to produce regardless of the opportunities not to, and they almost always chose to produce.

The non-conformist boys liked and appreciated Stockman. He was described as "jolly," "nice," "not boring," "a good teacher" and as someone who didn't "pick on certain people." Yet Stockman's invisible pedagogy, with its absence of overt and persistent control, led non-conformists to conclude that they had choices in this classroom, "real choices where you decide to do the assign or not." The boys concluded that choosing not to participate or complete assignments probably made Stockman unhappy, but his happiness was of concern only if it resulted in no credit for the course. Until that limit was reached the boys believed that they had a full range of options. Yet the invisible pedagogy obscured the persistent and continuing criteria by which the boys were evaluated, criteria which presumed the possession of competencies they did not demonstrate and which therefore precluded anything but mediocre grades. However, non-conformists appeared content with their role in the classroom because they believed they had chosen it. This perception of choice was apparently responsible for the absence of student-teacher conflict in a situation where Stockman evaluated the boys as harshly as Bergie evaluated the non-conformists in her classes.

Significant Personal Meanings

Conformist students in Stockman's classroom, believing that the creation of personal knowledge should not be sanctioned within a classroom setting, were critical of Stockman's failure to control classroom life and believed that group work wasted time and was unfair to bright students. As conformists they recognized that seldom had they been rewarded for achieving high levels of personal knowledge, thus for others to be so rewarded meant the introduction of a double standard. These students did, however, respond to opportunities for sharing and confirming personal realities if such behavior did not jeopardize the pursuit of static knowledge, a factor which separated them from the non-conformists. Conformists exercised discretion within the classroom and often would defer the production of personal knowledge, reflecting the influence of tradition and purpose carried by family and class history.

Non-conformists' personal agendas, however, consistently dominated the official instructional message. Much of the non-conformist conversation in Stockman's classroom concerned part-time jobs or leisure-time activities. The boys avoided afternoon class schedules, school activities and anything associated with schooling, including homework, which might interfere with significant life experiences. Their view of schooling and vision of the future were supported by collegial groups, and Stockman's humanistic classroom provided an opportunity to engage in group activities supportive of such a world view. Thus the personal identities that were part of the boys' culture were reinforced in a setting wherein it was claimed that the "personal" was an important element in the educative process. Indeed it was.

Summary

Conformist and non-conformist students of Stockman's humanistic history class were supportive of education and learning. Conformists, holding to the extrinsic value of static school knowledge, associated academic mastery with their goals to enter various professions. The non-conformist attitude toward generalized school knowledge, however, was one of tolerance. Jack's referent for "education" applied not to the probability of entering a profession but rather to shop experience—an indication of the extent to which non-conformists rejected the abstract values of schooling and, instead, defined education in very pragmatic terms related to manual skills.

Stockman's open, invisible humanistic pedagogy was also interpreted differently by conformists and non-conformists. Conformists were impatient with and critical of a pedagogical style which valued small-group interaction and personal knowledge. They understood that Stockman's control was not diminished by his invisible pedagogy, that if they wished to succeed academically, traditional roles and rules pertained. Non-conformist students in Stockman's classroom challenged his selection of content but appeared more comfortable with his pedagogy. The distribution of static historical content was interpreted as being irrelevant; however, the humanistic pedagogy was not directly objectionable. The boys appreciated the potential for digression and exploration within the invisible pedagogy of small-group process. They believed, as a consequence of the perceived classroom openness, that they had chosen not to succeed. Stockman's control was obscured by the pedagogy, so the boys did not blame him for their peripheral success; he remained a friend. The boys appeared to be "happier" non-conformists than were those in Bergie's classroom since they believed their choices to be genuine.

Stockman's expectancy messages were more difficult to interpret than were Bergie's since they appeared to be inconsistent. The appearance of inconsistency conveyed by the daily practice of an open pedagogy was juxtaposed with formal evaluation criteria which emphasized traditional high status literary competencies. Conformist students rejected the personal knowledge message of curriculum and pedagogy in favor of the "school knowledge" message carried by the weekly essay. Non-conformists whose dispositional tendencies placed them at odds with school knowledge chose, instead, to affirm the personal knowledge message of the pedagogy. So it was that students, according to Stockman, "contracted for grades."

The Formation of Practical Ideology

In this concluding section I wish to examine the nature of the dialectical struggle within which students negotiate, resist, or create meanings as they experience classroom life. Characteristics of two classroom message systems, one traditional and the other humanistic, have been described as have the practical ideologies of conformist and non-conformist students within those classrooms. Is the introduction of a message system characterized as "reformist" capable of altering the nature of the dialectical classroom struggle and the substance of the emergent practical ideology?

Civil War History as taught by Beatrice Bergie reflected technical cognitive interests, a position which attempts to control the present by concretizing the past. This phenomenon is not unique since schools tend to insist that high status knowledge is the only relevant knowledge which students need (Everhart,1983). Given the enormity of socialization responsibilities of schooling, especially within the social studies curriculum where standards of social participation are forged, this insistence is perhaps not unusual. Knowledge which has been reified demands only rational manipulation by passive students, effectively limiting potential challenges to the dominant ideology.

Knowledge in the traditional classroom was both strongly classified and strongly framed, i.e., boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable knowledge were clearly prescribed (Bernstein 1977). Acceptable social studies knowledge was that immediately associated with the Civil War, hence there was no expressed relationship between those events and present school desegregation cases, continuing sectional economic competition, racial tensions or economic inequality. Strongly classifying such knowledge effectively increases the control of the social institution and diminishes the power of the client. A strongly classified and strongly framed knowledge system permitted little deviation from the prevailing definition of high status knowledge for conformist students.

Non-conformists, who were not committed to high status knowledge, who had part-time jobs, and whose dispositional tendencies did not encourage them to excel academically, were encouraged to demonstrate a secondary level of interest and competence by making posters, banners or visuals. The presumption of student choice in these decisions obscures the complexity of interactions which preceded and accompanied such choice points in students' lives. It is useful, then, to turn to the conformist and non-conformist students of this classroom for further analysis.

Observations of student conformist behavior in a traditional classroom suggest acceptance of technical cognitive interests by students. Although these students were unaware of the relational or intrinsic value of historical knowledge, they continued to engage in its manipulation for the associated symbolic reward. Their commitment was not to their work but to a symbolic reward which assured them of the further pursuit of high status knowledge at the university. It was in the interest of conformist students to support school knowledge and resist its destratification, thereby perpetuating the existing class structure.

Oppositional behavior among students, as described in the work of Willis (1977) and Everhart (1983), and among workers (Apple, 1980b), has been defined in terms of student resistance to high status knowledge or worker resistance to circumstances of estranged labor.[4] Conformist students engaged in oppositional behavior when opportunities existed; however, it is not clear that such behavior was perceived by them to be "in opposition to" or "an act of resistance." Thus it could be said that the oppositional behavior of conformist students was such that it supported the dominant classroom ideology—oppositional behavior seldom jeopardized the completion of school work. Bergie's conformists did not exhibit the "consciousness of circumstance"; there was no "short term expression" of consciousness of position within the structure of schooling among these students (Braverman, 1974). These students believed they controlled their own lives. As long as interstices were present which could be appropriated for personal ends, allowing students to impose personally defined order on their non-classroom world, these students continued to affirm the practices of traditional schooling.

Conformist students' family histories, each with a tradition of higher education, strengthened beliefs in deference and in the future. Students had learned from family and personal experience that success in one's work might mean enduring an alienated relationship with respect to that work. Given their middle- or upper middle-class status, these students and their families were most likely part of what Braverman identified as the "middle layer" of the work force, having no economic or occupational independence and no access to the means of production (1974: 403). Sometimes referred to as the new middle class, this group occupies an intermediate position between labor and capital in that it may share minimally the rewards of capital while remaining hired labor. Thus it was that these middle-class conformist students at Golden Valley High were not spared an alienating relationship to their work nor did they expect to be spared.

Non-conformists in Bergie's classroom were unwilling to ascribe present or future value to Civil War knowledge. Their presence in the classroom was dictated by the perceived necessity of receiving a high school diploma, and so despite the boredom, the perceived irrelevance of classroom knowledge, the pressures of part-time employment, and their lack of personal success in school, they continued to attend. The boys were clearly alienated from classroom work and asked only that homework be reduced and irrelevancies eliminated. School work interfered with more meaningful aspects of their lives, so they reduced the level of interference by withdrawing from all non-classroom activities.

The non-conformists engaged in oppositional behavior as a form of disapproval of existing norms and roles while avoiding a stance of outright rejection. While the classroom message system was challenged, it was not overthrown. In the end, because of their opposition to reified knowledge, to hierarchical relationships, and to temporal control, the non-conformists reinforced the practical ideology by and about them—that as non-conformists they had little use for and were thought incapable of producing academic knowledge. Bergie, through her labeling and stratification of work requirements, stratified the boys out of a legitimate role in the classroom while the boys acted out the same role. The illusion of academic marginality thereby perpetuated and reinforced the ideology that non-conformists were incapable of academic success. In the end, as with the Hammertown lads (Willis 1977), the boys continued to believe that they, as exceptions to the general experience of the working class, would escape an estranged relationship to labor.

Harold Stockman's humanistic philosophy in an American History classroom did not render that historical content problematic. With a weakly classified and weakly framed knowledge system, the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable content appeared to be indeterminate while an invisible pedagogy blurred the traditional hierarchical relationships of classroom life.

The classroom slogan, "there are no correct answers," remained apropos until students were asked to write the weekly essay. At that juncture norms and roles were clarified, the authority structure brought into focus, and the reward system revealed the essence of the "hidden curriculum" as practiced in this classroom. According to Bernstein, when pedagogy is invisible, the hierarchy is implicit, place and time are weakly framed, and control is vested in the process of interpersonal communication (1977: 135). Such a pedagogy also presumes an internalized system of roles and norms which approximates the middle-class standards implicit in schooling. While the weak classification and frames of an invisible pedagogy emphasized the importance of alternative ways of knowing, the evaluation practices of Stockman's classroom revealed a congruence with the institution's commitment to formal, academic learning. The hidden curriculum of an invisible pedagogy, therefore, was a latent visible pedagogy with incumbent assumptions about knowledge and control.

A significant consequence of the invisible humanistic pedagogy was that it mystified the hierarchical relationships between student and teacher through the facade of student choice. Students believed they had genuine choices, and they openly exercised choices as Stockman tolerated alternative or oppositional behavior. While it was true that students were openly permitted to choose conforming or non-conforming behaviors, the consequences paralleled those in Bergie's classroom.

The conformist students were able to read these muted messages correctly; they correctly ascribed preeminent value to Stockman's evaluation system. Embedded in an institution committed to technical knowledge, the humanistic classroom might alter the pedagogical practices but it could not destratify the predominant system of knowledge. The absence of distinctive differences between the significant regularities of a traditional and humanistic classroom can be explained in part by reference to Young's belief (1971:33) that efforts to destratify high status knowledge in schools will be resisted by the middle class who perceive that their future social status is dependent on their ability to define those competencies that are to be considered normative within the schools. The strength of normative socialization, family and friendship influences, and personal dispositions continued conforming beliefs and behaviors. As was the case with Sharp and Green's (1975: 121) teachers at Mapledene Lane School, Stockman's humanistic epistemology remained encapsulated by the dominant middle-class norms of Golden Valley.

The non-conformist boys liked Stockman because he "didn't pick on certain people" but did not like history because it was boring and irrelevant. They continued in the belief that they could get good grades anytime but that they chose not to. They had begun to compensate for the meaninglessness of school work and physical work with their involvement in a variety of outdoor activities. The fact that the boys differentiated between their interests and school interests and openly rejected the exchange relationship did not mean that they comprehended the significance of their partial insight that "educated" work was alienating. They actively turned to an existence of manual labor, having rejected the formal demands of schooling, its conformism and passivity, only to discover that satisfaction could not be found in the work relationship on the shop floor.

We have seen that layers of mediation exist as the cumulative and historical influences of class culture, school structure, and classroom epistemology interact in a complex melange to emerge in a practical ideology supportive of the dominant ideology. Indeed, schools do not simply produce workers, but "they help create and make legitimate forms of consciousness that are dialectically related to a corporate society like our own" (Apple, 1980a: 65). The re-creation of a working class ideology is non-mechanistic; it is a product of conflict, tension and contradiction, partially dependent for success on the assertive responses of the non-conformists. The fluid and dynamic nature of the "selective process" (Sharp, 1980: 102) of the dominant culture is apparent in these classrooms as hegemonic forces respond to, restructure, and incorporate or reject counter-hegemonic initiatives which threaten existing relationships to capital. Although the humanistic epistemology challenged the traditional conceptualization of knowledge in this study, its practice remained apolitical, that is, "control informed by the power of reasoned choices" did not operate in the interest of emancipation (Giroux, 1981: 31). Interstices were present as students resisted, briefly and delicately, the dominant culture, but opposition was not translated into political understanding or political action by an essentially ameliorative pedagogy. Nonetheless, there was hopeful evidence of Sharp's assertion (1980: 102) that hegemonic practice is not always successful. Dover, living with a traditional epistemology, rejected Bergie's labels and the collective force of institutional judgment to recreate his family's working-class experience. Jack, Harry and Rick, non-conformists in the humanistic classroom, with family traditions of higher education, explicitly rejected alienating middle-class work roles. Although the boys revealed a preference for some form of cultural solidarity rooted in cooperation and sharing, they were not engaged by a pedagogy which merely "permitted" such dialogue. Parallels between the logic of domination in the carpenter shop, on the shop floor, and in the classroom were not drawn. Thus, while the potential for self-reflection and personal struggle existed, without the support of a radical pedagogy the boys were not able to move from opposition to resistance (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 104-109).

The incorporation of a humanistic epistemology with counter-hegemonic potential by the dominant ideology is described by Popkewitz (1982) as "reform as stability." Casual observation of the humanistic classroom at Golden Valley High would suggest substantive change in pedagogy, the most visible element of the classroom message system. However, careful examination of the quality of historical content and of evaluation would reveal the conserving nature of this classroom.

The ritual of humanistic reform permitted the instructor, committed to human development within formal schooling, to pursue that goal through an expanded epistemology and an invisible pedagogy, while acceding to institutional expectations in the area of evaluation. Such a *quid pro quo* satisfied the instructor in that the effects of a reformist social studies curriculum were perceived as "real" while the institution was able to resist formal destratification of knowledge. The institution, not totally coercive, incorporated this incipient reformist humanistic pedagogy while conveying the appearance of fostering an open, responsive, humane and equitable learning environment.

Jacoby notes that "humanists would have it that alienation is a problem of human sensitivity and is not extruded from the bourgeois mode of production" (1975: 66). Educators truly interested in humanistic education will have to wrestle with this premise and the support for it noted in this study of Golden Valley. Unless willing to adopt a more critical perspective, educators will continue to participate fully in the perpetuation of a conserving practical ideology and of social and cultural reproduction so pervasive in the schooling process. An absence of such a critical stance in educational innovation will reinforce the controlling position of the most privileged (Papagiannis, Klees and Bickel, 1982: 225), while fostering the illusion among the unprivileged that choice and openness are the same as social power.

Notes

[1] The names and places which appear in this narrative are fictional; pseudonyms are used to protect the identity of all participants as a negotiated condition of entry to the setting.

[2] Relationships between practical ideology and the concept of hegemony as understood and used in this study require further illumination. Practical ideology, as distinguished from an abstract theoretical ideology such as the theory of a capitalist mode of production, is described by Sharp (1980: 93) as "the world of appearances, what appears on the surface (that which) does have a reality and that reality is absolutely necessary for capitalist production." Those appearances, those common-sense understandings do have a reality that is based in the material world. Althusser, as quoted by Sharp (1981: 126) defines practical ideology as follows:

> Practical ideologies are complex formations of montages (sets) of notions—representations—images, on the one hand and of montages of behavior— conduct— attitudes and gestures on the other. The whole functions as the practical norms which govern the attitude and the taking up of concrete positions by men with respect to the real objects and real problems of their social and individual existence and of their history.

One would expect, then, that the practical ideologies of students would be class-based, a product of social and historical experiences within a productive system and would, therefore, permit us to focus on the processes by which material practices influence the production of knowledge. Practical ideology is the surface manifestation of an abstract ideology as interpreted and lived by individuals with concrete relationships to the dominant mode of production. Hegemony, the concept of a dominant abstract ideology articulated by Gramsci (Hoare and Smith, 1971), serves to order the daily commonsense routines and meanings that each individual lives out somewhere in the class structure. The notion of a dominant ideology or "culture" presumes the existence of minority cultures, an understanding which challenges the position of classical Marxists. Although the dominant meanings saturate our consciousness, Apple's (1980: 60) use of "determination" encompasses the possibility of resistance and opposition. Hegemonic practice, then, is not unconflicted; the dominant ruling class ideology is consistently faced with resistance which leads either to incorporation and change or to rejection of the oppositional practice. Of central concern within this study is the response of the dominant ideology of schooling to an incipient reformist tendency. Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony is discussed in greater detail by Williams (1973; 1977).

[3] Everhart (1983), following Habermas, has utilized the categories of cognitive interest, mode of inquiry, and patterns of human action to illuminate the conflict between the dominant epistemology of schooling and that of the "anti-schoolers" described in his study. Within the preceding categories, then, whereas the school focuses on technical or reified knowledge, students focus on practical knowledge; whereas school or technical knowledge is empirically based, practical knowledge is regenerative, the product of group interaction; and, whereas technical knowledge results in instrumental or rational human action, practical knowledge leads to communicative action characterized by reciprocity and mutuality. Regenerative or personal knowledge is subjective and interpretive as it is maintained by the participative, voluntary action of social groups.

[4] The theory of resistance operative in this analysis of student behavior suggests that student oppositional behavior at Golden Valley was merely oppositional and not resistance. Such behavior did not "contain a critique of domination" nor were there present "opportunities for self-reflection and struggle in the interest of social and self- emancipation." See Aronowitz and Giroux (1985: 104-109) for a discussion of the distinction between opposition and resistance.

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Political Notes and Notices

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A session was held at the Seventh Annual Conference on Curriculum Theory and Classroom Practice at Bergamo to discuss the future direction of the "Political Notes and Notices" section of this journal. Several recommendations were made and discussed at that meeting, and those attending agreed on the following guidelines.

First, it was agreed that this section should be involved in an advocacy role, within the general outlines of that social reconstructionist perspective enunciated in the two previous issues of *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*.[1] Within this general orientation and advocacy, there is a wide and diverse array of curricular issues and topics that might assist in our understanding of the ways in which education can play a key role in the process of social transformation. Essays and commentaries on such issues are welcome, especially those dealing with the restructuring of our daily social and work-related interactions, our cultural involvements, and our familial commitments.

Second, commentaries submitted to this section should be kept rather short. After some discussion of appropriate length, those attending the Bergamo session concluded that the maximum length of any essay will be three double spaced, typewritten pages. This will facilitate greater involvement by our readership and allow contributors to this section of the journal to succinctly address specific issues and events.

Third, it was also agreed that there will be, in the future, a subsection at the end of each installment of "Political Notes and Notices" that lists important uncoming events that are related to the purposes of this section. This subsection might include, for example, notices about political rallies, cultural events, conferences, and the like, that are of interest to our readers.

Fourth, this section of the journal will include (as often as people care to submit suggestions) a relatively short quotation that touches on issues related to the purposes of "Political Notes and Notices." This quotation can then be used as one of the bases for written pieces that will be considered for publication in the subsequent issue of the journal. Other short essays and commentaries will, of course, continue to be considered for publication as well.

Fifth, it was decided that this section will not print essays that are submitted anonymously. This is generally in keeping with our view that we must not only take politically active roles within educational studies, but also take responsibility for those positions which we hold.

Much of the above orientation to "Political Notes and Notices" depends on the active involvement of our readers for its success. Therefore, it is especially important that we consistently contribute ideas and writings for this section of the journal. Not only will this make for a more lively, provocative, and compelling section, it will also be fulfilling the democratic and participatory orientation to education that animates the very political stance of "Political Notes and Notices." Failure to make this a genuinely participatory enterprise will, then, cast some doubt on the very political project in which "Political Notes and Notices" is embedded. Please send essays. commentaries, notices, quotations, and so on, to me at: Department of Education, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa 52314.

There is one further matter that was not explicitly discussed at the 1985 Bergamo meeting but that I think is rather important. Volume 6, Number 2 of *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* contained recent news summaries among the contents of "Political Notes and Notices." My own view is that this can provide important insights into the questions and issues about which we are all concerned. What I would propose is that such news summaries be continued, in some form. The extent of such inclusions might well depend on the quantity of other submissions (notes, essays, commentaries, etc.), with such news summaries decreasing in length if other submissions are numerous. Please let me know your reaction to this proposal, in addition to responding to any of the above decisions. All suggestions are welcome, at any time.

In keeping with the decisions reached at the Bergamo session, I offer the following quotation as the basis for reflection and submission of responses for forthcoming issues of JCT:

> I suspect that in many ways all curriculum design and development is political in nature; that is, it is an attempt to facilitate someones else's idea of the good life by creating social processes and structuring an environment for learning....
>
> Curriculum designing is thus a form of "utopianism," a form of political and social philosophizing and theorizing. If we recognize thus, it may help us sort out our own thinking and perhaps increase our ability to communicate with one another.
>
> What has been said here is offered in the spirit of an emancipatory interest. If the general scheme has meaning for individuals, each must use it within the self-reflective area of his own experiences and validate and/or verify it on that basis.[2]

My own view is that it is precisely this self-reflectiveness on our own experiences that is urgently needed as we think through our political commitments within education.

* * * *

Following is a compilation of news items relevant to the orientation of "Political Notes and Notices"[3]:

The hysteria surrounding the nature and transmission of AIDS has clearly affected school policy of late. A central issue has been whether, and on what basis, children with AIDS should be allowed to attend schools. The National Education Association is advocating that reliable tests be administered when there is "reasonable cause" to believe that a student has been infected. This immediately raises a number of complex and important issues: who is to define "reasonable cause"; how can we protect the civil rights of those involved; on what basis can children who react positively to the AIDS test be segregated from schools; who should be notified in the case of a positive reaction to the AIDS anti-body test; and so on.[4]

Parents in New York City's School District 27 have boycotted schools, alleging that classrooms are unsafe for their children because a student suffering from AIDS is present.[5] Even though health officials repeatedly have testified that the route of transmission of the AIDS virus precludes infection on the basis of casual contact, many people continue to regard the situation as roughly akin to the spread of infectious diseases like influenza, pre-vaccine polio, or the plague. We see here, perhaps, the combination of homophobia and the contemporary tendency to privatize, isolate, and restrict even those aspects of our life with a potentially significant social and communal element.[6]

In another case, Georgetown University has been ordered by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals to grant official recognition to two homosexual organizations. Citing the Supreme Court decision in Bob Jones v. The United States, the court of appeals ruled that a 1977 Human Rights Act established an "overriding government interest" in ending discrimination against homosexuals. The University is in the process of appealing that ruling.[7]

Meanwhile, Representative William Dannermeyer (R-California) is considering legislation that would ban AIDS victims from health care positions entirely,[8] while several U.S. firms have fired AIDS victims. On the other hand, Los Angeles has enacted a law banning discrimination against AIDS victims,[9] and some American companies are offering counseling and educational programs regarding AIDS to employees.[10]

What these responses indicate, among other things, is how deep seated and essentially political convictions affect the possible response people make to a tragedy like that involving the appearance of AIDS. We need to remember that our society's concern about AIDS did not appear until it became a "middle class disease," and one capable of killing movie stars and other "notables." Like so much else in American culture, such debilitating phenomena can be tolerated if they only affect marginal, powerless groups.

* *

The attack against "secular humanism" is being mounted with increasing fervor, this time with the aid of Ronald Reagan and William Bennett. Leading what could become a new bandwagon against "value neutral" teaching that is allegedly eroding the moral fabric of our youth, the political right is emphasizing the importance of curricula that emphasize moral values.[11] Assisted by the likes of Jerry Falwell, the current onslaught must be seen as an attempt by the right to define moral values and discourse in ways that further their own commitments and ideology.

Parents in Hamburg, New York have argued that their schools are sites for the introduction of secular humanism, and want officials to stop such proselytizing.[12] These concerns are given legitimacy by a law passed in 1984 containing a clause that prohibited the use of funds for courses of instruction that local educational authorities determine to be concerned with secular humanism. Michael Farris, from the General Council for Concerned Women for America, advocates suing school districts that parents believe are guilty of teaching secular humanism.[13] Role playing and values clarification—allegedly examples of the faulty notion that all moral values are subjective—are among the activities being opposed by this and other groups. Other offerings and subjects have also been attacked on similar grounds, including "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" and "Jack and Jill," for their "suggestive" and "mystical" overtones.

At the same time, the Committee for Economic Development has published the results of a three year study, concluding that schools have failed to foster character traits like teamwork, honesty, reliability, and self-discipline.[14] Including a number of top corporate executives, the Committee essentially calls for stringent educational (including moral and social) standards to meet the demand for an adequately trained pool of corporate workers. Thus, as with the assault on secular humanism, this group sees moral judgment as having utility for the furtherance of the marketplace, while the possibilities for schooling that respond to moral values regarding social responsibility, a concern for injustice, community participation, and the like, go unnoticed.

This situation is one, as might be expected, filled with contradictions and bad faith. I think it is time that the issues surrounding moral judgment and action be engaged.[15] We cannot continue to allow the right to appropriate moral discourse for its own ends. There are central issues regarding our conceptions of freedom, participation, justice, and so on, that are being argued over in educational and political circles at the moment. We must find ways to make our perspective clear and able to be heard within the rather chaotic discussions that are evolving.

* *

"Class is the dirty little secret of American life," reported J. Anthony Lukas in his recent book, *Common Ground*.[16] Lukas traces the life of three families through the turmoil of court-ordered busing to end segregation in Boston. Summarizing the results of his seven year study of this volatile issue, Lukas argues that liberals in the 1960's failed to take adequate account of issues relating to class, and instead overemphasized the dynamics of race. As with other cases of this sort, Boston has become the site of one of the most segregated school districts in the country, as middle and upper class white families have fled to the suburbs.

Some of the political dilemmas embedded in the issue of busing have also been emphasized of late. For example, Jennifer Hochschild, in *The New American Dilemma: Liberal Democracy and School Desegregation,* poses a serious challenge to certain forms of democratic rhetoric. Ms. Hochschild suggests that we abandon an allegiance to misguided "popular control" and impose desegregation by "authoritative," even "coercive," means.[17] Instead of imposing desegregation efforts exclusively on the urban poor, the author proposes a metropolitan approach which would be more responsive to the social class issues mentioned above. Ultimately, however, Ms. Hochschild reverts to a familiar elitisim, arguing that it is the elites who are best equipped to generate democratic forms from the shell of democracy that now exists.

In a society where democratic, participatory, and egalitarian impulses have been so corroded and contorted, it is likely that such contradictions will continue. Again we see the importance of an educational agenda that, through a commitment to social reconstruction, can help generate more genuinely democratic and moral discourse and communities.

Another recent report deals with "Project Concern," begun in 1966 in a low income, black neighborhood in Hartford, Connecticut. This project was to investigate the long term social, occupational, and educational effects of attempts at ending school segregation. In an unpublished report of this project's consequences, researchers allege the following effects. Students were more likely to: graduate from high school; attend predominantly white colleges and complete more years of study; perceive less discrimination in college; have closer contact with whites as adults; and live in desegregated neighborhoods. Conversely, these students were less likely: to be involved in incidents with the police; to get in fights as adults; and, for women, to have a child before the age of eighteen. This project has been praised, accordingly, by civil rights groups and advocates of desegregation.[18]

Yet the language used in this study implies an assimilation model in which blacks must come to speak, act, and think like whites. And while the provision of educational and economic opportunities are important for all oppressed groups, such ameliorative reforms may only in the end mask underlying dynamics of inequality and alienation. This is not, of course, to argue for the suspension of such opportunities, but to see the problems they address as having deeper origins that ultimately require transformations of a more global sort.

* *

The current teacher shortage continues at a critical pace for many school districts. The Manhattan Board of Education, estimating in July of 1985 that 5,000 new teachers would have to be hired to avoid shortages for the current school year, is easing hiring qualifications. College graduates with no education coursework or experience can obtain a "temporary per diem" license by passing an exam and agreeing to enroll for six credits in education during their first year on the job.[19] Dr. Noel N. Kriftcher, supervisor of one of the workshops in which students can enroll for credit, says "the program is intended to build the confidence of the future teachers and provide them with the survival skills they need. We hope to develop a convergence between the expectations the teachers have and the classroom realities they will face."[20] The shortages faced by New York schools have also resulted in sending recruiters to the southern U.S., Spain, and Puerto Rico.[21]

Given the crisis facing public education and the reconsideration of teacher education now going on that is in part a reflection of it, alternative possibilities for preparing teachers seem probable. Yet given the sort of conditions and options noted above, it may well be the case that alternatives will continue to erode more foundational, theoretical, and reflective approaches to teacher education. The result may be an increase in survival-oriented, technical, and vocational approaches to teacher education that have the effect of replicating current practices, and the political and ideological interests they embody.[22]

* *

The movement toward a more technical approach to education is also gaining ground internationally. In France, the new perspective being adopted favors national mandates, away from previous attempts to decentralize schools.[23] The new Minister of Education, Pierre Chevenement, supports a traditional curriculum favoring basic skills, patriotic history, and centralized testing. "When you allow self-expression in classrooms," Minister Chevenement says, "it's only the rich children who speak up. When everyone is required to talk, the poor children get help too."[24] In Britain, Sir Keith Joseph also stresses nationwide standards, together with a push toward technological training.

In the U.S., the National Education Association is in the midst of remaking its own image, apparently to bring it more in line with conservative proposals and politics. For example, this group recently supported tests in pedagogy and subject matter areas for teachers. It also passed, for the first time, a resolution favoring evaluation procedures that include the possibility of dismissal. Part of the reason for such shifts is surely due to the NEA's depiction—by such publications as *Reader's Digest* and *Commentary*—as sympathetic to left wing perspectives. The NEA also donated $15,000 recently for a Republican fund-raising dinner. Secretary of Education Bennett, after meetings with NEA leaders, suggested that the association should "get into education in a serious way and out of politics."[25]

Meanwhile, Leonel Brizola, the socialist head of Rio de Janeiro, reports that "to feed our children has become a prerequisite for education."[26] To help reverse the trend toward educational deterioration, new schools are being developed in Brazil to feed students, with communities being encouraged to provide the labor necessary for their construction. Free medical and dental care will also be provided in these new schools. Mrs. Pimenta, the director of the first of this type of school, reports that, "the aim is to integrate the child into society. We have a policy of not punishing children, of not identifying school with repression, even though at first discipline was very difficult. Our idea is to accept the child whatever his social or educational level."[27]

* *

Notes

[1] See Michael S. Littleford and Jim Whitt, "Political Notes & Notices," *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Volume 6, Number 1, Spring, 1985; and Landon E. Beyer, "Political Notes & Notices," *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Volume 6, Number 2, Summer, 1985.

[2] James B. Macdonald, "Curriculum and Human Interests," in William F. Pinar, Editor, *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1975), pp. 293-294.

[3] I would like to thank Paul Salvio for her generous efforts in helping put together the news items for this section; Bill Pinar's work in this regard also continues to be of first order importance.

[4] *The New York Times*, October 10, 1985, p. 12.

[5] Stephen Brunt, "School boycott over AIDS likely the First of Many Battles," *Toronto Globe and Mail*

[6] See Robert Bellah, et. al., *Habits of the Heart*, (Berkeley: University of California Press).

[7] *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 7, 1985.

[8] *The Wall Street Journal*, August 12, 1985.

[9] *The New York Times*, September 30, 1985.

[10] *The Wall Street Journal*, August 12, 1985.

[11] *The New York Times*, September 24, 1985.

[12] *The Wall Street Journal*, August 6, 1985

[13] Ibid.

[14] *The New York Times*, September 6, 1985.

[15] See Landon E. Beyer and George H. Wood, "Critical Inquiry and Moral Action in Education, " *Educational Theory*, Volume 36, Number 1, Winter 1986.

[16] *The New York Times*, September 30, 1985.

[17] *The Nation*, May 25, 1985.

[18] *The New York Times*, September 17, 1985.

[19] *The New York Times*, July 29, 1985.

[20] Ibid.

[21] *The New York Times*, August 11, 1985.

[22] Landon E. Beyer and Kenneth M. Zeichner, "Teacher Training and Educational Foundations: A Plea for Discontent,"*Journal of Teacher Education*, Volume XXXIII, Number 3, May-June 1982; also see, Landon E. Beyer, "Field Experience, Ideology, and the Development of Critical Reflectivity,"*Journal of Teacher Education*, Volume XXXIII, Number 3, May-June 1984.

[23] *The New York Times*, July 28, 1985.

[24] Ibid.

[25] *The New York Times*, July 4, 1985.

[26] *The New York Times*, July 14, 1985.

[27] Ibid.

Reflective Practioner Number Two: Local Leadership in Educational Renewal

Benjamin I. Troutman
Virginia Beach Public Schools

The spirit of reform and renewal in American education is strong today. Educational and curricular questions are central policy issues at all levels of government. Leadership has been particularly strong at the state and national level. But the active engagement of the more than 15,000 local educational bodies will be required for significant curriculum renewal to take root and flourish. Local boards must provide a clear and comprehensive plan for the implementation of curriculum and educational reform to meet the unique needs of their communities.

Practioners know that reform efforts dictated from national and state levels frequently fall short of realization. Change is elusive; old habits and tradition give way slowly. Teachers and principals who deliver education bristle at imposed standards. Difficult as educational renewal is, it is not impossible. Indeed, there has never been a better time for large-scale reshaping of schooling.

Amidst the national stirrings, a number of school divisions have been engaged in strategic planning for curriculum. In places as diverse as Princeton, New Jersey; Lake Washington, Washington; and Virginia Beach, Virginia, visionary and comprehensive plans have been developed to update schooling for students who will be entering the twenty-first century.

District Model

Virginia Beach, under the leadership of Superintendent E. E. Brickell and School Board Chairman, Dr. Roy E. Woods, is an exemplar of one approach to strategic planning at the local level. In February 1981, Brickell presented a sweeping curricular assessment program to the board that was adopted despite stringent fiscal restraints imposed by a large-scale budget cut. The board's commitment to curriculum renewal reflected faith in the community and staff to draft a blueprint for the future.

The essential element of the curriculum project was a thirty-six-person task force that deliberated over a fifteen-month period and included board, staff, student, and community representation. The task force mandate was to create a curricular blueprint to provide the best possible education. Old arguments, the weight of tradition, the intransigence of territorial allegiance, and even fiscal constraints or structural inhibitions were not to be considered. Two basic questions guided the project: What kind of person do we want to produce? What knowledge is of most worth?

The extensive involvement of students, staff, and community, which included literally hundreds of meetings and thousands of people, was designed to promote a sense of shared ownership. The "collective wisdom" from this process shaped a fresh curriculum model that captured the richness and complexity of the district's educational mission. The examination of the total curriculum, K-12, avoided a "patchwork" approach and focused on long-range planning for future needs.

Benefits to District

The process for the renewal of the school system produced certain benefits:

1. Staff, students, community, and the board worked together to clarify the mission of the district.
2. All school employees (approximately 5,000) had an opportunity to discuss curriculum matters and make suggestions to improve schools.
3. Staff members made connections among disciplines and between elementary and secondary viewpoints and concerns.
4. Gaps between our intentions for curriculum and the realities of curriculum were uncovered.

5. Extensive staff development was provided for staff and the board.
6. There was a constant focus on uplifting and energizing the organization.
7. Self-renewal and organizational renewal occurred in tandem.
8. Tensions between the new and old created a matrix for constructive change focused on the future.

Blueprint for Comprehensive Curriculum

The final task force report describes a vision for curriculum in the Virginia Beach schools. Although the report is extensive (138 recommendations, K-12), it is clear and simple. General curriculum directions are established, including a curriculum foundations model that identifies two unifying elements or threads to give the curriculum unity and cohesion. The first center of curriculum unity is the learning skills and processes of communication, computation, creativity, reasoning, and use of resources—tools basic to all learning.

The second unifying element is the identification of curriculum areas— aesthetics and cultural studies, career and vocational studies, mental and physical health studies, science and technology studies, and societal and citizenship studies. The curriculum areas were designed to provide connections and interrelationships among the disciplines and are based on the model developed by Gordon Cawelti of Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

The task force report stated the central beliefs and unifying elements of the school district. The mission of the district was stated in a clear, jargonless, one-page philosophy and goals statement. This statement provides a set of core beliefs for the operation of the district.

Strategic Alignment

Further, an initial effort was made to connect and relate the functions of curriculum development, staff development, curriculum management and assessment, and personnel selection and evaluation. This process of strategic alignment provides a more unified, related, and congruent operation. For example, as we develop new curricula that emphasize communication and thinking skills, we train teachers and administrators in these areas to ensure that curricular intents get realized in the classroom. Another example is our effort to revise evaluation processes and instruments for teachers and principals to highlight the primacy of instruction stated in the task force report.

It takes time and self-reflection for a district to determine long-range goals and to bring district functions into strategic alignment. In Virginia Beach over the past four years, we have clarified the district mission, placed instruction first, established priorities for the future, and created a process for ensuring that the direction, development, and assessment of the program is congruent with these priorities.

But the process of educational renewal is far from complete and no reform effort is ever certain of success. It will take at least a decade for the full implementation of the 138 recommendations of the task force report. However, the Virginia Beach model may work because the board, staff, and community worked together to establish goals; the mission of the school district is clear; and the district functions and operations are being strategically aligned.

Significant Others: Notes on the Education of Deaf Persons, Special Groups, and Linguistic Minorities

Bonnie Meath-Lang
Rochester Institute of Technology

The night-terror was once described to me by a deaf-blind friend. Needles traversing the skin. . . the heartbeat loud enough for the presence, the prowler to hear . . . the smell of smoke. . .

I think of another frightened woman, sixty years before, groping, trailing a sensitive hand across the walls in search of the heat of danger . . . calling out for her Teacher. And to her horror, finding that Teacher, the mentor-friend who had been named and epitomized through her work, burning her journal.[1] Joseph Lash, in his biography of Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan Macy, summarized tersely:

> "On the one level she (Anne Sullivan) overflowed with insight and self-understanding, with love and solicitude and a desire to serve; on another level she was beset by fears and terrors, riven with resentments, hating . . . both herself and others. She is afraid her friends will really find her out, and at the same time she is obsessed with the desire to have them see her as she really is . . . she was a keen observer and a vivid, forceful writer . . . But her insecurity, her sense of shame over the diary's entries, outweighed her interest in using the material in her writing." (Lash, 1980, pp. 233-234)[2]

The smell of smoke lingers, hovers as I write. I become Helen, begging Anne to stop. I become Anne, turning my back on the helpless student, feeding the fire. The marbled paper is blackened and devoured now; we only know Anne Sullivan through the eyes and hands of others. She is safe: never to be experienced, only to be interpreted.

She is ash.

I teach and am taught by deaf students. Through my work, the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, and the Bergamo conference, I have had the privilege of dialogue with a growing number of individuals who lead parallel lives in teaching and teacher-preparation involving "special" populations: deaf students and those with other handicapping conditions,[3] cultural and linguistic minorities. The biographies we bring to Bergamo and to our sporadic letters to one another are remarkably similar: these students and teachers struggle daily with the issues of pathology vs. difference, identity vs. assimilation, help vs. control, meaning vs. structure. We encounter and examine these complexities in back rooms and isolated buildings, in compact yellow vans which mark their passengers as unworthy of a full-scale bus, in meetings where someone (who usually cultivates a reputation as one-who-shoots-from-the-hip) challenges, "Why invest a dollar in a nickel kid?"[4]

We are told by school boards it's not worth the effort. Told by colleagues we are their poor stepsisters. Told by bureaucrats to fill out another form. Told by mothers not to touch. Told by the Secretary of Education not to teach in two languages.[5]

Through it all, we try to keep caring.[6] We complain a good deal. And we laugh.

The appeal of reconceived curriculum theory to special educators should be apparent. Alternative ways of looking at educational experience are fundamental to our praxis, to our advocacy for our students and colleagues, to our student's advocacy for themselves. Curriculum grounded in principles of care and meaning, before preoccupation with gain, control and utility, must be championed. The educator of exceptional persons must find her voice, find his vehicle to effect such change.

There are very few places for such educators to turn, however. As I noted in a *JCT* article a few years ago, a number of journals have, in the past, established a policy of not accepting studies involving disordered populations, "reasoning" that generalizations could not be made from work with such groups.[7] Journals in the specific subfields of special education have split between concern for legitimizing their fields through quantitative research, or desire to serve teachers through "practical" articles proposing solutions to educational concerns. Few journals have given opportunities for disabled, disadvantaged, and bilingual students to share philosophical, creative, or alternative comments and work. There are few journals willing to examine and print the literature of individual/autobiographical and political/social experience with regard to these groups.

It is to this end that *JCT* is committing the section, **Significant Others.** We invite poetry, comments, announcements, dialogues, letters, and short articles focused on work by and about individuals with differences, their teachers, and our education together.

I am sifting, you see, for a word or fragment in the ashes of Anne Sullivan's journal. I suspect that there have been other fires enveloping other written rages and struggles, that there are poems to our students tucked in manila folders and the beginnings of philosophy in closeted diaries. It is my hope that a desire for dialogue and a sharing of experience with others will save our work, our teaching, and our caring from the pyre.

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A number of educators of deaf persons are engaged in dialogue with their students through writing, a medium traditionally dismissed as too difficult for most deaf students and ineffective due to their English language deficits. The purposes of these dialogue journals include increased opportunity for genuine communication, building of writing fluency, evaluation, and empowerment of the student through the validation of text. Particularly courageous work has been done in this area by Jana Staton and Margaret Walworth at Gallaudet College and John Albertini and Carol Cuneo at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf. A detailed phenomenological study of a dialogue journal experience will be published in *JCT* this year (Albertini & Meath-Lang). Jana Staton also publishes a newsletter, *Dialogue*, from the Center for Applied Linguistics, 3520 Prospect Street, Washington, DC 20007, for those interested in the use of this methodology.[8]

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Ken Kantor of the University of Georgia shared a number of his own and his students' autobiographical writings at Bergamo last year. One seemed particularly appropriate for this section:

> The following poem was written in response to an observation of a lesson in a high school English class, in which the students, most of them black, were required to give formal reports on the life and work (specifically the sonnets) of Shakespeare.
>
> It expresses anger and frustration, not so much at the teacher conducting the class, but at a persistent mode of instruction that fails to recognize and bring out the linguistic and intellectual potential of minority students.

You Are The Poem

Tall, strong, black
you stand before the class
telling them about what you read
in a book about
Shakespeare -
When he lived
who he married
and the rhyme schemes
of his sonnets

And in your struggle
to interpret,
to dig out meanings
like hard clay from the earth
In your questions
naive to the scholar,
halting to those who
criticize your speech,

misdirected to those who
would direct your path
to "appreciate the literature"
or some such nonsense
you are bold and beautiful.

You are the poem
Shakespeare would have written
if he were talented enough
In your gestures,
uneasy smiles,
even looks of puzzlement
attempts to play
the idiot game
You are the poem.

You take these
foolish mysteries
your teachers pose
for you
and rise above them
by a confidence
they cannot discern.

What is spoken
with difficulty
is articulated
perfectly
in your eyes
and the words you know
but dare not say.

Ken Kantor
University of Georgia

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Harry Lang of the National Technical Institute for the Deaf is a professor of physics and coordinator of Faculty Development there. He has been deaf since the age of fifteen. Harry is currently authoring a futuristic novel, *The World of the Other*, about deaf society. An excerpt follows, a dialogue between Gideon, a scientist and Priscilla, a teacher:

> "Cis? How would you cope if an acoustically handicapped child, one with full hearing, were enrolled in your class at the school?" he asked her.
>
> "It would be quite challenging to educate the child," she sighed. "The school would have to modify the learning environment with sound absorbing materials in order that the hearing child could learn without distraction, I guess. Perhaps television and the computer would offer the greatest adaptation for "the hearing' in today's school system."
>
> "I doubt if these efforts would guarantee that 'the hearing' would be accepted by a class of normal deaf students, agree? And how about the home? Wouldn't parents be faced with a terrible crisis?"
>
> "I'm sure parents of a hearing child would be in potential conflict over whether to help the child respond to sounds in the environment. Wouldn't that be difficult for them? They would find the child's handicap difficult to accept. They might try to mold the hearing child in their own image. The conflicts in which parents would be enmeshed might be passed on to their child in spite of their efforts not to let this happen. I don't think 'the hearing' could cope well in a world where most people live in silence."
>
> Mark looked puzzled. There was that word again. He never did understand it when his parents used it. "What do you mean by silence, Dad?" he asked.
>
> "Well . . . uh . . . silence is an absence of sounds, son."
>
> "What are sounds?"
>
> "Sounds are like vibrations you feel. People used to be able to hear them. Some sounds were pleasant like those colors there," he pointed to the moonbow. "Other

sounds were not pleasant. People called them noise. Noises were unwanted sounds."

Mark looked curious, "Who wants sounds anyway?"

"Look at the colors in the moonbow", he continued. Each color has a different frequency. The color is a vibration of a lightwave. When you combine the colors you have white light with many frequencies. Black is an absense of all colors. Noise is a little like white light - it has many different sounds or vibrations. Silence is like black - it is an absence of sounds. If you close your eyes, you would not be able to see the moonbow colors, right? It was something like that."

Gideon was struggling to explain deafness to his deaf children. He found this ironic. Even more ironic was the fact that he had ended up describing blindness - not deafness . . .

****

My fondest memory of Jim Macdonald is a recollection of a walk on a dark night to the Stable House at Airlie in 1979. I wanted to ask him about his current thinking; he persisted in asking me about my work. He had lived near a school for deaf students and remembered the deaf friends he had made: "Talk and action? Hell, THEIR talk *is* action." I liked that . . ."

I think he would have like the people of these pages, too. Let's keep talking and acting.

Send your notes to me at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, Rochester Institute of Technology, One Lomb Memorial Drive, Rochester, NY 14623.

Notes

[1] Helen Keller, *Teacher: Anne Sullivan Macy* (New York: Pyramid, 1955.)

[2] Joseph Lash, *Helen and Teacher* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1980), pp. 233-234.

[3] My use of the term "handicapped" is cautionary here. In this context, "handicapping" refers to the attitudes and actions of a society whose norms and expectations are violated.

[4] A deaf colleague witnessed this remark made in the context of an inservice workshop for teachers on PL 94-142.

[5] Secretary of Education Bennett's comments on the "failure of bilingual education" in September, 1985, have been widely interpreted as the articulation of the Administration's goal to reduce bilingual education programs through the placing of fiscal responsibilities with local funding agencies.

[6] The work of Nel Noddings is particularly useful to special educators. See especially Nel Noddings, "Caring", *JCT*, 1981, 3 (2), 139-148.

[7] Bonnie Meath-Lang, "All the Things I Might Not Be . . ." Issues in Communication for Curricularists, *JCT*, 1981, (1), 232-238.

[8] John Albertini and Bonnie Meath-Lang, "An Analysis of Student-Teacher Exchanges in Dialogue Journal Writing, *JCT*, 1986 (in press); Margaret Walworth, "Dialogue Journals as an Aid to Teaching in the Content Areas" and Jana Staton, "A Social Interaction Interpretation of Dialogue Journals as an Aid to Instruction". Presented at *Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages*, Annual Meeting, April, 1985.

Pretext: An Essay Review of Jonathan Kozol's *Illiterate America*. New York: Anchor Press (Doubleday), 1985. 270 pp.

Beating The Man With Words

Patrick Scanlon
University of Rochester

The black-tie, turn-the-lights-back-on mood of the 1980's is clearly unresponsive to social revolutionaries like Jonathan Kozol. He's like a spoil-sport at an orgy, a cocktail party brooder who continually reminds his boozy, well-fed companions that people outside are freezing and starving. Some even think his muscular political activism is an anachronism, that he is "stuck in the 60's."

But Mr. Kozol has kept up the struggle undeterred, and often one comes to the conclusion that about many things he is right. His first book, Death at an Early Age (1967), exposed the brutally racist treatment of black kids in the Boston Public Schools and made Louise Day Hicks famous, or infamous. Since then he has done battle on several fronts against indifference in the face of America's undeniable failure to provide an adequate, civilizing education to all its members, especially the poor and minorities.

Kozol first introduced us to the shameful and largely unrecognized magnitude of American adult illiteracy with *Prisoners of Silence* (1980). The crucial points: probably 1/3 of American adults are illiterate in some sense of that problematical word, illiteracy is costly for all of us, and we can do something about the problem. But although the book offers solutions, it reads like a late-night monologue. Ideas spill out one after another in a rush of inspired problem-solving, and finally *Prisoners* is sketchy and rather inchoate; for all their liveliness, the ideas seem unrealistic. This unfinished quality is, however, in keeping with the author's stated intention, on page one, that the purpose of his book "is not to restate the complaint, but to begin the search for answers."

Illiterate America is a continuation and expansion of Mr. Kozol's quest for solutions. As in *Prisoners*, Kozol piles on the statistics:

> Twenty-five million American adults cannot read the poison warnings on a can of pesticide, a letter from their child's teacher, or the front page of a daily paper. An additional 35 million read only at a level which is less than equal to the full survival needs of our society. Together, these 60 million people represent more than one third of the entire adult population (p. 4).

Kozol bases his estimates on various literacy studies undertaken since 1970, but primarily on the Adult Performance Level (APL) study carried out by the University of Texas in 1973, and on a book by David Harman and Carman St. John Hunter, *Adult Illiteracy in the United States* (1979). In light of the many conflicting estimates of just how many American adults are illiterate, "functionally" or more profoundly, and considering the confusion over what functional illiteracy means, Kozol's numbers seem uncharacteristically conservative. Matters could be considerably worse.

In any case, there is no doubt now that the statement of the Bureau of the Census in 1980 that 100% of the "general population" and 96% of minority group members are literate is stupendously ludicrous: The Bureau relied heavily on the assumption that anyone who attends school through the fifth grade is literate. Despite our great wealth and leadership status in the Free World, the United States "ranks forty-ninth among 158 member nations of the U.N. in its literacy levels" (p. 5). To address the needs of sixty million illiterates, we spend only one hundred million dollars, or $1.65 per year per person. "Together, all federal, state, municipal, and private literacy programs in the nation reach a maximum of 4 percent of the illiterate population" (p. 5). People who need help most, those with practically zero skills, are helped least or not at all.

The cost of all this is staggering. Lost lifetime earnings, welfare payments, prison—Kozol links all these to illiteracy, although sometimes rather tenuously. Someone unreceptive to Kozol's argument may be reluctant to connect any one crime with the criminal's inability to read, nor is it clear that illiteracy is a verifiable cause of someone's entrance on the welfare rolls.

Nevertheless, the facts are clear enough. Many illiterates are unemployed, on welfare, or in prison. A disproportionate number are members of minority groups.

The statistics are overwhelming, yet Kozol's writing is at its best when he describes the private agonies of illiterate adults: the man who eats out only at Howard Johnson's because the menu includes photographs; another who daily buys a newspaper he cannot read in order to fool his neighbors; the mother who tries pitifully to bluff her way through reading to a child, who is quick to correct her. Clearly, illiteracy is a devastating handicap, and the embarrassment it causes compels illiterates to devise all-too-successful masquerades that keep them from coming to grips with their problem. And illiterate parents do often pass their affliction on to their children, although not genetically, as some less enlightened social critics would have it. We are inspired by our parents to read. In the home of the illiterate, an intellectual vacuum is quickly filled by the soporific banalities of television.

Yet Kozol's principal concern is more sweeping, that the illiterate cannot locate himself on the cultural-historical continuum, nor can he articulate his despair. Because he has no recourse to print, the illiterate has no sense of the history that has brought him to his plight. He cannot give voice to his dilemma or find the means to shape his future. The illiterate, in short, cannot participate in the human community.

In illustrating this point, Kozol seeks out the emblematic experience that effectively translates his narrative into a morality play. A California man describes "his own loss of identity, of self-location, definition":

> 'My car had broke down on the freeway. There was a phone. I asked for the police. They was nice. They said to tell them where I was. I looked up at the signs. There was one that I had seen before. I read it to them: ONE WAY STREET. . . . I told them I couldn't read. . . . I couldn't make them understand that I was lost.' (p. 28)

Millions are stuck on this one-way street without the means to determine where they are or even call attention to themselves. They are a voiceless, invisible minority who are living, Kozol writes, in "verbal subjugation" (p. 36).

Kozol has always sought out fuel for revolution where he could find it, and he finds plenty among illiterates. These are, he suggests, angry and abused people cut off from the mainstream of American society by cynical and manipulative people—in government and industry—who benefit by their ignorance. A person who cannot read cannot study on a label the harmful ingredients in the food he buys, contest an unfair lease, question the unjust policies of his government. (Kozol suggests that if one-third of illiterates could have read and voted astutely in 1980, Ronald Reagan would not be in the White House.) What illiterates need is a voice, and it is the task of Kozol's book to present the means of giving them the words with which they can beat the Man.

First, Kozol hands out rather low marks to those organizations and agencies already in existence to combat illiteracy. Adult Basic Education (ABE), federally funded and the largest program of its kind, still has insufficient funds to have a significant effect. Anyway, according to Kozol, ABE goes about its business in a manner certain to fail. It yanks people out of their neighborhoods to centralized learning centers and uses texts whose subject matter is irrelevant to the learners. Many drop out. In any event, the author of *Illiterate American* wants more than simple literacy: he wants politicization, activism.

His revolutionary gusto leads Kozol to disparage one failed literacy program in particular, the Chattanooga Area Literacy Movement, or CALM. Despite apparently energetic outreach activities, CALM reported "that the ghetto area prospects do not respond." Why should they, Kozol wonders, when the group asking for a response uses "the ultimate in low-key designations?" If you will excuse the apparent truism, CALM just isn't agitated enough. Kozol sees little promise in literacy campaigns that are not zealous, activist, and mad as hell. Illiterate people must be helped to discover their anger, he argues, and to fight back with words against the impersonal forces that keep them down. You can't do that CALMly.

Other programs are well-intentioned but, writes Kozol, unambitious. Literacy Volunteers of America (LVA) and Laubach Literacy, both privately funded, serve by their own admission only a small fraction of the "target" population. Local initiatives have not nearly enough money to combat the problem with any efficacy. In short, there is little funding, little interest, and little chance that matters will improve. Quite the opposite.

Who has failed? The schools, of course, but Kozol is quick to warn that the "Back to Basics" movement, if it *is* that, will only worsen the plight of the disenfranchised, since stiffer requirements will force them out of the system at an even more alarming rate. The problem starts earlier, at home, and more failure will only ensure the continuance of the illiteracy cycle: from parent to child, who fails, drops out, and raises illiterates of his or her own. Matters can only worsen when a conservative and seemingly callous federal government abandons essential community literacy programs and leaves financially hard-pressed localities to go it alone. In many ways, *Illiterate America* is a cry against Reaganomics.

Mr. Kozol cannot wait for a new, more concerned administration; he demands action now: "The building of a national upheaval is the purpose of this book" (p. 123). So he devotes about half of *Illiterate America* to his proposal for a literacy campaign that, if undertaken and provided with adequate funding, would in ten years reduce illiteracy in this country by one half. For his methods and spirit he looks again to those heady times of the 60's, to peace marches and voter registration in the South.

Kozol's plan, much of which is derived from suggestions in Harman and Hunter's book, is for literacy workers to move into communities and go door-to-door asking prospective students to join with them in creating a neighborhood plan of action. (Kozol has always been enthusiastic about community initiatives begun with pot-luck dinners and kitchen-table beer sipping, where outsiders merely act as catalysts.) Rather than one-to-one tutoring, a staple of virtually all literacy programs, he wants "circles of learners," six or seven students who help each other under the guidance of one instructor. Teachers would be college students and elderly people with time on their hands, the classrooms empty apartments or churches, but never schools (scenes of failure) or libraries (cathedrals of intimidating books—and a favorite of LVA).

In keeping with his intention to help the disadvantaged articulate their seething anger, Kozol suggests drawing on oral histories for reading texts, again a method favored by LVA and others. Further, the author borrows Paulo Freire's method of instruction by use of "dangerous words" like "landlord," "policeman," "lease":

> Words like these, if undiminished by our mediation, do convey a certain danger to established patterns of injustice . . . . These are precisely the allusive words that people need to use if they are to find avenues of exit from the crowded prisons of their souls, to give voice to their longings, to give both lease and license to their rage (p. 134).

It seems that for Kozol language is an incendiary bomb which will set aflame the ample tinder in the ghetto.

With goals like these, it's no wonder Kozol worries about funds—a literacy initiative on the scale he envisions would cost billions, and few governments are interested in bankrolling rebels. Kozol has, however, mellowed a bit about funding and now seems willing to go to the Man for the bread he will not get otherwise. This is obviously a touchy subject for any aging revolutionary, and Mr. Kozol goes to great lengths in this book to prove that while he will accept money from the corporations, he will not bend to their wishes in return. In fact, this is a new Jonathan Kozol, one rather uncomfortable with his earlier romanticism and nearly resigned to the hard realities of corporate America. He is even uncomfortable, I think, with the sheer audacity of his own ideas:

> If all of this sounds a little grand, I do not believe that it is therefore grandiose. If it sounds a bit romantic, then perhaps it is romance like this that any wise society should treasure and should count upon in difficult times when it is searching for an hour of redemption (p. 127).

It is at this point that *Illiterate America* becomes something other than a discussion of illiterate America. What Mr. Kozol is really after is "humane competency," the capacity to be alive to the interrelatedness of human experience. It does no good to teach people to read unless we at the same time open their eyes to the complex way in which the human community interacts, how illiteracy is one strand in a web of social evils. We need a "literacy," Kozol argues, that embraces all critical thinking. Only then can we all go about setting our world right by raising our (new-found) voices against those in power.

> No single goal described within this book is so important as the literate capacity for whole perspectives and for informed denunciation in the face of the increasing terror of a global war (p. 186).

Literacy, then, is the ability to criticize, denounce, survive.

Well, that's a lot to ask of someone who wants desperately to decipher a restaurant menu. This is all a little grand. More importantly, though, we should ask just what problem Mr. Kozol is addressing. So much of *Illiterate America* is given over to lamenting the compartmentalization of our society, to decrying our humane incompetency, that one gets the impression Kozol's title is intentionally ambiguous. The author wants to educate all of us, not just the illiterate one-third. He will settle for nothing short of revamping American society; he cannot simply teach people to read. The point is that what purports to be a plan to combat illiteracy seems to have become, in the writing, something quite different. Of course, Mr. Kozol would say that I am being narrow, compartmentalized.

All this aside, I think it's safe to say that many of Kozol's ideas are simply not workable. That communities—we are speaking here not of comfortable suburbia but Harlem, Roxbury, East Los Angeles—will band together in a rush of solidarity against illiteracy is at least unlikely. Indeed, small community-based initiatives have worked, as Harman and Hunter point out, but these programs often collapsed when energized leaders left the scene. Kozol's solution to the problem of reaching larger numbers with too few teachers, by organizing learning circles, seems unrealistic as well. Illiterates, as the author himself points out, are humiliated by their inability to read, reluctant to seek help or share their concerns. These

people are unlikely candidates for group learning or group anything, charismatic leaders or not.

Besides, how many leaders of the kind Kozol wants can we expect to find? His plan is a long series of "first this, then this, then this. . ." with too many weak ligatures in the interconnecting design. If we are going to be pragmatic, and we simply must, we have to ask ourselves who is going to invest in a scheme with so little apparently going for it.

But this is not what I see as the biggest problem with this book. Rather, it is that Kozol seems to go out of his way to alienate just about everyone who could help him in his campaign, in our campaign. He condemns the academic community for wasting time with studies, the existing literacy initiatives for being ineffectual, teachers for being unimaginative, the government for being the government. He even takes time to attack computers and those who at this very moment are dreaming up software to aid in the teaching of illiterates. We must get help where we can, not turn away those who might do something, no matter how small, to fight the problem: even CALM, even Ronald Reagan. Mr. Kozol cannot be the only one in America with the answers.

We will all agree that Jonathan Kozol is a good man with a great deal of humane competency of his own. And his book, repetitive and over-long as it is, does draw attention to a grave injustice. But generous praise for drawing attention to something can be rather patronizing applause. What we need, and need badly, are more realisitc ways of bringing words to those without a voice.

Pretext: An Essay Review of Nel Noddings' *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*. University of California Press, 1984. 216 pp.

Is Mother Love Morality?

Mary O'Brien
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Ethics is the philosophic endeavour to give meaning to morality universals, logical development and argumentation, rational objective thought. Noddings argues that all this is to speak in the language of the father. Many, perhaps most women, don't regard moral problems as exercises in principle, reasoning and judgment but "approach moral problems through a consideration of the concrete elements of situations and a regard for themselves as caring"(p. 28). Yet this practical and affective kind of morality is deemed deficient in the world of the father, inferior to man's world of principles and judgment. Man, however, in his ideological universality, has not created a spectacularly moral history, and Noddings believes that we must develop the ethic of human caring and human love.

Students of traditional ethics will comprehend the rather radical nature of Noddings' work, which has large doses of common sense to offer: in a common sense mode, we think of moral action as inspired by love and care. But in the transition from moral action to ethical thought, moral philosophers have traditionally proceeded by the postulation of principles and the logical consequences derived from them. This entails the possibility of describing exceptions to the principles in question, a procedure which in fact becomes quite permissive, as a short reflection on the ten commandments and the history of Christianity would probably make clear. In opting for the language of the mother, Noddings aspires to ground moral action in personal contexts and knowledge of situations. This is not, however, a retreat to the evasions of 'situation ethics,' but an attempt to provide new and more adequate grounds for ethical theory and moral practice. Noddings is well aware of the risks this entails, of the burden of immersion in accepted logical discourse, and of the unfashionable nature of a revival of the notion of feeling as a necessary component of moral decisions. Yet her concern with the need for a new ethics of caring and a new moral pedagogy justifies these risks, to say nothing of the historical and personal tragedies which the father's ethical mathematics have failed to address.

Noddings does not simply dump reasoning in favor of feeling, but posits the reflective and reflexive mode of interaction developed in the existential tradition as a starting place. She calls for "receptivity," which will be familiar to Heideggerians, but which, for Noddings, must learn to be neither abstract nor objectified. Noddings chooses to move consciousness laterally, returning always to the basic relationship of the "one-caring" and the "cared-for." This relation, she argues, is a concrete one which cannot be rejected because it does not "make sense," which is the case only if it is rendered abstract, isolated from reality, subjected to formal logic or seen as a source only of guilt. None of these strategies can destroy the reality of an ethics of care - although they can devalue it - for the lived relation of responsibility does not let us either avert our eyes from nor discount our feelings in the caring relation.

Women, of course, have tried to practice the ethic of caring, not only in maternal but in other situations, but caring is rendered specific to family relations in the morality of the father. Caring outside of that relation is regarded as weakness, earning for women the reputation of deficient rationality and naturalistic entrapment. Noddings takes quite literally (but does not objectify) the dialectic of freedom and boundedness which is women's everyday condition, and which she described as the "engrossment" of the ethical self, the one-caring, with the cared-for. She is aware of the complexity of moral choice, but argues that if we are open to the feeling of ourself as a personal construct with an ethical ideal, we shall be able to make moral choices from within the circular (reflective/reflexive) relation of caring. Thus, for example, the caring choice may indicate such action as lying, or advising the cared-for to run away when this is the unconventional thing to do: she notes with approval Pablo Casals' mother's advice to a younger son to run rather than be killed as a soldier.

The reciprocity of this morality of relatedness means that the cared-for must also adopt an attitude of receptivity to the counsel of the one-caring, who is not merely permissive. This is particularly important, Noddings argues, in assessing educational needs and in the child-parent-teacher relation. These relations are always unequal in terms of the students' need, but teachers have needs, too, including the need to teach successfully: the child does not tend to think of the teacher as a cared-for, but this is, in fact, the case. Noddings here follows Buber, as she does quite often; logically and empirically, she insists, the cared-for "grows" and "glows" under the perceived attitude of the one-caring. Without this concern, the child simply tries to please the teacher rather than share a learning process in which both are included.

Noddings insists (calling on Hume and Nietzsche, the skeptic and the gnostic) that two feelings are necessary for "active virtue." The first is the sentiment of natural love, which she argues (properly, in my view) is not "natural" but ethical. The notion of mother love as natural is part of the denigration of women inherent in father-domination. The second feeling is remembrance of the first, of "our own moments of caring and being cared for," which make the conclusion, "I must," a conclusion not of mere duty but of active love. It is important to actually come to this conclusion qua conclusion, Noddings argues, because the alternative - the derivation of moral judgment from moral principles - assumes a sameness of experience which experience itself denies. There are no categorical imperatives in Noddings' ethics, but only experiential and caring ones: Noddings wants us to turn to "criteria that will preserve our deepest and most tender human feelings" (p. 83). Of these, the mother/infant relation is the most compelling.

The teacher perceived as the one-caring in Noddings' formulation receives and reflects "the best possible picture consonant with reality" of the student. She recognizes that this will require the re-organization of the schools and a different pedagogy, but this is the condition of a caring and therefore a moral education.

Despite its compassion, there are many obvious problems with Noddings' perception of a "feminine" ethics. I would want to argue that a feminine morality cannot come to pass without a political strategy and that a collective feminist rather than an individualist feminine morality is what must be developed. The protagonists in Noddings' psycho/moral drama escape crude objectivity at the price of a radical subjectivity, and the bourgeois notion of choice is omnipresent in the receptors. The mediation of abstract objectivity and radical subjectivity is surely community, but there is no community for these carers and cared-fors: the caring relation is a dyad with no means of community support and no sense that while the morality to be replaced is certainly paternal, it is also historical, cultural and collectively ideological. The limits of the discussion are there on the cover, with a photograph that will certainly discourage many feminist readers, though Noddings is probably not responsible for it. The white, middle-class, heterosexual family pictured is, however, the norm assumed in the book, just as the Western philosophical systems which have produced patriarchal ethics are never quite transcended. The argumentative structure of the book is not innovative enough to lend support to any claim that the rational tradition is being seriously challenged: the relational realities which Noddings tries to grasp wither somewhat in the precision of a logic which seeks a new vocabulary but assumes an epistemology of a conventionally subjective kind - one feels Freud's "oceanic feeling" with all its pessimism at least tried to move outside of the dyadic exchange in which Noddings eventually binds her moral subjects.

There is also a linguistic problem which all women share, but which Noddings tries to overcome in a really problematic way. By calling the one-caring 'she' and the one-cared-for "he", Noddings is realistic enough, but the syntactical effect is to suggest that it is natural for hers to care for hims, which is precisely a "feminine" belief which feminists reject. So Noddings may be right to call her work a "feminine approach", but given the patriarchal definition of femininity she becomes a little enmeshed in naturalistic reductions of a disturbing kind, a one-on-one ethics both moving and earnest but ultimately abstract.

These comments reflect the difficulty of the task rather than a crude assertion of inadequacy. This is a brave attempt to lift moral praxis from the dead realm of axiom to the reality of life and love; and we do need desperately to develop new moral pedagogy, especially under the assault of conservative ideologies of schooling. The fact that mother-love is evoked axiomatically is less important than the fact that it is seriously addressed as a moral position. For educators, the book demands reflection on practice, though one fears that many will dismiss Noddings' work as sentimental and lacking any perception of what schools are really like. The apolitical nature of her idea of change and the radical individualism of her proposed moral consciousness do leave her a little bit open to such attacks.

In general, the work is an articulation of possibility rather than the foundation of a new ethics of caring. As such, it must be welcomed as a radical departure from male convention and ethical evasion and an important early step in the historical struggle which women must wage not simply to refute but to abolish the phony ethical judgments of the men who have made our outrageously amoral world.

Letters

We are fortunate in this issue to have a collection of diverse "letters": a reflection on last fall's Bergamo conference, a poetic questioning of the role of curriculum study, a practitioner's view of "excellence," and a personal tribute to Paul Goodman. Their diversity, though, is only apparent. These unique pieces are tied together by a theme perhaps best expressed in the words of Elizabeth Barrett Browning:

Our Euripides, the human
With his droppings of warm tears,
And his touches of things common
'Till they rose to touch the spheres
(Wine of Cyprus, xii)

Additional letters about the meaning of excellence in education and the relevance of gender relations to the study of curriculum will be forthcoming. As usual, we solicit your comments about these or other topics.

Tom Kelly, John Carroll University
James Sears, University of South Carolina,
Editors

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Editors

Berkeley, Kent State, and Paul Goodman in Retrospect

Ronald Swartz
Oakland University

I

We were young and in our late
teens then.

Life seemed so much simpler
than it does now

And we thought nothing of trying
to change the world.

But our Dreams which began
at Berkeley

Ended in the Nightmare of
Kent State and Vietnam.

II

Now we struggle to recapture
our youth and our dreams

It was Paul Goodman who first helped
many of us to question and ask
about what we could do.

His *Growing Up Absurd* was
our new bible.

Since none of us knew how Absurd
it all was,

We thought nothing of working
to make the world better.

III

Today some of us who survived
those hectic years

Wonder why it went sour and
what we can do.

Goodman is now dead and others
have lost their way.

My friends who fought with me
on the streets of Chicago
are gone.

One died last year in Guatemala,
a second has spent years in
mental hospitals,
a third is an Indian guru,
and most are disillusioned
revolutionaries looking for
steady jobs.

IV

We worked hard and had our
dreams destroyed.

But I was luckier than most
and I survived the War.

I was lucky partly because I
identified with my oppressors.

But as I studied all those years,
I never forgot Berkeley,
Kent State, and Goodman.

Oh how I wish that Paul was more
like John Dewey.

But Paul had his own ways
and preferred to be a poet.

V

When I was younger and under
Goodman's spell

I lived with the delightful
illusion that one way to
change the world was to
become a teacher.

My plan was to help the young
find their own way.

Now I am older and my students
see me as a relic of the past

To be tolerated, ignored, deceived,
and patronized all at once.

VI

But I cannot yet give up
all my old dreams.

And at night the ghosts of
Goodman and others
haunt me so.

He and his friends shout in my ears
to never give up the fight
for freedom.

And as I lie sleepless in my bed
they strengthen my resolve.

It is my fate to continue their
hopeless task.

VII

They cry to me to resist
the temptation to quit.

Oh how I wish they would
haunt someone else.

They are such a pain
that odd group.

And the older I get the more
I love John Dewey.

But Goodman and his friends
persist.

VIII

Freedom they cry for the
next generation.

Let the young make up their own
minds about what to do.

Although I am not an anarchist
like him,

Goodman never lets me forget the hopes
of Berkeley and the tragedy of
Kent State.

And through my veins he
pumps the cry of
Liberty and Resistance.

I Gave A Paper, But No One Came: A Glimpse Into The Lifeworld Of A Neophyte Presenter:

The Bergamo Experience

Catherine E. Campbell
University of Regina

A "call for papers" miraculously appeared in my university mailbox in late March for the *Bergamo Conference on Curriculum Theory and Classroom Practice*. Neither I nor my colleagues had ever attended this conference; none of us had even heard of it before. No one knew of the "Bergamo Experience." I thought this might be a good opportunity to present the research I had been working on for the last two years. I had been putting off analyzing and writing up my data. My motto is, "Why do today what you can put off until tomorrow!" I thought October seemed like a good time for a conference and it would push me through the summer to get the paper finished. So I wrote up a proposal and sent it in. I also thought an "international" conference would look good on the vitae.

Lo and behold, in early July I received a letter saying that "the committee reviewed almost 150 proposals" and that mine "was considered to be a topic of interest to perspective participants and to be a topic sufficiently developed to lead [my] listeners to develop insight of their own." They were mistaken. But I get ahead of my story.

In early September I received a copy of the program and news of a contest on paper titles. I became nervous immediately. I did not understand many of the titles on the program, let alone the sample of contest titles. My title did not contain words like didactical, apotheosis, reconceptualization, hermeneutic, semiological, or espistemological—and—it did not have a colon. I had two other immediate concerns: (1) I was scheduled at the same time as Madeleine Grumet, and (2) what to wear to a "social gathering" featuring a string quartet playing the music of Mozart and Haydn. I knew I was out of my league.

My main concern about Madeleine's presentation was that I wanted to go to hers, not mine. I had heard her on two occasions at the *Human Sciences Conference* in Edmonton last Spring and she was bright, entertaining and insightful. Why would anyone want to come to my presentation if I didn't want to go, either? ...They didn't. But again, I get ahead of myself.

On the subject of clothes, not only was I to listen to chamber music but also to a poetry reading to the accompaniment of a piano. I wondered if I should take a long dress. I compromised by packing dresses, skirts, pants and jeans, four pairs of shoes and three handbags to match. Too much? I was prepared to meet every contingency. Another burning question: Who was to attend such a conference? Stuffed shirts? High tone society? Certainly not "normal folk."

When I received the program and saw my name in it, I knew I'd better get writing. I had underestimated the time it would take to analyze and derive "substantial meaning" from 300 pages of single-spaced typewritten interview transcripts. I work well under pressure but was beginning to panic. I *do not* work well under panic. With slips of paper in piles all over my living room and dining room, I knew I would never make it.

I got on the plane at 7:35 am, Oct. 16th, with *all* my slips of paper. The Air Canada agent asked me if I wanted *smoking* or *nonsmoking*. I told him I wanted a drink! He didn't seem to understand I had been up all night trying to finish a paper. People on the plane looked at me oddly as I wildly sifted through segments of dialogue looking for the perfect quote to illustrate a theme that had been identified.

I had to open my briefcase as I went through airport security. I had scissors in it in case I had to do more cutting and pasting.

They wanted to check out this instrument of terrorism. Did they really think I would, could, or wanted to hijack a DC9 with a 1500 mile range out of Regina? Where would I go? Minot, North Dakota? Actually, with my paper in the condition it was, fleeing to Minot may not have been such a bad idea.

In my usual optimistic way, I had decided it was a good thing I had not finished writing up the paper. Now I could not read it at the presentation. I would have to talk about it instead. I thought this would be far less boring for my audience. Little did I know I would have no opportunity to be boring.

I arrived at the Bergamo Center 14 hours after take-off from Regina and $20 (27.80 Canadian) poorer after paying the taxi driver. I was tired, cranky, and decidedly antisocial—but I did want a drink. I threw my luggage into my room and made my way to the lounge. In less than an hour, I had met more people than I had met at AERA in Los Angeles, Montreal, and New Orleans put together. This was *not* the crowd I had expected. Already my impression of what the "Bergamo Experience" would be like was changing. These were not the upper class, nose-in-the-air snobs I had envisioned. These were warm, friendly, down-to-earth folks who went out of their way to meet you, introduce you to others, and to generally make you feel comfortable. I began to think I would really enjoy myself in the next four days.

The next morning I woke up to face a huge breakfast. After coffee, toast, and mumbling responses to two equally reticent non-morning people, I returned to my room to "polish" my presentation. By 11:00 am, I felt confident about the presentation and the material within it. I began to look forward to the afternoon. I went out to sit in the sun. I chatted to a fellow presenter who was working on his paper. He was also concerned that no one would come to his presentation.

At 2:10 I went to BH 219 to give my paper. At 2:15 one of the Alberta contingent ran in and asked if he could have a copy of my paper but said he couldn't stay as he was off to another presentation. I told him I would gladly send him one. At 2:16 one of the Rochester group came in (but did not sit down) and we started talking about student teaching. At 2:20 a woman from Tennessee came in (she did not sit down, either) and seemed disappointed to see so few people. I distinctly got the feeling they wanted to be somewhere else. I suggested we might be able to talk about my paper at some other time and that I could send them copies of the finished paper. They "took off" with alacrity. I waited for five more minutes, then ran to BC Assembly to hear the rest of Madeleine's talk. I could not believe it!! I missed the four stories!! What injustice there is in this world. I probably could have kept the two women in BH 219 (tied them down if necessary) and presented my paper, but I didn't. AND I MISSED THE FOUR STORIES!! I looked around the room and saw the three people who had breezed in and out of BH 219. I hope *they* heard the stories.

I suppose I should feel badly about this, but I don't. I accomplished what I set out to do. I have written my paper. I can now get down to getting it ready for publication. How do you reduce 80 pages to 20? But that is another topic.

On Saturday, I asked my follow presenter from the quadrangle if he had had an audience for his paper. He told me one person. I felt badly for him, but at the same time was glad I had not been the only one.

On my way through customs on the 16th, the officer had asked me if I planned to leave anything in the U.S. I told him, "Hopefully some insight and understanding into the development of student teacher decision-making." On the way back through customs I was asked if I had left anything in the U.S. I told him, "Not a damn thing."

I should say at this point that I had a wonderful four days. I met and had the opportunity to talk to many people and made several new friends. I haven't laughed so much in a long time. What a marvelous group of people. Presentations were interesting and thought provoking. Richard Butt would be glad to know I was "shaken out of my mental rut" by a few. I have brought home many ideas to ponder over. I will remember the "Bergamo Experience" for a long time to come. At least until next year, when I'm sure I will attend again.

About attending next year. I plan to resubmit my paper under a new title containing at least two $50 words and, of course, a colon. I will add a footnote to the bottom of the proposal requesting not to be placed opposite Madeleine on the program and for my location to be BC ASSEMBLY. I'm sure with these changes, there will be a shortage of chairs for my presentation.

I started this piece the final evening of the conference. I felt a compulsion to write of my experience (must have been all the autobiographical pieces I had been hearing for the last three days). I laughed right out loud as I was writing it. I took it to breakfast Sunday morning and presented it to SEVEN people. I *did* present a paper to an audience at Bergamo, not the one I intended to present, but still, a paper. I succeeded after all! It was well received and the discussion following it was stimulating. It was felt that this paper may remind veterans of the conference circuit what it was like when they started, and may let other neophytes know they are not alone in the pursuit of an audience.

The Practitioners' Lament

Richard Niece
Kent State University

The study of curriculum
Can prove to be quite troublesome.
So many folks have had their say,
It's hard to keep track day to day.

Bobbitt, Pinar, Goodlad, Tyler,
Charters, Phillips, Taba, Adler,
Mager, Scriven, Conant, Huebner,
Herrick, Kliebard, Dewey, Bruner,
Macdonald, Herbart, Phenix, Royce,
Kilpatrick, Tanner, Broudy, Joyce,
Beauchamp, Apple, Eisner, Bagley,
Van Til, Zais, Smith, Shores, and Stanley.

The terms they use are quite unique
And flourish in their own mystique:
Balanced content, correlated,
Hidden, null, enriched, non-graded,
Philosophy, aims, stated goals,
Criterion, strategic roles,

Comparative, evaluate,
Design, develop, integrate,
Holistic view, competent-based,
Logical thinking, tracted and placed,
Model, scope, sequenced electives,
And behavioral objectives.
These form the substance of the lists
Spawned by the curricularists.

Who knows which ones have got it right?
They're all a publisher's delight,
With paradigm and theory
Fleshing out a novel query.
Each has a counter point of view
When stating what the schools must do.

"Student-centered fulfills the need."
"Go back to basics is our creed."
"Connoisseurship is the best bet."
"Performance-based is better yet."
"The core curriculum is great."
"Social reform can hardly wait."
"Self-actualized is the key."
"Treat them humanistically."
"Fine arts and classics need more room."
"Do not forget the high tech boom."

All of this expert profusion
Serves to increase schools' confusion.
Schools constantly confront the plight
Of having to decide what's right
As they pursue their main concern—
What should students really learn?

I have reviewed the awesome stacks
Of my profession's gathered facts.
From countless studies I've amassed,
Birthed by theorists now and past,
A doubt persists I cannot cast,

A haunting fear that grips steadfast.

While churning out these reams to stuff,
Have we considered kids enough?

A Search for Excellence: Are we on the Right Path?

Linda Fitzharris
Charleston County School District
South Carolina

The latest national report, "A Nation at Risk: An Imperative for Educational Reform," was issued two years ago. Like other national reports, this one raised the nation's level of concern about the quality of education in our public schools. In South Carolina, the impact has been significant. Quick-fix educational reforms, such as the Educational Improvement Act (EIA) have been the result.

Excellence in South Carolina public education, as in most states, is measured by comparing past test scores to present performance. Little regard is paid to the rapidly increasing minority population in our public schools, nor to the fact that a greater range of the general population is being educated today. Thus, comparisons are not always valid or appropriate; however, they often produce emotional headlines and raise public concern. As financial supporters of public education, taxpayers clamor for efficient and effective schools at the lowest cost. Test results are often used to measure the effectiveness of public schools across the nation and are used to get a "reading" on the future success of our nation. Schools are viewed as the molders of tomorrow's leaders, and declining test scores forecast future doom to many. Thus, test scores are interpreted as the barometer of current success of our country's future leaders.

The desire to evaluate learning and measure learning outcomes has generated a variety of activities for South Carolina educators. The creation of a myriad of objectives has consumed teacher committees involved in curriculum development. In our school district, objectives have been developed for most academic subjects and classroom teachers are provided with an expansive array of curriculum guides. Teachers are also provided with a variety of tests that sometimes reflect the practiced curriculum but more frequently mirror a standardized curriculum.

For those educators or school districts lacking objectives and/or evaluation instruments, these may be purchased from various companies selling books of objectives. One of the most popular, the IOX Exchange in California, provides sequenced sets of objectives for various curriculum areas. Accompanying tests may be purchased to measure mastery of the IOX objectives. Thus, if an educational institution cannot formulate its own objectives, others (in this case outside the Southeastern region) will produce a comprehensive set for any discipline — for a price. My school district will spend $500,000 for this set of comprehensive objectives and accompanying tests in the language arts curriculum. Yes! Excellence in public education is both measurable and possible. But, it is expensive.

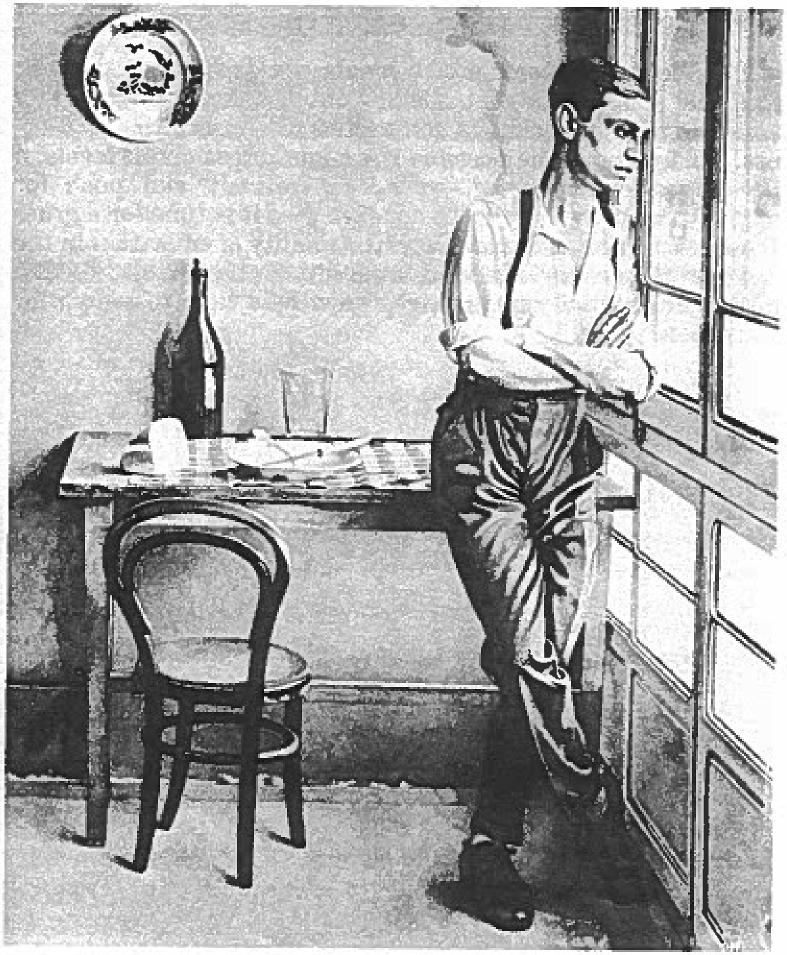
The current trends in curriculum development in the 1980s appear to parallel many of Bobbitt's ideas of the 1920s. It would be inappropriate, however, to view all of curriculum development during the last forty years as following the scientific approach. Dewey (1939) had a significant impact on curriculum by proposing that the curriculum should be developed around social activities called occupations. The outcomes from the activities were considered significant as they gave meaning to future activities. Thus, ends and means were integrated and directly related and not isolated, as Bobbitt proposed, into discrete skills. Dewey also viewed learning as a process involving the whole child and not one that could be separated into parts or steps that would eventually produce the whole (goal).

Today, this type of curriculum development does not receive favorable public support. South Carolina, like many other states, has defined basic skills and has dictated — directly or indirectly — a standardized curriculum. Textbook companies have tended to follow the same trend and have emphasized many of the skills identified in our state's testing programs (CTBS, BSAP). Parents and the general public have reacted with a desire to return to the "good old days" when students were taught to read, write, and perform mathematical computations. To measure the attainment of these skills, education has returned (once again) to Bobbitt's approach of identifying, sequencing, and measuring vast numbers of objectives.

Have we returned to Bobbitt's approach because it was better or because it provides a means of measuring learning in terms that are easily identified and shared with others? Probably the renewed interest in the scientific management approach has several causes. The approach provides a delineated path to follow for quick-fix solutions. Educators can conduct a needs assessment of basic skills, institute curricular changes, and quickly produce measurable results to demonstrate marked improvement. The approach provides a framework for identifying the "what" (content) of curriculum and provides a means of measuring the learning. The use of objectives provides a clear instructional path; objectives are easy to explain, simple to manage, and relatively easy to defend (even in a court of law). Objectives are also easy to convert to test items which often provide information about learning and teaching. Administrators feel safe, teachers can produce tangible results of students' learning, and parents can be given specific concrete feedback about that learning. Rarely is anyone required to think and reflect.

Can learning really be defined by identifying small discrete parts without losing sight of the whole child? Is the Program for Effective Teaching (PET) likely to enhance instructional quality? Are promotional standards at each grade level really going to improve the curriculum as lived day to day by students and teachers? Are we on the right path to excellence? Probably not.

There appears to be little choice for those of us in leadership roles who have experienced several decades of the educational process. We have an obligation to counter the lay zealots who want public recognition through their brutal attacks on the educational system. We must work toward an understanding of the forces that impact on educational philosophies and attempt to define needs and long range goals. We must articulate the apparent need to reflect society; however, we must also address our obligation to help shape a society for tomorrow's



world. We must become professionals, not dependent on public financial support nor controlled by public opinion, but a highly trained group of educators committed to the educational process. This will only be possible if we join forces on all levels of the educational process, work cooperatively and push for change as a united group. It appears that it is time for a grass roots effort from educators, and the quality of education in the future may very well hinge on our ability to change the direction of the educational process right now. It is time to search for some new paths.

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