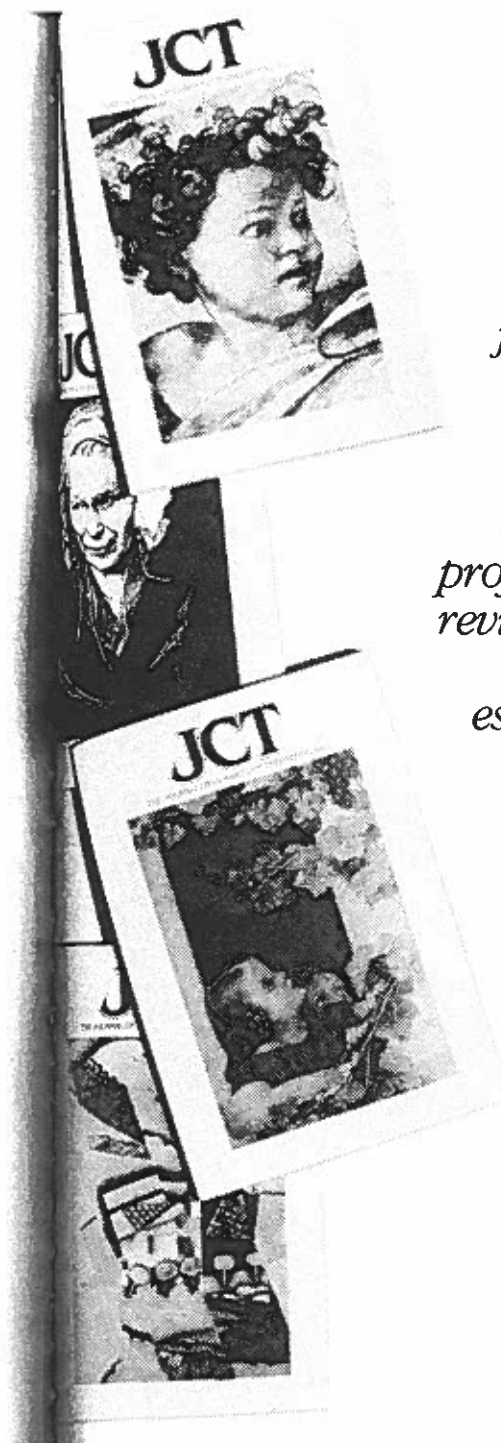


JCT. ISSN: 0162-8453. Single copy: \$15

JCT

THE JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM THEORIZING 6:2





JCT

THE JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM THEORIZING

...An interdisciplinary journal of curriculum studies. Interesting and important essays, political notes and notices, curriculum projects and reports, book reviews, letters and poetry make this journal an essential in your library.

Individuals \$35/yr.
Libraries \$45/yr.
(In U.S. Dollars)
53 Falstaff Road,
Rochester, N.Y.
14609 USA

JCT is assisted by St. John's University, Louisiana State University, Bowling Green State University, The University of Dayton, The University of Lethbridge (Canada), The University of Utah and the National Technical Institute for the Deaf of the Rochester Institute of Technology.

JCT

Subscription Entry
or
Renewal

(Circle one)

JCT

Volume Six, Issue Two
Summer 1985

Name _____

Street or Institution _____

City & State or Province/Zip or Postal Code _____

Country (if not U.S.) _____

Janet L. Miller, Summer Issue Editor
William F. Pinar, Editor
Janet L. Miller, Managing Editor
Madeleine Grumet, Book Review Editor
June Kern, Associate Editor
Benjamin Troutman, Associate Editor
Richard Butt, Assistant Editor
Leigh Chiarelott, Assistant Editor
William Reynolds, Assistant Editor
Joseph Watras, Assistant Editor

St. John's University
Louisiana State University
St. John's University
University of Rochester
University of Rochester
Virginia Beach City Schools
University of Lethbridge
Bowling Green State University
University of Wisconsin-Stout
University of Dayton

Board of Advising Editors

Ted Tetsuo Aoki
Michael W. Apple
Charles W. Beegle
Landon E. Beyer
Leonard Berk
Robert V. Bullough, Jr.
Eric Burt
Jacques Daignault
William E. Doll, Jr.
Clermont Gauthier
Henry A. Giroux
Dorothy Huenecke
Ken Jacknicke
Paul R. Klohr
Florence R. Krall
Craig Kridel
Bonnie Meath-Lang
Ronald E. Padgham
Meredith Reiniger
Paul Shaker
G. W. Stansbury
Joan Stone
Max van Manen
Sandra Wallenstein
Philip Wexler

University of Alberta
University of Wisconsin-Madison
University of Virginia
University of Rochester
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Utah
Saulteaux School (Sask.)
University of Quebec
University of Redlands (Calif.)
University of Quebec
Miami University of Ohio
Georgia State University
University of Alberta
Ohio State University
University of Utah
University of South Carolina
National Technical Institute for the Deaf
Rochester Institute of Technology
Greece (NY) Olympia High School
Mt. Union College
Georgia State University
University of Rochester
University of Alberta
Wells Fargo Bank
University of Rochester

____ Yes, enter or extend my subscription to JCT for four (4) issues. Individual pay \$35 and institutions pay \$45. Graduate students pay \$28 for four (4) only. Those paying in currencies other than U.S. dollars, please take account present exchange rates. Overseas airmail is \$10.

____ Yes, enter or extend my subscription for eight (8) issues. Individual \$55 and institutions pay \$75.

____ Yes, enter or extend my subscription for twelve (12) issues. Individual \$75 and institutions pay \$105.

____ Total enclosed, check or VISA/MASTERCARD. If the latter, please enter your account number _____ and expiration _____.

Send to:

JCT
53 Falstaff Road
Rochester, New York 14609
U.S.A.

The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing is the publication of the Corporation for Curriculum Research, a not-for-profit corporation established to promote the advancement of curriculum theory and of teaching and learning in schools and universities. Subscriptions should be addressed to:

Ms. Margaret S. Zaccone, JCT
53 Falstaff Road
Rochester, NY 14609, USA

Manuscripts should be addressed to:

Ms. June Kern, Associate Editor
One Durham Way
Pittsford, NY 14534

Subscription rates (in U.S. dollars): Individuals, \$35 for 4 issues, \$55 for 8 issues, \$75 for 12 issues. Graduate students, \$28 for 4 issues only. For air mail delivery outside North America, add \$5. For those outside the U.S. and paying in your currency, take into account present currency exchange rates. Send your check or MasterCard/Visa account number and expiration date (made payable to the Corporation for Curriculum Research) to Ms. Zaccone, address above. Advertising rates and information also available from Ms. Zaccone.

The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing is assisted by St. John's University, Louisiana State University, Bowling Green State University, The University of Dayton, The University of Lethbridge (Canada), The University of Utah and the National Technical Institute for the Deaf of the Rochester Institute of Technology.

Main Editorial Office: 223 Peabody Hall, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. 70803-4728

Summer Issue Editorial Office: Marillac Hall Rm. 108, St. John's University, Grand Central & Utopia Pkwy, Jamaica, NY 11439

Staff:

Margaret S. Zaccone, Chief Administrative Officer, Rochester, NY
Dorothy Horton, Administrative Assistant, Rochester, NY
Eileen Duffy, Technical Assistant, St. John's University, New York
John Marshall, Art Director, Rochester, NY

Technical Assistants - Baton Rouge:

Willie Faye Dunbar
Margarita LeBlanc
Lois Stevenson
Vickie Swain

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Essays

Curriculum: Metatheoretical Horizons and Emancipatory Action Richard Butt	7
Rethinking Teacher Education: Dare We Work Toward a New Social Order? James T. Sears	24
Dialogue or Anti-Dialogue? William Torrey Harris As Seen Through Paulo Freire's Theory of Dialogical and Anti-Dialogical Action Frances Bolin	80
Women's Studies Today: An Assessment Nancy Bazin	117

Pretexts

Case Study and Problems of the Practical Lyn Yates	122
Terms for Inquiry Into Teacher Thinking: The Place for Practical Knowledge and The Elbaz Case D. Jean Clandinin	131

Political Notes and Notices

150

Curriculum Projects and Reports

162

Letters

167

Emancipation is a motif that emerges in various forms and unites the essays in this Summer Issue.

Richard Butt discusses the relationship between personal and social meanings, and convincingly argues for the inclusion of both critical and valuation theory in the work of curriculum theorists.

James Sears presents an extensive historical overview and analysis of the teacher education process, and addresses the inherent issues and conflicts in that process through recommendations for an emancipatory teacher preparation program.

In an interesting juxtaposition, Frances Bolin draws upon the work of Paulo Freire to analyze the contributions of William Torrey Harris to education and public school administration.

The field of women's studies has contributed in active and concrete ways to the empowerment of both students and faculty. Nancy Bazin concisely assesses the current state of women's studies and offers thoughtful recommendations for the continuing growth of women's studies in the elementary and secondary schools as well as in universities.

Freema Elbaz's **Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge** presents possibilities as well as dilemmas with a particular mode of research, as is noted in the Book Review section.

Yet another new section - Curriculum Reports and Projects - is introduced in this issue. Edited by Benjamin Troutman, Director of Curriculum and Staff Development in the Virginia Beach Public Schools, this section will describe current national and international curriculum projects and developments, and will acknowledge the work of classroom practitioners and leaders as a crucial and reciprocal link in the efforts of curriculum theorists.

Landon Beyer now edits the Political Notes and Notices section; included in his comments is an invitation to Bergamo participants to attend an open meeting on Thursday afternoon, October 17, at 1:30 p.m. to discuss ideas, actions and involvements to advance a participatory agenda for this section of JCT.

Finally, our Letters section offers a provocative challenge which brings full circle the emancipatory motif.

Certainly, this Summer Issue offers much to consider and to debate, and we hope that readers will join in that ongoing dialogue at the Bergamo Conference in October.

J.L.M.

Essays

CURRICULUM: METATHEORETICAL HORIZONS AND EMANCIPATORY ACTION

Richard Butt
University of Lethbridge

Needs, Dreams and Purpose: Critical and Valuation Theory

I am working in curriculum because I see the field as offering much potential for providing individuals with the personal power to take control of their own lives. The criterion of personal power and control over one's own life implies liberation or emancipation from what ails you, and social negotiation and co-operation as individuals realize interdependence. This is the standard by which I judge both appropriateness of direction and process in curriculum endeavors in order to avoid spinning my own wheels.

Where shall we start in our pursuit of individual and social meaning, or emancipatory education? It is tempting to say that things are so complex that we should start in many places at once, but again that only dilutes our efforts. To avoid that and to compensate for the vacuum in our instrumental times, I believe we should start with personal purpose. In order to discern purpose we necessarily dip into two sources: firstly, reality and therefore needs; secondly, fantasy and therefore dreams.

When we examine our realities we can expose weaknesses, deficits, needs, and things that contrive to control us. Conversely, when we wonder, and dream about what we might like to be, we can evoke positive images. Our past over-emphasis of a neutral instrumental and technical reality has deprived us of both our personal/social realities and dreams. I applaud then the emphasis of *critical theory* which serves to examine and explore deficits, problems, and things that

Emancipation is a motif that emerges in various forms and unites the essays in this Summer Issue.

Richard Butt discusses the relationship between personal and social meanings, and convincingly argues for the inclusion of both critical and valuation theory in the work of curriculum theorists.

James Sears presents an extensive historical overview and analysis of the teacher education process, and addresses the inherent issues and conflicts in that process through recommendations for an emancipatory teacher preparation program.

In an interesting juxtaposition, Frances Bolin draws upon the work of Paulo Freire to analyze the contributions of William Torrey Harris to education and public school administration.

The field of women's studies has contributed in active and concrete ways to the empowerment of both students and faculty. Nancy Bazin concisely assesses the current state of women's studies and offers thoughtful recommendations for the continuing growth of women's studies in the elementary and secondary schools as well as in universities.

Freema Elbaz's **Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge** presents possibilities as well as dilemmas with a particular mode of research, as is noted in the Book Review section.

Yet another new section - Curriculum Reports and Projects - is introduced in this issue. Edited by Benjamin Troutman, Director of Curriculum and Staff Development in the Virginia Beach Public Schools, this section will describe current national and international curriculum projects and developments, and will acknowledge the work of classroom practitioners and leaders as a crucial and reciprocal link in the efforts of curriculum theorists.

Landon Beyer now edits the Political Notes and Notices section; included in his comments is an invitation to Bergamo participants to attend an open meeting on Thursday afternoon, October 17, at 1:30 p.m. to discuss ideas, actions and involvements to advance a participatory agenda for this section of *JCT*.

Finally, our Letters section offers a provocative challenge which brings full circle the emancipatory motif.

Certainly, this Summer Issue offers much to consider and to debate, and we hope that readers will join in that ongoing dialogue at the Bergamo Conference in October.

J.L.M.

Essays

CURRICULUM: METATHEORETICAL HORIZONS AND EMANCIPATORY ACTION

Richard Butt
University of Lethbridge

Needs, Dreams and Purpose: Critical and Valuation Theory

I am working in curriculum because I see the field as offering much potential for providing individuals with the personal power to take control of their own lives. The criterion of personal power and control over one's own life implies liberation or emancipation from what ails you, and social negotiation and co-operation as individuals realize interdependence. This is the standard by which I judge both appropriateness of direction and process in curriculum endeavors in order to avoid spinning my own wheels.

Where shall we start in our pursuit of individual and social meaning, or emancipatory education? It is tempting to say that things are so complex that we should start in many places at once, but again that only dilutes our efforts. To avoid that and to compensate for the vacuum in our instrumental times, I believe we should start with personal purpose. In order to discern purpose we necessarily dip into two sources: firstly, reality and therefore needs; secondly, fantasy and therefore dreams.

When we examine our realities we can expose weaknesses, deficits, needs, and things that contrive to control us. Conversely, when we wonder, and dream about what we might like to be, we can evoke positive images. Our past over-emphasis of a neutral instrumental and technical reality has deprived us of both our personal/social realities and dreams. I applaud then the emphasis of *critical theory* which serves to examine and explore deficits, problems, and things that

contrive to control us. I also applaud an emphasis of *valuational theory* (Maccia, 1965) in which we can use logic or rationality, creativity, imagination, humour, adventuring and exploring in our own lives in order to speculate as to what is worthwhile. For when we juxtapose the deficits exposed by *critical theory* with fruits of *valuational theory* we gain direction and purpose. If then we are instrumental, we are so justifiably since we are undergirded by practical problems in reality and given direction by our own dreams.

Of curricularists generally, the Reconceptualists have pursued the necessary renaissance of purpose in many ways, not only through *critical* and *valuational theory* but also through action and not without risk of personal and professional survival. My first suggestion, then, is that in order for our particular approach to curriculum theory and action to survive and grow we must make sure, through prudence and co-operative support, that we neither suffer personal breakdown through an overextension of our own explorations nor suffer professional censure through pushing ourselves too far to the margins.

As far as curriculum theory itself is concerned I see two important interrelated issues that need to be addressed most urgently through the *critical* and *valuational* paradigms. The issues are *the future*, particularly as represented by *future studies*, and also, *sciences and technology*.

In order that we not only survive but do so in a preferred way, we need to ask how we can take account of preferred scenarios for the future in our various curriculum designs or metaphors. How can these designs for experience assist our young people in participating in the creation of the future? When I speak of curriculum design, I would like to emphasize that I do not mean an enslaving behaviouristic structure but a flexible framework that facilitates a reconceptualization of curriculum content toward life as we wish it to be. The impetus, the momentum of our current societal paradigm, requires control by all humans through the harnesses of our alternative designs, to bring its head round away from catastrophe. In this way I see design as a potential instrument of

liberation for creating positive future -focussed role images for ourselves and our pupils. It is not only necessary, then, to engage futurists in critical dialogue, but also we should make the future a fundamental source of our own inquiry.

The other major issue we need to address is that of science and technology. Whether we like it or not, in spite of its dysfunctional effects through abuse, science and technology are with us now and in the future. We cannot support our burgeoning world population without it. To paraphrase Buckminster Fuller if all the politicians were thrown into the sea, no one would starve, but if science and technology were abandoned, many would die. The only way we could survive without much science would be to have a world population drastically less than we have now.

Many reconceptualists, who hail from the humanities, social and political sciences, and grew up through the counter-culture of the sixties, dislike science. They see science and technology as necessarily enslaving and not conducive to emancipation. It certainly is enslaving if it is abused through behaviourism, logical positivism, and through the military-industrial complex. It is possible, however, for science and technology to be personally liberating if we are literate in its good use. Curricularists, then, need to engage the question of science and technology in terms of its role in society, curriculum and in education generally. The amount of dialogue between curriculum scholars and educational technologists, who are dealing with different parts of the same elephant, is minimal. Both groups can benefit from a dialogue which assesses the potentialities, good and bad, of technological software and hardware as it is increasingly used at home, school and elsewhere for learning.

There are subfields now being mapped out, particularly by Mario Bunge (1976), a philosopher of science and technology, that must be engaged by curricularists. They are: (1) technoethics - the study of the moral and ethical implications of various software and hardware; (2) technopraxeology - the study of technologically-guided human action.

I have recently attempted to sketch a design for a curric-

ulum which focuses on both existing problems in human life, and positive images of the future including a role for science and technology. (Butt, 1977; 1982). Problems such as personal dissatisfaction with life, a rapidly increasing suicide rate, family breakdown, urban deterioration attended by alienation and violence, a decrease in the sense of community, and the increasing scarcity of food, water, shelter, air, space and energy are addressed positively through five new curriculum basics. These new basics aim to replace the dysfunctional values of our current industrial-state paradigm. They are: *scientific, social and personal literacies* which are integrated by a common second-order literacy of the *study of values*. At the same time as engaging the acquisition of these emancipatory basics, the pupil is encouraged to project them into a *study of the future* which is a third-order literacy. It is hoped that this curriculum framework will enable young learners to overcome feelings of personal helplessness to have control over their own lives through values appropriate to their personal, social, scientific and future contexts. I take the stark position that there is no point in being able to read, write, and add, if one is dead from a personal, social, or environmental breakdown. That is, the traditional basics will become increasingly useless on their own, if they are not combined with new basics which emerge directly from current and future human concerns. It should be noted that this curriculum framework is strikingly similar to one other reconceptualist's work which did address the future, that of Sandy Wallenstein (1980). Where my proposal utilized an analytical approach, she used personal intuitive imagery. Using different methods, we arrived independently at the same basic design.

Human Action: Praxeological Theory

Even though a renaissance of the consideration of purpose has been necessary, it is all for naught unless paralleled by action. We have just come through an era of *purposeless-action*. Let's not perpetuate the pendulum with

actionless-purpose but integrate both in terms of time and people. If one set of persons speculate as to purpose and another set are supposed to act, we have once again hit the basic oft repeated flaw in approaches to reform. Without a solution to the problem of educational change and reform the fundamental shifts indicated by our consideration of purpose are again futile. *Praxeological theory* (Maccia, 1965; Bunge, 1976) that is speculation as to the best means to reach agreed ends (or the theory of human action) is of equal importance to a consideration of purpose. An important distinction here is that we should not be concerned only with human intentionality and action within the instrumental reality created by school systems but as importantly we should examine teaching and classroom reality as it is or might be experienced independently of current instrumental reality. We can then address ourselves to the question of how can teachers and learners best create meaning? In what ways do administration, supervision, teacher education, the curriculum, the curriculum system, and modes of research, inquiry and development have to be reconceptualized to serve that most fundamental purpose?

Let's try for a moment to think through the problem of change in education. At the moment these are the characteristics of the problematique:

1. Those who practice curriculum (school people) see little value in most existing curriculum theory from which suggestions for and approaches to classroom change emanate (see Hilliard, 1971, p. 37; Unruh, 1925, esp. p. 61; Ghory, 1979, p. 1; or listen to staff-room discussion).
2. Teachers generally have not implemented curriculum proposals emanating from the current view of curriculum and its system (See Charters and Jones, 1973; N.S.F. Studies, 1977; Rand Studies, 1978; or better still visit some classrooms).
3. The existence of strong hidden curricula which serve the interests of either the system, teachers, or pupils indicates the dysfunctional nature of the existing formal

system.

4. This need to subvert indicates the degree to which teachers are alienated from the current view of curriculum and changes that have been proposed. They do not wish to participate in a system within which they have little control.
5. Many minority groups of pupils, parents and communities, as well as teachers, perceive little relevance in current mandated curricula and proposed changes (See Sinclair and Ghory, 1979 a, b; Ghory and Sinclair, 1979; or better still visit some inner city schools).

Actually, if we add all of the groups who are dissatisfied with the curriculum and proposed reforms together (the ethnic, special education students, inner-city, remote and rural populations and teachers) they probably amount to a majority. One then must not speak of groups who are marginal to the current curriculum system *but of a system that is marginal to the needs of the bulk of its participants.*

It is easy to think of curriculum theory then as not being related to the needs of the people; that, as Schwab did, we should blame theory and move to the practical (Schwab, 1969; 171). This is erroneous (Butt, 1980); at the same time as moving towards the practical we should examine our metatheory. As Dewey once remarked, there is nothing more practical than a good theory.

I wish to make several points about metatheory as it relates to educational change. We have, in the past, used inappropriate metatheory which has contributed to the failure of educational reform. The first source of inappropriateness is found within the relationship of theory to practice. The second source of inappropriateness is found within the paradigms of inquiry and development that have emanated from the first.

To illuminate the first metatheoretical problem, I draw on a paper by John Olson (forthcoming) who discusses the problem of educational change as viewed through three kinds of sciences of the practical described by McKen-

(1952). These three kinds of practical sciences, *the logistic*, *the dialectic*, *the problematic*, are distinguished from each other by the relationship of theory to practice or knowledge to action that each embodies.

Within the *logistic* conception, it is assumed that practice itself has no knowledge to offer, therefore the practical is conceived of as something in need of scientific guidance through the direct application of theory to practice. Theory and practice are separate; implicitly theory is superior to practice. At the human level, reformers, who possess the theory, are perceived as superior to the practitioners, who need to be assisted to do things the right way.

The *dialectic* treats theory and practice as one thing. It proceeds through a discussion, formulation, and exploration of ideals which are held against the light of reality. The innovative doctrine then is assessed against the knowledge of particular circumstances. Practical action is evolved from the dialectic which is adapted to particular conditions and situations.

In human terms, reformers and teachers might together examine and discuss the potential of a particular teacher's situation. Theory and practice are regarded as aspects of the same thing; each can be advanced through the appreciation of and resolution of each other's perspective. The dialectic, then, recognizes influence of both outside forces and a will to accomplish personal purpose on a teacher's action. It assists in dealing with potential contradictions of the short term and moving toward the long term commitment of improving curriculum. Insiders and outsiders are equal partners who share their perspectives and knowledge with each other.

The *problematic* holds the problem as the focus of action. In this conception, all who have a stake are involved on an equal basis in communication characterized by deliberation, persuasion, and agreement to a particular decision. The method to amelioration of the problem, as opposed to a generalized procedure used by the logistic, is derived by the group from the nature of the problem and its context.

In human terms the problematical approach might

involve a group of teachers and others working together to examine problems in their own practical arenas. Through an examination of what they wish to do, they bring about increases in self awareness, an appraisal of personal purpose, and situation-dependent, problem-oriented action.

It is easy to see that most attempts at curriculum change have been of the logistic variety and we can therefore understand how they have failed through separation of theory from practice, policy from action, and responsibility from function. It is no wonder that the elitism and coercive power structure within this paradigm educes so-called resistance and subversion on the part of alienated teachers.

The potential of the *dialectic* and the *problematic* in bringing together insiders and outsiders is enormous. Under the umbrella of McKeon's metatheoretical framework for the dialectic and the problematic, newer approaches to inquiry, research, development and change are evolving which do not artificially produce a gap that has to be bridged between theory and practice and between insiders and outsiders. *Purpose and action are integrated.* These approaches are grounded in educational contexts helping to establish valid reality and value bases for our field. As opposed to a feeble paradigm of logical positivism which abuses both science and people, we now are building grounded theory from phenomenological, empirical, and critical approaches appropriate to our field and the level of development of our theory. These include development as research, case studies, anthropological and ethnographic approaches, phenomenological inquiries, collaborative research, forms of educational criticism, biography, and autobiography.

Insider-Outsider Relationships

Let us not delude ourselves, however, that this progress came only from the intellectual endeavors of a few meta-theorists. Teachers have been involved in this struggle for equality and knowledge through their practical efforts to assert their fundamental place in the creation of meaning.

Teachers' relationships with reformers in the past document this struggle. What this relationship can or should become represents a key phenomenon. This demands our continuing attention as we reach for ways in which insiders and outsiders may share their realities and dreams to negotiate purposeful action which will overcome stumbling blocks to change. (Fritz, 1981, Connelly, 1980).

1. *The Technical Model*

Early post-Sputnik curriculum reform was conducted by so-called experts who were not educators. It implied that little of what teachers were teaching was worthwhile and how they were doing it was not the best pedagogy. The teacher was supposed to become a technician - a "user" of a new improved brand of curricula.

2. *The Teacher Proof Model*

Following an initial failure to implement these new products, *teacher proofing* was pursued. Assuming that teachers lacked the intelligence and competence to implement new complex curricula, easy step-by-step, how-to-do-it guides were issued. The discovery, by reformers, of the *curriculum proof* teacher, (Romey, 1973) however, did not cause them to question the fundamental nature of *their relationship* to teachers.

3. *The Deficit Model*

In-servicing teachers to correct their deficits represented the next wave of activity. Many teachers have come to hate their regularly laid on doses of training which, in the way it has been conducted, has been likened to the indignity of artificial insemination. (Flanders, 1980, Sharma, 1982)

4. *The Marketing Model*

The discovery that "failure to implement as instructed" was due not to incompetence but that naughty behaviour called *teacher resistance* assisted in the emphasis of a marketing approach which encouraged teachers to *buy in*. Some teachers were only saved from the

evangelical fervor of certain "change agents" through the deprogramming capabilities of their neighbourhood staffroom!

5. *The Teacher Involvement Model*

And still classrooms did not change! The next approach, whether it represented a sincere change of heart (or relationship) on the part of reformers or not, could be interpreted as the *buy off* approach (as opposed to the *buy in* approach) through teacher involvement in evolving mandated curriculum, and through more local action research. Insider-outsider relationships within local efforts at best became schizophrenic. How much power or control does a teacher have? How far can developer intentions be adapted? Is the project still manipulative and covertly hierarchical, designed to overcome resistance and gain compliance? *Shallow ownership, however, will still give shallow implementation.*

6. *Mutual Adaptation*

Only when we practice *mutual adaptation* (Rand Studies, 1978) do we begin to see changes in the classroom facilitated by a change in the relationship between insider and outsider from a logistic to more dialectic or problematic modes. An important impetus embedded within this change in relationship is the realization that teachers teach what they do and how they do for very personal and practical reasons. It is very difficult, therefore, for any curriculum prescribed from outside to be "right" for *one* classroom, let alone *many* or *all*.

This era has been an unconscious discourse and a conscious struggle between outsiders and insiders. Whereas, in the beginning, outsiders thought that they were the teachers of the teachers who were pupils, in the end it was the teachers who, consciously and unconsciously, were modifying the behaviour of the reformers. This struggle can be construed as the re-establishment of pupil-teacher interaction as the essence of the creation of meaning, which is what I

believe curriculum should be about. Not only has this era seen the beginning of the emancipation of teachers from technical slavery to a system, but also the beginning of the emancipation of reformers from themselves.

This struggle has not been without cost to individual teachers. In working through the implicit messages teachers have been receiving through the last two decades, it becomes easier to understand their alienation, staffroom anomie, frustration, feelings of guilt, inadequacy and teachers' utter distaste of being *in-serviced*. This collective feeling cannot be ignored if we are to avoid serious consequences for our educational system. We need a rapid change from a system which has victimized and neglected its key actors to such an extent that they feel betrayed, resentful and hostile, to a more human enterprise where staff development is closely related to teachers' needs, concerns, personal and professional growth (Flanders, 1980).

Teachers could not enter the debate with outsiders in a conscious and explicit way because the language of outsiders is so obtuse (Olson, 1981). Regardless of language problems, neither teachers nor researchers possessed a body of knowledge which richly and accurately portrayed the agony and ecstasy of daily classroom life, which could adequately represent their concerns and justify what they do in classrooms. Had teachers possessed a classroom-based literature expressed in ways which both teachers and scholars could understand, the debate could have been conscious, the disgusting aspects of the reform movement minimized, staff development more useful, and the outcomes more fruitful.

"In order that we do not enter similar black holes, it is evident that a body of teacher-based knowledge must be evolved"

so that we can illuminate the positive role teachers do and can play in curriculum elaboration as well as the interrelationships among insiders and outsiders. Since teachers do not have the time and researchers do not have the experience, it must be a partnership. Some curriculum workers and teachers have already started establishing this sort of reality base for education that will provide for fruitful

practice and theory through three recently opened and interrelated windows. Firstly, teachers and those close to teachers, in their frustration at being victims instead of partners in reform, have been able, at last, to gain the ear of researchers who were spurred on by their own failure to succeed in facilitating change. Secondly, many young curriculum workers and researchers, who *as teachers* were reluctant participants in curriculum reform efforts, are now able, with their recent experience and researcher status, to be advocates of the teacher's perspective. Thirdly, the failure of logical positivism and behavioristic research approaches to solve educational problems precipitated the broadening of the spectrum of research paradigms in education to include those mentioned earlier in this paper. Hopefully, these new joint initiatives will enable us to "get off the teacher's back."

Summary: On the Integration of Many Things in One Place

I have attempted to critique curriculum theory and practice in general, and to appraise the potential of reconceptualist perspectives in particular for bringing more emancipatory approaches to the field.

My intent has been to expose fundamental reductionisms within the curriculum field and the vertical relationships implicit in the separation of theory from practice, purpose from action, and so-called reformers from teachers. I have also tried to illuminate the inappropriate metatheory that undergirds these dysfunctional reductionisms and the coercive human relationships that have arisen as a result. I also attempted to address how these dynamic elements of curriculum could be re-integrated through more appropriate metatheory in relationship with emancipatory action.

Looking back over what I have written, however, one might think there is one particular contradiction. I claimed that we should start our pursuit of emancipatory curriculum theory through personal purpose to avoid the dilution of effort that starting in many places would bring. We then

rushed around, however, considering needs, dreams, futures, science; critical, valuational, and praxeological theory; education change, and reformer-teacher relationships. We should be exhausted, but not necessarily. To clarify, we do start *intellectually* with personal purpose but we don't have to rush around to engage the rest; we can do it all from one place.

Let me enlarge somewhat.

"Ultimately, directly or indirectly, our reality base - the phenomena we are concerned with - is made up of the activities that occur within the school or the classroom."

My paper, I believe, has provided both intellectual, practical and human argument for the centrality of "learning place" (school for want of a better concept at the moment) in our curricular inquiries and attempts to understand and improve curriculum practice. Focusing on the "learning place" and what occurs there in any or all of intellectual, human, practical or physical terms will naturally enable a re-integration of theory/practice, purpose/policy/action, insiders/outside, means/ends through a dialectical or problematic approach to dreams and reality.

The past and current metatheoretical structure of curriculum inquiry and action and of groups involved in those endeavors has encouraged reductionism. A related phenomenon is reciprocal marginalisation of groups of people from each other who pursue different epistemologies within the study of curriculum, of those who pursue scholarship rather than action and vice-versa, of reformers from teachers. Whereas, it is necessary from time to time to separate oneself, to clear one's head, to look at theory and practice

afresh, to reflect while not being subjected by practice, permanent separation leads to fundamental reductionism.

Focusing on the learning place and activity therein, besides ameliorating reductionisms, would also enable an appreciation of the potential for complementarity among different paradigms of inquiry and action, and re-integration of separated elements of curriculum such as design, development, implementation, and evaluation. Not only is this desirable for the arguments I have put forward but it is desirable in terms of the current state of readiness of those involved in curriculum inquiry and action.

Whereas the school or learning place provides for one place and one broad activity which will serve the different intentions of many different groups, it will facilitate the forging of new partnerships in pursuit of curriculum improvement. Focusing on the school might also by-pass the dysfunctional effects of the educational superstructure at the same time as working to evolve a better one.

The evolving emphasis of curriculum inquiry and action in Canada has been towards this type of school, classroom, and teacher-based inquiry. A recent conference considered how "insiders" and "outsiders" could be brought together through new relationships to jointly consider purpose, action, and the facilitation of classroom change and improvement (Butt and Olson, forthcoming). It included contributions from educational philosophy, futures studies in education, a number of collaborative approaches to school, class, or teacher-based change, school board perspectives, and teachers federation study of teachers' values, reality and personal-professional development needs. Jaime Diaz from Bogota, Colombia contributed an exploration of the potential of Freirian approaches to teacher/school system renewal.

In examining successful changes that had occurred, our deliberations identified the need for horizontal relationships among insiders and outsiders rather than the hierarchical relationship of the logistic variety. Where horizontal relationships occurred, outsiders were able to apprehend everyday teaching reality and evolve their innovative doctrines and

conceptions accordingly; teachers could also share outsiders' dreams and reflect on their approach to practice. Through this process it was thought that a healthy blurring of the roles of insider/outsider would occur - a type of role liberation. This process is thought to contribute to the building of a body of knowledge which reflects the professional teachers' perspective as well as other concerns. The potential of a cyclic and synergistic relationship between self-initiated professional and personal development, new insider/outsider relationships and change also emerged from conference discussions as a strong theme. This notion would seem to add credence to the usefulness of autobiographical, biographical, and psychotherapeutic modes of curriculum inquiry through which one can integrate distanced reflection with reality and the raising of consciousness with new action.

If we continue to unravel this line of thought and action, we quickly arrive at the abandonment of the notion of supervision. It will also become clearer as to how we need to and can reconceptualize administration, teacher education and professional development, the curricula, the curriculum system, and modes of inquiry and development.

References

- Bunge, M., *The Philosophical Richness of Technology*. P.S.A. 1976, pp. 153-172.
- Butt, R. L., *The Implications of Futures of Education*. A paper presented at the Annual Conference of Quebec Association of School Boards, Quebec, 1977.
- Butt, R. L., *Against the Flight from Theory: But towards the Practical*. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 2:2, 1980, pp. 5-11.
- Butt, R. L., *Questions of Value*. *McGill Journal of Education*, XVII (2), Spring 1982, pp. 157-166.
- Butt, R. L. & J. K. Olson (Eds.) *Insiders Realities, Outsiders Dreams: Prospects for Curriculum Change (Curriculum Canada IV.)* Vancouver, British Columbia: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction. University of British Columbia, 1982 (Forthcoming).

- Charters, W. W. and Jones, J. On the Risk of Appraising Non-Events in Program Evaluation. *Educational Researcher*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1973.
- Connelly, F. M. and M. Ben-Peretz. Teachers Roles in the Using and Doing of Research and Curriculum Development. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 1980, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 95-107.
- Flanders, T. *The Professional Development of Teachers*. Vancouver: British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 1980.
- Fritz, J. O. The Teacher and Curriculum Reform. In *Curriculum Canada III: Curriculum Research & Development and Critical Student Outcomes*. (K. Leithwood and A. Hughes, Eds.), Vancouver: Canadian Association of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, Chapter 8, 1981.
- Ghory, W. J. and R. L. Sinclair. Thinking About Our School: The Environmental Perceptions Approved to Curriculum Inquiry and Improvement. A paper presented at A.C.R.A. San Francisco, April 1979.
- Hilliard, F. H. (Ed.) *Teaching the Teachers: Trends in Teacher Education*, London: George Allen, and Unwin, 1973.
- Maccia, E. S. Curriculum Theory and Policy. A paper presented at A.E.R.A., Chicago, 1965.
- McKeon, R. Philosophy and Action. *Ethics*, 62 1952, pp. 79-100.
- National Science Foundation. Reports of National Survey of Science, Mathematics, and Social Studies Education. U.S.Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, 1977.
- Olson, J. Teacher Influence in the Classroom: A Context for Understanding Curriculum Translation. *Instructional Science*, 10 (1981) pp. 259-275.
- Olson, J. K. Innovative Doctrines and Practical Dilemmas: Theorizing About Change. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* (Forthcoming).
- Rand Corporation. *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change*. Rand Publications, 1700, Main St., Santa Monica, California 90406, 1978.
- Romey, W. D. The Curriculum-Proof Teacher. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 54, 6, February, 1973.
- Schwab, Joseph I. The Practical: A Language for Curriculum. *School Review*, November 1969, pp. 1-23
- Sharma, T. In-Servicing the Teachers: A Pastoral Tale with a Moral. *Phi Delta Kappan*, February, 1982, p. 403.

- Sinclair, R. L. and Ghory, W. J., Curriculum as Environment for Learning: A Practical Meaning and Model. A Paper presented at A.E. R.A., San Francisco, April 1979 (a).
- Sinclair, R. L. and Ghory, W. J., Views from the Margins: Practical Premises and Modest Priorities for Curriculum Improvement. A paper presented at A.E.R.A., San Francisco, April 1979(b).
- Unruh, G. G. *Responsive Curriculum Development: Theory and Action*, Berkeley, California: McCutchan, 1975.
- Wallenstein, Sandara. Images of the Evolving Curriculum *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 2:2, 1980, pp. 269-273.

RETHINKING TEACHER EDUCATION: DARE WE WORK TOWARD A NEW SOCIAL ORDER?

James T. Sears
University of South Carolina

Personal Statement

The reconceptualists have not, even if some maintain they have, for the time being, abandoned school practitioners, but fundamental to their view is that an intellectual and cultural distance from our constituency is required for the present, in order to develop a comprehensive critique and theoretical program to be of any meaningful assistance now or later.

William Pinar (1978:3)

One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh.

Ecclesiastes 1:2

Again, there is movement in the field. The generation of Michael Apple and Bill Pinar is giving birth to another group of curriculum theorists. As part of that new generation, I acknowledge my intellectual debt to them as well as to their mentors and to their mentors' mentors. As part

of that new generation, I recognize that their critiques and theoretical programs now require an intellectual and cultural closeness with our constituency in order to effectively shape schools of the future and to reshape theories of the past.

My colleague, Patti Lather, argues that we must develop a sense of "apocalyptic humility" rooted in a respect for and understanding of the earnest practitioner: the high school teacher who moonlights to maintain a reasonable standard of living; the administrator who seriously balances competing community interests; the working parent who contributes to the support of schooling while daily confronting its contradictions; the elementary school teacher who struggles for dignity and authority within a male-dominated institution. In the past, these people have been chided for their lack of social vision, intellectual abilities, and educational commitment. In the future, these people must become our collaborators in curriculum research, our allies in political action, and our disciples through pedagogical practice.

Moses shepherded his people for forty years as they traversed the arid Sinai land. This experience fostered reflection, cleansed the spirit, and renewed commitment. Nearing the journey's end, Moses gazed across the Jordan River from Mount Nebo. He saw Canaan, the future homeland of his children and his children's children. He rested on the mountainside. The prophecy was fulfilled.

My generation must depart the solitude of the desert and the thin air of the mountain to journey into the "promised land." Within this land of valleys the common practitioner dwells. The land belongs to neither the theorist nor the practitioner. If it is to belong to any, then it must belong to all. Only through collective struggle will this land blossom and bear fruit.

Curriculum theorizing must be purified by the fire of practice; practice must be shaped on the anvil of theory. This is the task of the next generation of curriculum theorists. Together, through our unique talents, our work will give birth to another set of challenges and a different group

of challengers. Feminism, Marxism, existentialism, and esotericism are my theoretical roots. Teaching, curriculum development, and teacher education are my ground to that theory. Literary ethnography, historiography and autobiography are my tools for breaking this ground.

Theory must be tempered with practice. Paul Klohr's plea for middle-range theorizing must be integrated into practice. Without such tempering, the generational dialectic ceases; the prophecy is unfulfilled. Without such middle-range theorizing, curriculum theorists, practicing a Zen koan, clap with one hand, hoping that others will hear.

Paraphrasing radical worker-educator Marius Hansome, it is one thing to declare the goal of education to be a better social order; it is another matter to act as if we really want that new order. If we are truly committed to education for empowerment, then it may be time to reconceptualize reconceptualism. It is time to ask the question, "Dare we work toward a new social order?"

Introduction

Teacher education has been in a state of crisis for fifty years. For three generations teacher training has been studied. From the mammoth Survey of Teacher Institutions (National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1935) to the report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Feistritzer, 1983) many of the findings have been alarmingly similar. For example, Waller (1932:61) observed:

A popular epigram of a few years ago had it that teaching was the refuge of unsaleable men and unmarried women...Unjust or no, the low social standing of teachers, and the belief that teaching is a failure belt among the occupations, which is a part of that low standing, contribute much to make the personnel of the profession represent a lower gradus of the general population than would otherwise be the case.

Based on normative surveys of 135 schools, colleges, and departments of education, on questionnaires returned by 1,387 teacher education faculty, and on visitation to 20 teacher training institutions, Clark and Guba (1976:31) underscore why this crisis persists: 1) the arts and sciences, wherein a vast amount of teacher education occurs, are not noted for their efforts in teacher preparation; 2) responsibility for teacher training is widely diffused; 3) "the established quality of control mechanisms are malfunctioning;" and 4) "the configuration of institutions and agencies involved in teacher education is so large, so dissimilar in terms of institutional resources and missions, and, so free of interdependence across agencies that teacher education is difficult to influence or change." My ethnographic study of undergraduate teacher training at Indiana University (Sears, 1984) has not revealed any evidence to refute these conclusions.

Two decades of alternating waves of innovation and retrenchment in undergraduate teacher training at Indiana University have littered the School of Education with disillusioned spirits. Middle-aged, tenured faculty, who ought to be at their educational zenith, harbor feelings of powerlessness, alienation, and misanthropy. A few educators, in isolation, struggle toward oppositional schooling and transformative thinking. Fewer continue the effort semester in and semester out. Most, confronted by double-binds and mixed messages, succumb to the exigencies of the politics of institutional life, the siren's lure of professional advancement, and the hegemony of mainstream educational thought.

Can high quality, effective undergraduate teacher education programs be implemented and endure within an institution such as Indiana University? The answer is dependent on our image of quality and our definition of effectiveness. For example, those who choose as the principal criterion for excellence in education the quantity of papers, articles, and books published by a teaching faculty may believe it possible. However, as Wisniewski

(1983:6) underscores:

There is far more to scholarly ethos than the production of articles. Scholarship does not necessarily mean a product...Scholarship is mainly a set of values and attitudes. It is characterized by systematic wondering and probing, by intellectual curiosity, by skepticism, and by a commitment to inquiry that permeates professional deliberations and actions. A sense of dissatisfaction with unexamined questions and answers goads the scholar.

Similarly, the dollars attracted through research grants or the number of credit-hours generated are poor indices of quality or effectiveness. Excellence in teacher education will not emerge by merely increasing expenditures, expanding information, or enhancing images. Outstanding institutions are those in which human relations are a preeminent concern. People must believe themselves to be valued assets within the institution. For a critical number of faculty at IU, this is not the case.

During a Policy Council meeting the last remnants of the Division of Teacher Education were being disestablished. Suddenly, in anger, a mild-mannered, senior professor stormed out of the meeting. Another professor, recalling the incident, observed:

Professor Melvin Holly, who has consistently over the years tried to express an interest in the quality of the undergraduate education of teachers around here, left the room, picking up his report, throwing his report against a wastebasket, and storming out. If you know Melvin he doesn't do things like that. He didn't have anything left to say. He knew that something terribly wrong was happening to his interests, but he didn't know what it was. If he had known what it was he wouldn't have thrown his manuscript around and made a scene. What he would have done instead is say, "This is what's wrong." All he felt was devalued in the organization....

Teacher educators have ignored forces such as these affecting curriculum development. Administrators, attempting to "fine tune the system," seek to rationalize curriculum planning and minimize, if not eliminate, the human element. But, as Clark (1980:7) notes, "organized anarchy" rather than a "rational, sequential framework" is a more accurate description of educational organizations. Clark (1980:5) underscores the implications:

The failure of goal-based, rational planning systems is grounded not in technical details of the systems but in the discrepancy between the assumptions underlying them and the reality of what actually occurs in educational organizations. The logic-in-use in most educational organizations most of the time may be so disparate from the reconstructed logic supporting rational planning systems that no level of improvement in the design or implementation of such systems could significantly affect the usefulness of the systems.

This discrepancy is acknowledged by a former administrator:

It really wouldn't matter what you said Professor Jaffe had to do. Charles Jaffe was going to do what he wanted to do. Now, Charles knows that the institution is as bendable as a reed in the wind. In fact, one reed doesn't know what the next reed is doing.

The political element, too, has been brushed aside in the development of a teacher training curriculum. Our society is stratified along sexual, economic, and racial lines. The structure and function of schooling and teacher training institutions contribute to the maintenance and legitimization of this system. Teacher training programs are more than pedagogical wastelands. They are hegemonic vehicles! Their primary purposes, as recent critics have illustrated, seem to be to provide legitimacy to the profession of teaching, furnish human fodder for the State's assault on the young minds of America, maintain the bureaucratic infra-

structure, diffuse social conflict, and reproduce existing power relations in society (Apple, 1983; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 1981a; Giroux, 1981a; Greene, 1978; Jencks, 1979; Sharp & Green, 1975; Willis, 1977).

The curricula, for example, tend to conceal issues of economic and social justice, obfuscating class, sex, and race as potent factors affecting an individual's self-concept, locus of control, and aspirations. For instance, a recent naturalistic study of the training of elementary and secondary preservice teachers (Ginsburg & Newman, 1981:16) revealed...

that many (preservice teachers) were comfortable with the function of schooling as preparing young people for the existing society. Fewer in our sample communicated a preference for helping young people to critically assess and perhaps even seek to change the existing society....Most of those interviewed accepted the curriculum as given and legitimate....We observed relatively little change in the preservice teachers' views over the course of the semester.

Preservice teachers hold a utilitarian orientation to teacher training. The "practicality ethic" (Doyle & Ponder, 1977:78), not the social ethic, is preeminent.

In what ways might we direct the curriculum toward social transformation rather than social reproduction? Recently, Tymitz-Wolf (1984:24), acknowledging the utilitarian orientation of most teacher training programs, proposed:

Prospective teachers should be exposed to the realities of teaching-political, societal, and economic. And they have to be willing to make a commitment to a rigorous, demanding, and challenging course of study. It is only fair to inform prospective teachers of the erroneous beliefs that exist about teaching and to provide them with more reasonable expectations about what can be accomplished in most teaching and learning situations.

A vision of a better social order and a commitment to pursue pedagogical, organizational, and curricular strategies directed

toward the realization of that vision ought to be the hallmark of that course of study. If we are genuinely committed to the construction of a more equitable and humane social structure, then schooling and teacher training must be reconceptualized conjointly at the philosophical and practical levels. As schools, colleges, and departments of education presently exist, this task is not possible.

The ideological component of teacher training is another factor which has been ignored. For example, the clamor to raise teaching to the professional status of lawyers and physicians has been translated by some teacher educators into lengthier, more rigorous training, tougher admission standards, and a more standardized curriculum. These actions ignore the ideological character of professionalism.

"Professional" is primarily an honorific title (Becker, 1962) which justifies the existence of a self-selected elite and legitimizes the monopoly and autonomy exercised by them. Moreover, professionalism, contrary to traditional thinking, is compatible with bureaucratically arranged institutions. Successful attorneys and physicians, for example, are not likely to be general practitioners but specialists working in corporate firms or in group practice. Larson (1977:219) cogently argues:

The alleged conflict between bureaucracy and profession as modes of work organization is not so much a conflict between two different structures as it is a contrast between the structure of bureaucratic organizations and an ideology promoted by some of their members.

Dietrich Rueschmeyer (1975:18) details the source of this ideology:

Many features that are considered specific characteristics of the professions seem to be, in fact, aspects of upper class and upper middle class life and subculture. Thus, autonomy at work and many facets of professional ethics seem buttressed not only by professional norms and granted claims, but also by the

class status of the practitioner, his social origin, and the class position of his clients and other role partners. The historical difference in social origins between school teachers and pediatricians, the continued predominance of women in teaching, and the status of children in our society contribute to the "semi-professional" status of teaching.

Nevertheless, the struggle to professionalize teaching continues. As Larson (1977:238) argues, its success may be more a function of capitalism than the efforts of educational agencies to extend training, assume licensing powers, and infuse new rigor into the curriculum:

As capitalism matures, the ideology of a profession could be incorporated into generalized forms of social control, extended now to the growing class of non-manual and 'unproductive' workers. Dependence on capitalist relations of production and on bureaucracy is a generalized feature of work in the monopolistic phase of capitalism. The bureaucratization of work generates a 'hierarchical image of society' and spreads some of the typical components of the ideology of profession to ever increasing strata of the labor force. Compartmentalization and differentiation within the division of labor create (mainly bureaucratic) positions of relative privilege, which their incumbents strive to 'dignify' and monopolize by claiming expertise and by professionalizing.

Efforts to professionalize teaching, then, mean that whatever professional gains are attained will be congruent with the work setting and will not be at the expense of higher status groups.

Despite these forces, alternative models of teacher education can, of course, be developed. In some cases such curricula have been implemented. They have not long endured.

At Indiana University, the Division of Teacher Education (DTE) is a splendid example. It was conceived and begotten under optimum conditions; a dean and his staff firmly committed to innovation and scholarship; a critical con-

of young faculty (many hired during this Dean's tenure) committed to experimentation; a massive infusion of federal monies; and a social milieu which valued diversity and reform. DTE survived less than five years.

The times have indeed changed. The era of Combs and Silberman has been supplanted by the age of Silverman and Adler. *The Nation at Risk* and International Baccalaureate schools have replaced *Crisis in the Classroom* and alternative education. Schools of Education, hiring few new faculty, scrambling for the few dollars available in the public sector and squirming underneath the public spotlight, respond with ill-conceived strategies.

"In the best of times, reform of teacher training is improbable."

During this social rerun of the efficiency movement of the twenties and the Sputnik hysteria of the fifties, it is less probable.

We cannot wait impatiently until the pendulum returns and educational hysterics abate. A teacher education curriculum must be structured to demystify that which is commonly thought to be objective, to promote a social order in which property relationships do not define relations among human beings, and to connect social reality to personal frames of reference. A teacher education curriculum must be developed which fosters an *acceptance of the democratic process* and an assumption of collective responsibilities, which enables preservice students to *make connections* between their experiences and objective social conditions, which provides opportunities for *personal growth*, and which actualizes *social responsibility*. In short, I call for a teacher education curriculum which is empowering, emancipating, humanizing, and politicizing.

How can such a program be established given the current social and political conditions? What is the likelihood of a curriculum enduring within institutions whose rules inhibit scholarship, whose culture devalues undergraduate teacher education, whose intellectual smugness alienates practitioners, and whose academic monopoly precludes public accountability?

The answer is as simple as it is shrewd. We must ally ourselves (albeit, temporarily and selectively) with some of our conservative critics.

The educationist establishment has three essential and closely related functions besides the nominal one of teaching kids. They are: to grow, to protect the profession from competition, and to ward off outside scrutiny...The monopoly of the education schools must be broken; there must be other paths to certification. (Lyons, 1980:109, 112)

The school board in Hanover, New Hampshire screens college graduates for academic and personal qualities (e.g., imagination) and, after a probationary period, the board hires them as regular teachers (Help, 1980). Addressing teacher education students and teachers an IU open forum, Waxler (1980:2) argued for a similar program, though with a different twist:

Teacher certification will become obsolete when we begin to take seriously candidacy for professional teacher education. A good beginning might be a few questions to prospective students of education: Why teaching? Why children? Why not dogs, horses?... And then the big question: Do we respect each others' questions and attempts at answers? If so, then there is some basis for striking a bargain. The bargain: When you complete a two-year apprenticeship (with a small stipend attached perhaps) then we will meet again for a new round of questions: Are you still in?...Then the first course. Welcome dear student. You have proven your seriousness and dedication and now we shall attempt to prove ours. And on to more courses

that evolve as a dialogue between peers in the quest for information, truth, vocation.

The first step is instituting alternative certification. Recently, Saul Cooperman, New Jersey's State Commissioner of Education, has proposed granting permanent teaching licenses to people who have never taken a teacher training course. Under the Commissioner's plan, which has been endorsed by the Governor and the Chancellor of Higher Education, these licenses would be issued to individuals who have a bachelor's degree, have passed a state-administered standardized test in their subject areas, and have completed a one-year supervised internship in a local school district. While posing a number of political issues, proposals such as this may be the only avenue whereby the institutional hammerlock over teacher training can be severed.

In Indiana there are forty-one institutions in the business of teacher training. There is, however, no competition; the programs of these institutions are, in many important aspects, remarkably similar. Alternative programs for certification might provide an opportunity for experimentation which, as underscored by an IU administrator, is all but absent in today's market:

In this day and age everybody's trying to sell the middle, because they are afraid to get too far out. It's like, you know, some people said what we need is a fifth year teacher education program on top of a liberal arts education. Well, there's some merit in that. That's certainly not a novel idea. It's been around a long time. But, you know, a school in Indiana—any one school—would be crazy to do that. Not because it may not be better teacher education program, but because you can just do yourself out of teacher education overnight. Now, if all the schools went to it, that would be all right.

I would rather have some Sol Alinsky-styled teacher training institutions counterbalancing a few Jerry Falwell schools than what presently exists. Is the possibility of infusing schools with teachers reflecting the values of an

Albert Sweitzer, Martin Luther King, or Emma Goldman worth the risk? I believe so. Under present circumstances, the most that radical educators can do is to encourage transformative thinking by exploiting social and institutional contradictions. That, I am afraid, is not enough.

Critics of the proposals outlined in this paper may argue that they are simply "not practical." Would a principal in Oakpark hire an Emma Goldman? Probably not. There are, however, progressive communities with public schools in which socially conscious men and women can educate. The Alternative Program in State College, Pennsylvania, the Mountain Open High School in Evergreen, Colorado, and the Graham-Parks School in Cambridge are fine examples. There are also conservative communities that tolerate and, sometimes, support a public school with a different social vision. James Fitzharris High School in Escanaba, Michigan and South Boston High School come immediately to mind.

My point is that, in a country as large as the United States with an ideology of pluralism, a monolithic public school system does not exist. There are eddies of educational reform. A teacher education program can prepare people to work effectively in these places; a teacher education program can further the establishment of other islands of social reform.

Jonathan Kozol (1983) reminds us, "We should not agree to try to do only what we think we can. In the long run, one must set out to do what desperately needs to be done." The radical transformation of teacher training is one of those things which desperately needs to be done. Daring and imagination, as George Counts noted fifty years ago, are necessary if such transformation is to occur and if teacher training programs which are "another, yet the same", to borrow Pope's phrase, are to be replaced:

From state to state, over the entire land, the curricula of the public normal schools and teacher colleges are as like as peas in a pod...So-called reforms there have been; they pass in waves from region to region—patchwork tinkering with the familiar curricular patterns...

Many different types of State teacher training programs are imaginable. The possibilities for determining the major outlines of...the professional education of teachers are illimitable, if only vision and daring combine to replace outworn practices. (Borrowman, 1956: 219-21).

For too long teacher educators have been looking in familiar places for solutions to perennial problems. Too often our vision has been blurred and our daring muted by institutional blinders and self-interests. Other programs and individuals must be examined which have not been so burdened.

The important educational principles and practices ranging from John Childs and Harold Rugg to Myles Horton and A. J. Muste must be resurrected. These people were countervailing forces against the technical, individual orientation of the twenties and thirties. While some educated teachers for the improvement of public education, most had a wider audience and struggled toward broader goals. These include people involved with worker colleges, citizenship academies, experimental programs in revolutionary societies, and progressive schools. The remainder of this paper projects the silhouette of an alternative teacher education curriculum grounded on successful elements of formal and nonformal education programs. If any radical changes in teacher education occur, they likely will be due to the efforts of these educators and those who will build up their legacy.

Empowering: Democratizing Leadership

A leader is best
When people barely know that he exists
not so good when people obey and acclaim him
Worst when they despise him

Fail to honor people
They fail to honor you
But, of a good leader, who talks little,

When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,
They will all say
'We did this ourselves.'

Lao Tsu

The democratic problem in education, as Joseph Hart (1927:xv) observed, "is not primarily a problem of training children; it is a problem of making a community." Community, originating from the Latin *communitas*, means "with responsibilities." Within a social structure in which accumulation of cultural and economic capital is the norm, there are few concerned with making a community.

For men of such divergent political views as John Locke and Thomas Hobbes, or Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, property was the single most important liberty. Groups or individuals attacking the property right were, in Locke's phrase, placed in a "state of war" with the society. Today, as in yesteryear, the rights of the citizenry are exercised within the confines of an economic order in which private property—be it sour gum or slaves—is the foremost liberty.

The privatization of capital permeates teacher training institutions: credits, degrees, examinations, grades. As students and teachers experience commodification of the curriculum, their relationships are transformed into qualities of the things themselves. Pursuits of truth, beauty, and justice are exchanged for job security and conspicuous consumption. That teacher training is neither an institution for empowerment nor an agency of liberation should, therefore, come as no surprise. Its task ought not be liberation but empowerment. Radical worker-educators (2), such as Myles Horton, Hilda Smith, and A. J. Muste, did not liberate; they empowered women and men with the skills and knowledge to liberate themselves. *Decision-making abilities, acquisition of social knowledge and survival skills, and bridging labor with thought* are sorely lacking in schools. They must become integral parts of a reconceptualized teacher education curriculum.

Decision Making.

Decision-making abilities are neither innate, nor wrought overnight. They are developmental. Seldom are students—particularly working class, minority, and women students—provided with significant opportunities to develop their abilities in classrooms. Teachers are seldom willing to risk the chaos, uncertainty, and ambiguity that such development would most likely entail. Students experience double-binds. Lacking decision-making experiences, they have difficulties when decisions are expected; because of these difficulties, teachers choose not to provide such experiences.

Prior to World War II, hundreds of progressive schools³ dotted the country. Some of these schools, like their contemporary counterparts today (several thousand alternative schools now exist), provided students with opportunities for exercising considerable power in decisions affecting curriculum, staff selection, admission, and discipline.

Central to the curriculum at the University High School at Ohio State was self-governance. Composed of three members from each class and three faculty members, the "Uni High" council exercised considerable power over budgetary matters and discipline. Students enjoyed a degree of power exercised by few middle-class students of the day. *Were We Guinea Pigs?* written by the graduating class of '38, captured the sense of power experienced by these students:

If an instructor were to come to us and say that the faculty had decided to change the policy of the school, and had decided to tell us what we were to do, he would encounter a great deal of opposition. (University High School, 1938:260)

Several years later, in the farmlands of Elmore County, Alabama, faculty at Holtville did encounter student opposition. Exposed to representative governance, secondary students formed a "radical committee" to protest faculty decisions regarding individual assignment of students with their "major teacher", and the organization of the daily schedule. Based on this student action, modifications of the schedule and assignment policies were made (Wallace, *et al.*, 1944).

Representative government, of course, is qualitatively different from participatory decision making. Argyris (1971:186) observed that

participation can be effective under firm but fair control, such as Robert's Rules. In our experiences such rules do bring about order and control. However, they rarely encourage openness, trust, risk-taking, and a genuine working through of issues.

The curriculum at James R. Fitzharris Alternative High School, located in the upper peninsula of Michigan, encourages experimentation. The school insists that issues be thoroughly examined through all-school meetings. Fifty working class students and staff collectively set policies, make admissions and hiring decisions, and arbitrate conflicts.

Three generations earlier, socialist Sunday schools--there were at least 94 such schools located in 65 cities--also encouraged their students "to play an active role in running meetings, to select current topics to study, to help resolve disciplinary procedures, and to prepare recitations or plays" (Teitelbaum & Reese, 1980:22).

During the early forties, at Central State Teachers College in Michigan, faculty from the departments of education and psychology developed a senior block in the secondary curriculum. A one year practicum coupled with two hours of class instruction (team taught by a psychologist and an educator) constituted the senior block. Emphases were placed on subject matter integration, individualized instruction, democratic classroom practices, and the fusion of theory and practice. Decision-making was an integral part of this curriculum:

At the first meeting, students were challenged to make the course a cooperative venture in learning and to think of the instructors as helpers, advisers, and fellow learners. Teacher-student planning procedures were instituted at once. Each section was divided into groups of five or six members, and each tabulated the problems that seemed important to them as individuals. A master list was then compiled for the whole section,

and by vote one topic was selected for immediate study and turned over for preliminary planning to a committee of students. Each section then proceeded to organize as a self-governing unit...The instructors made no assignments, gave no 'spot' quizzes, nor dealt with other devices through which a class is customarily brought to a state of docile receptivity. Their ideas were subjected to the same appraisal as those furnished by any other group members and were not infrequently rejected. Their influence came to depend upon real leadership rather than arbitrary authority. As the students grew in power of self-direction, the instructors found themselves more and more in the role of consultants and resource persons. (Armstrong, 1944: 271, 274)

The curriculum of such schools enabled students to make decisions--good, bad, and in-between--and in the process, not surprisingly, become better decision-makers. The experiences at "Uni High School" profoundly affected young people. Using interviews, questionnaires, and comparative data, Willis (1961) conducted a study a decade and a half later. She concluded that graduates differed markedly from peers vis-a-vis community activism, leadership, creativity, individualism, and materialism. A comparative study of fourteen alternative schools, including Fitzharris High School, and eleven conventional schools in ten states found that alternative schools were "superior to their sister conventional schools in meeting their students' higher level (social, esteem, and self-actualization) needs (Smith and Gregory, 1983:6). The data gleaned from this study led the researchers to speculate that such differences were linked to "the single act of choosing."

Allowing students to choose, to experience the principles and feel the spirit of social democracy reflects a fundamental trust in people. There are few such opportunities in most teacher training programs today. From the mid-sixties through the early seventies, Indiana University provided a variety of curricular options for students pursuing their

teaching certificates. At the high point, circa 1973, there were twenty - four different programs preparing undergraduates for professional or provisional certification, and eleven unique projects in various states of development, supplementing these programs (Farr, *et al.*, 1973). Options for preservice teachers included: an "urban semester" that found undergraduates living in an inner-city community on a welfare budget, observing and teaching in that community, and participating in seminars whose topics included race relations and inner-city power structures; a 16 week placement in a predominantly rural community for 12 weeks of student teaching and four weeks of social service internship; a "professional year" program for senior elementary majors integrating methods courses, classroom observations and instruction, and community service. A working paper, developed during that period (Marker and Shuster, 1972: 1-2), outlines the rationale for the existence of options in teacher training:

When planning for the future, one is tempted to propose a single ideal teacher education program. The ability of a narrowly focused program to marshal resources and talents at first makes it an attractive alternative. The current state of the profession is such, however, that agreement as to 'the' program content, procedures, etc., by those training agents responsible for teacher education is not only impossible but is in reality, irrelevant. What a teacher should know, be, and do means quite different things to different persons, and as the preparation for a variety of what may be different roles evolves, it becomes increasingly apparent that 'training' can assume many characteristics,, not all of which are consistent.

This report envisioned that, at the end of the decade, ten to twenty *additional* programs would develop in the School. In 1981, though, a reorganized teacher training program was celebrating its second year in existence. At a faculty committee meeting, the director proclaimed, "We have made the most massive changes in recent years." Sadly,

he was referring to the re-institution of a monolithic curriculum wherein students exercise little choice and are afforded few opportunities for self-governance.

Faculty, as well as students, must be given significant decision making roles in the curriculum for which they are responsible. Curriculum improvements are more likely to occur if there is a drastic rethinking by educational leaders of the role of faculty and students in curriculum construction rather than a massive infusion of monies or virtually unlimited administrative control. The counsel of William Armstrong (1944:301) is worthwhile to ponder:

Leadership should be aware of the human factors and try to use them to constructive purpose. This is clearly not a matter of manipulating persons or maneuvering human relationships. Statesmanship cannot be exercised without great qualities of mind and spirit: unswerving appreciation of the worth of the individual, devotion to the democratic process, and a wise understanding of practical realities in the college world.

Conceptual Literacy. Empowerment means not only developing decision making abilities by providing opportunities for choice and action, but equipping people with conceptual literacy (4): survival skills (assertiveness, bureaucratic prowess, critical thinking), and social knowledge (knowledge of the roots of schooling, the nature of social change, the forces influencing education). Freire's work in Northern Brazil, the Cuban and Nicaraguan Literacy campaigns, the worker colleges of the twenties and the citizenship schools of the fifties exemplify successful programs which provided

such skills and knowledge. Recently, exemplars of the pedagogical process in developing such skills and fostering social knowledge have been published (5).

Citizenship schools of the South were the foundation of the modern Civil Rights movement. Septima Clark, a leader in the Black literacy and voting rights campaigns wrote (1962:150):

My purpose, of course, was not only to teach them (residents of Johns Island) how to read but to teach them at the same time things they would have to know in order to start on their way to becoming first-class citizens.

The "things" which these people needed to know included knowledge about the working of the social system, and the skills to read and think critically.

My recommendations are similar to those of Bruce Joyce and Florence Howe. Joyce recommended:

The teacher candidate should be part of the process of breaking down the structure and building environments in which teams of teachers, administrators, and community members consistently work to improve the school, redesign curriculums, and increase the power of teaching. To participate requires an understanding of organizations and how to bring about change. (Joyce, 1984:13)

Future teachers, as Florence Howe (1976:156) argued regarding future leaders in the women's movement, "must be trained not only through the development of their skills, consciousness, and knowledge, but through the successful applications of these in the course of their education." Theory must be exposed to practice. Philosophy must be grounded in being.

Labor and Thought. Most preservice teachers do not perceive theory and practice, thought and action, or work and study as synergistically related (Sears, 1984A). This is not a novel finding. Anatoli Lunacharsky (1981:253-4) argued more than sixty years ago that

... the whole of what is designated as 'mental work' is a

poor substitute for producing what we think of as a whole man. The continual tendency of our intellectuals, even on the technical side, to deviate into idealism ... is due to a large extent to the fact that these people do not have contact with material things. True, they hold pen or pencil in their hands when they write, sit on chairs at the tables in their homes, but basically they only *look on* -- or, at best, *observe* -- in the laboratory. They do not come to grips with nature at close quarters, they do not conquer it by physical strength, and for this reason they do not sense its living, dynamic reality.

Similar observations have been made over the years by teacher education commissions. For example, a Michigan state report concluded (Trout, 1943:36):

If theory courses are provided during the first part of the professional education period, we are likely to encounter the clearly unsound psychological practice of expecting a great deal of rote memorization of material which is difficult to retain and more difficult to apply, unless many supplementary observations, experiences with boys and girls, and situations simulating classroom and other teaching conditions are provided.

The curriculum components of the past suggest some strategies whereby labor and thought might be bridged.

Brookwood, no less committed than other labor colleges to participatory governance and the development of critical skills, was established in 1921 through the efforts of activist A. J. Muste. Brookwood bridged these gaps. Foundation courses (economics, history, and labor journalism), wherein workers analyzed social problems, and took courses (public speaking and labor tactics), whereby workers could effectively carry forth their struggle, were provided.

By virtue of being a residential school, Brookwood was able to *combine manual work with intellectual training*. This mutual sharing of manual labor, as a Brookwood leader noted (T. Smith, 1934:305), "helps develop tolerance and a

common sympathy." Most work at the school was both functional and ideological. Brookwood (1932-3:10) had "no more use than has labor at large for the type of pseudo-intellectual who can expound a point of view but can't put it into practice." Of course, there were times when commitment to this principle gave way to the problems of collective life:

There was a time when students did the cooking too, but when two disciples of Marx were set to peeling potatoes, it sometimes appeared more economical to throw away the potatoes and cook the peelings.

(Brookwood, 1932-3:9)

In the decade and a half following the Russian Revolution, educational experimentalism was actively pursued. During the First All-Russian Conference of Education, held following the 1917 Revolution, Tsarist educational policies were repudiated and a ten-year common curriculum wedding thought with labor was outlined. Under Lunacharsky, the first Commissar of Education, a myriad of educational experiments were fostered under the rubric of unified labor education.⁶ Revolutionary mottos, such as "to live is to work," could be found on unfurled banners, posters along the cobblestone streets, and on walls within classrooms.

In order to bridge work with study, theory with practice, and the school with the community, a "complex curriculum" was adopted. Complexes centered on the world of work, nature, and human relations. The social and natural sciences were incorporated into the curriculum as they related to the study of each complex. Students were expected to apply the principles under study to projects ranging from improving sanitation and combating illiteracy, to cataloging local wildlife and assisting in factories and businesses. For example, schools located near the Shataw electrical stations based their studies on electricity. At Kraskovo-Malokhouskaya, studies centered on rational scientific agriculture. The Radishchev School focused on labor problems working closely with the nearby factories.

By the early thirties, however, the theories of Pestalozzi and Dewey had succumbed to the exigencies of the First

Five Year Plan. The programs of Schatzsky, Pinkevitch, and Lunacharsky were relegated to historical footnotes in the dialectics of Marxist history. Nevertheless, these served as models for other developing socialist countries.

In a recent visit to Cuba (Sears, 1983), I found schools dotting the countryside. Governance of the countryside school was in the hands of two councils. One was comprised of representatives from the student organization, communist party, administrators, workers, and the young communist union. Another council was composed of parents and residents of the surrounding community. In each municipality there was an educational authority operating under double subordination: first, to the Ministry of Education which had jurisdiction over pedagogy, curriculum, and evaluation; and, second, the local agency of the *poder popular* which enforced and implemented guidelines issued by the ministry or the municipality.

Manual labor, class struggle, and production were integrated into the curriculum. Centering around the production of a single crop, coeducational student bodies of 500 were divided into groups responsible for particular aspects of production of a crop or commodity. Within the school, students selected monitors from among their peers whose tasks included leading discussions, tutoring, and assuming leadership positions in classes taught via television. Students constructively evaluated the work of their peers and teachers through self-criticism. Students also taught courses which they had successfully completed.

The inability of teacher training programs to bridge theory and practice, and work with study is a major curricular problem. Early field experiences, for example, are divorced from social foundations courses. The Quixotic search for heightened professional status is not related to the struggles of others in factories, in organizations, and in shops for greater autonomy and power in the workplace. The culture of the university is perceived to reward scholarly publication more than community service (Sears, 1984A). A reconceptualized teacher education curriculum ought

to endeavor to bring preservice teachers to grips with the realities of classroom life while grounding that contact with a conceptual understanding and a theoretical underpinning.

Emancipating: Exposing Contradictions and Making Connections

No man and no mind was ever emancipated by being left alone.

John Dewey (1954:216)

Human emancipation cannot emerge from only one realm of necessity, one set of social relations. It cannot come from a transformation in the public realm that expects a merely reflexive transformation in the private realm. It must emerge from an understanding of the dialectical movement within and between the relations of reproduction and production that makes it entirely possible for historical change to be initiated within the social relations of reproduction.

Mary O'Brien (1981:157)

Reviewing Scandinavian and North American ethnic and social movements, Rolland Paulston (1980:257) concluded, "It is not just education, but the mobilization of people around painful structural binds and realistic dreams that changes societies." Many of the programs discussed in this paper fused social understanding with lived experiences. They related personal experience to objective social conditions. They nurtured personal-political growth from the seeds of the participants' history and culture. Each person was touched "through the portals of his own endeavor in terms of his own labor, his own language and his own logic" (Slessinger, 1937:290). Through gaining a sense of their history, in feeling a sense of craftsmanship and exercising control over their labor power, and expressing themselves as sexual beings, a person's sense of self and her relationships with others can be transformed. Such programs were not curricularized; they grew out of the experiences of oppression and social contradictions. They were emancipating.

Four generations ago a study of teacher training schools

(Allen, 1917:94) concluded, "A very large porportion of the subject matter is beyond the comprehension of the students and wholly unsuited to the needs of students." A final comment, made a generation ago (Sarason, Davidson, & Blatt, 1962:118), remains accurate:

One of the major reasons so many teachers are dissatisfied with themselves in their work is that their training did not illuminate the nature of *their* learning process and how this relates to and affects the learning process of their pupils. They teach, but in the process they tend neither to give expression to their own experiences as a learner or to perceive the identity between themselves and their pupils. As a result, the teacher does tend to function as a technician who applies rules which are contradicted both by her own learning experiences and her pupils' unproductive learning.

Social Discord. Conflict is a tool of emancipation. Originally, Horton journeyed to the Cumberland with "solutions to problems that people didn't have." He learned, though, from the people of Grundy County. He learned to relate and to identify with them. He learned to relinquish his role as "teacher." He learned to connect concerns and personal histories with social conflicts. Located in one of the eleven poorest counties in the nation, he learned to assist people in organizing themselves against the economic power of mine owners and against the racial oppression of a white majority.

In an emancipating curriculum, it is sometimes necessary to load a situation emotionally by involving people in social conflicts in which they have vested interests. The Wilder strike of 1933 illustrates this principle. During a long and bitter labor action, the strike leaders met to determine whether to accept the meager concessions of the mine owner. After a long and stormy debate, no consensus was reached. In desperation, one of the men held a revolver to Horton's head, demanding a solution to the problem. Horton refused. The man broke down crying (Horton, 1938).

The willingness of teacher educators to say, "no", to withstand pressures from frustrated men and women anxiously demanding solutions divorced from contemplation, conflict, and pain, is necessary. Seeking better to enable workers to gain control over their own education and lives, instructors at Bryn Mawr's summer school for working women were disappointed.⁷ These women, prizing the words of a teacher, responded poorly to group discussion. Some instructors felt a need to exercise greater control in the long-term interest of their students. Yet, these feelings were resisted. Slowly, participants assumed control through the skill of the instructors who brought forth these women's experiences (Carter, 1932:373):

A few of the bolder spirits now even dared to disagree with the opinions of the teachers. At first this brought a gasp of horror from the majority. About the end of the second week, the English class turned itself into a discussion of *discussion* as a teaching method, and of education as a reconstruction of experience.

Teacher educators, too, must enter into this world of social conflict and personal dilemma. Several years ago, Madeleine Grumet (1978:313) wrote:

I can no longer relegate distancing to its comfortable place in phenomenological theory and disregard the tension that my students' response to it disclosed. I still identify that tension between the familiar and the strange as the ground for growth, and despite my own sense of vulnerability in the fact of their resistance, resolve to continue to ask students to examine their experience of curriculum...although I often wish that I could just place 'Some of These Days' on the phonograph, attribute its limitations to scratches on the record, the dullness of the needle, lecture on the history of jazz, and leave it at that.

Struggling with the problems of dealing with the experience of students, educators can begin to liberate themselves from ivory tower theorizing. Unquestionably, pedagogues engaged in such activities confront feelings to which the typical

professor is never exposed. William Pinar (Pinar & Grumet, 1976:176), reflecting on a team-taught undergraduate teacher education course employing *currere* -- an approach that grounds curricular experience to personal history and present feelings through the use of autobiographical methods, discussions, free associations, and role playing--captures this well:

To let go of *currere*. To offer it to you, and not predetermine what you should make of it. To abandon my point of view and enter yours. Now I can see, on your scale not mine, what work you do, what movement you make.

Then I discover you don't interest me. Very few of you interest me, and then only a little. Is it because you're so young, just twenty-one?...I can't bear to watch you play undergraduate, not earnest, not wholehearted, not believing your time, my time, matters absolutely. I want to tell Mom and Dad on you. I want to shake you in their absence.

Again, back in this place: I can't shake you. I have to treat where you are with respect. I know that's pedagogical principle. I know that's the psychological law. You won't move unless I endorse where you are. Then you feel safe enough to probe. Damn the fear. There's no time to probe. You seem lost to me, and only a shock has a chance.

I make myself shocking. In return you give me anger and distrust.

If educators are to avoid arrogance or paternalism, then there must be a genuine commitment by both student and professor to share personal insights, to grapple with the non-empirical, and to venture beyond heavily trodden paths. There must be a pause. "Sometimes if you want to change," commented a junior IU faculty member, "there has to be what I call a 'significant interruption'. It's like things have to stop."

Social Discourse. Distorted communication is common in teacher training situations. Inconsistencies exist between

verbal and non-verbal cues, meanings are excluded from discourse, and there is a deceptive consensus about beliefs and norms. (Sears, 1984A) Discourse can be emancipating if concealed patterns of distorted communication are eliminated, and their underlying repressive social structure disclosed. Group *discussion* is an important tool for emancipating people. Discussion should incorporate elements central to logotherapy (Farby, 1981); participants have the right to decline answering, to be accepted by each member of the group, and to expect personal communication.

The staff at Highlander refused to lead or dominate group discussions. They encouraged others to participate and share their experiences. Seldom did the staff intervene to redirect the conversations toward their ends. Learning "not to convert, but to bring forth" (Adams, 1975:328), they facilitated non-defensive communication. Participants did not feel that the staff was attempting to alter its attitudes or behavior. They perceived the staff aligned with them in the pursuit of common goals. There were no assumptions that participants were ignorant, immature, inadequate, or ill-informed. Gibb (1968:609) has termed this approach "problem orientation":

When the sender communicates a desire to collaborate in defining a mutual problem in seeking its solution, he tends to create the same problem orientation in the listener, and of greater importance, he implies that he has no predetermined solution, attitude, or method to impose. Such behavior is permissive in that it allows the receiver to set his own goals, make his own decisions, and evaluate his own progress—or to share with the sender in doing so.

In short, such pedagogical encounters necessitate that student and teacher each be "willing to be transformed by the other" (Pinar, 1980).

The conclusion of a national study of teacher training institutions nearly one-half century ago remains accurate:

The faculty of any institution...should possess a high

degree of contagious enthusiasm for teaching and a sincere interest in the students as prospective teachers in the public schools. Survey data would indicate that a majority of the staff members of many such institutions are not primarily or even seriously interested ... (National Society of Colleges of Teacher of Education, 1935:230)

There are and have been exceptions. For example, at Teachers College during the twenties and thirties:

Guided discussion by students, directed to the solution of problems, has dominated methods of instruction rather than the handing out of materials through lectures organized entirely by the instructor. Carrying this approach one step further, the seminar often has been divided into small discussion groups...designed to carry further the study of the subject matter of the seminars, to enable every student to participate as fully as possible in the work of the seminars, and to give group practice in discussion methods, policy-making, and planning. (Everden & Butts, 1942:47)

The use of *consciousness-raising* techniques is another tool for emancipation. This, of course, has been central to the women's movement. Linking feminism and Marxism, Catharine MacKinnon (1982:536-7) has elaborated on the role of consciousness-raising in both feminist theory and method:

Through consciousness raising, women grasp the collective reality of women's conditions from within the perspective of that experience, not from outside it. The claim that a sexual politics exists and is socially fundamental is grounded in the claim of feminism to women's perspectives, not from it. Its claim to women's perspectives is its claim to truth. In its account of itself, women's points of view contain a quality analogous to that of the Marxist proletariat: determined by the reality the theory explodes, it thereby claims special access to that reality.

The personal *is* the political. Our actions, beliefs, aspirations, and the way we conceptualize the world are inextricably connected to the political culture.

Consciousness-raising, then, is a method to engage students in a personal exploration of their history, anxieties, and dreams. Through this method, connections between lived experiences and their psycho-social condition are made. Through concretizing abstractions, connections between women's personal experiences and the political milieu can be made. Through "speaking bitterness" the oppressed, organizing around their oppression, confront their fears and aspirations and, in solidarity, may confront their oppressor.

Do preservice teachers desire a change in consciousness? Most preservice teachers at IU anxiously await socialization into the everyday reality of the schoolhouse. They want to know what works (Sears, 1984b). Darla, a sandy-haired secondary major, said it succinctly. "Teacher education should enable me to understand what other people are looking for in a teacher." 'Other people' too easily translates into male administrators seeking teachers willing to accept authority and a subservient role in the school hierarchy.

This role has been the norm for women in teaching. Historically, dependent on men for social mobility, protection, and economic support, women have sought professional fulfillment through the only avenues available to them within a patriarchal society: marriage, motherhood, and the social services (nursing, teaching, and social work). Success within the domestic arena has been defined in terms of satisfying the physical and psychosexual needs of others. Within the workplace, the female role as helpmate and nurturer has been fully exploited. "Learned helplessness," exaggerated qualities of femininity, a loss of social-emotional qualities, a conflation of a male perspective with *the* human one, and a deemphasis on intellectual growth are manifestations of such role definitions (Daly, 1978; Deem, 1980; Dinnerstein, 1976; Kelly and Nihlen, 1982; Kimmel, 1980; and Mitrano, 1981).

I acknowledge Mitrano's (1981) criticism that, often, those proposing self-study for preservice teachers are generally men prescribing activities for others, generally women, to pursue. What I have in mind, though, resembles an application of *currere* (Pinar, 1975a; 1975b; Pinar & Grumet, 1976) to teacher training in which personal connections are made and social contradictions exposed. That is, a program which grounds curricular experience to personal history and present feelings through the use of autobiographical methods, discussions, free associations, and role playing.

The unearthing of experiences and memories can have enormous ramifications. As in Shaw's *Bury the Dead*, one of the generals, attempting to force six deceased privates into their graves, observed: "Wars can be fought and won only when the dead are buried and forgotten." The task of a reconceptualized teacher education curriculum is to create conditions in which the living, like those dead soldiers, refuse to allow their history to be buried and forgotten.

Humanizing: Experimenting with Self, Experiencing Solidarity

Social education is the operating alternative for dominance, dictatorship, and violence. The adult learner is not merely engaged in the pursuit of knowledge; he is experimenting with himself.

Eduard Lindemann (1936:6)

Learning the language of authentic relationships is much more than a mechanistic learning experience. It means a reexamination of oneself, one's contribution to human relationships, the culture which one lives, and the values to which one is committed.

Chris Argyris (1971:188)

It is always a question of inner decision, of inner choice. ...Better states belong to higher levels of yourself. They are in you, at different levels. You can live in

the basement of higher up.....But you have to see all this for yourself and get to know *where you are in yourself*...One has to learn not only *whom to live with in oneself* but *where to live in oneself*.

Maurice Nicol (1957:162)

In the training of teachers, very little *self-experimentation* is encouraged. Knowledge is reified, and skills are abstracted from the artistry of living. At best, preservice teachers read about progressive methods and receive explanations of radical concepts. Seldom are they confronted with them in their experience as learners. Few teacher education programs are grounded politically, historically, and existentially. At best, students are exposed to revisionist history *taught to them* in a foundations course, or humanistic psychology *explained for them* by a well-meaning third-force educational psychologist. Unlike the programs described in this paper, there is little effort extended to synergistically relate theory and practice. During an era of retrenchment, political conservatism, and the scramble for credit hour production, courses which even *talk about* multiculturalism, affective education, justice, and human dignity are few. Teacher education curricula must encourage participants to inquire, to transcend their taken-for-granted world views, to reconsider their relations with others, to reflect on their experiences, and to assume the responsibility to *act* on their convictions.

Growth Through Work with Self. One aspect of the humanized curriculum is provision of an environment and support structure in which people are free to engage in personal experimentation, to strive toward being. Initiation into the "Fourth Way"—an approach to living which couples eastern philosophy with Western values and ideas—demands years of disciplined study, practice and exercise (8). There are, however, ideas in the work of that wry Armenian mystic G. I. Gurdjieff, that seem applicable to teacher education. Central to these esoteric ideas is the belief that human beings are in a state of sleep; they are marionettes moved by ex-

ternal influences who possess illusions of choice, individuality, and consciousness. That is, the ordinary person's capacity to ponder and reflect on what she or he is talking about and what is being said is limited. The problem, according to Gurdjieff, is that we believe we know what we are talking about and what is being reflected upon, when, in fact, we do not.

This, of course, is an elitist perspective, a charge accepted by Gurdjieff in his iconoclastic allegory, *All and Everything* (1950:901-2).

I (Beelzebub) had full moral right to tell him the truth about myself, because by his attainments he was already...a three-brained being of that planet with whom it is not forbidden for us from Above to be frank.

But at that moment I could in no way do this, because there was also present there the dervish Hardji-Bogga-Eddin who was still an ordinary terrestrial three-brained being, concerning whom, already long before, it was forbidden under oath from Above to the beings of our tribe to communicate true information to any one of them on any occasion whatsoever...This interdiction on the beings of our tribe was made chiefly because it is necessary for the three-brained beings of your planet to have 'knowledge-of-being.' And any information, even if true, gives to beings in general only 'mental knowledge,' and this mental knowledge...always serves beings only as a means to diminish their possibilities of acquiring this knowledge-of-being.

In order to acquire this "knowledge-of-being"—transcending the dream-like state of existence normally referred to as consciousness—Gurdjieff (1950:1233) argued that ordinary people must work on themselves through the "reflecting of reality in one's attention upside down." That is, as human beings we must become aware of our emotions, conscious of our bodies, and mindful of our thoughts through systematic self-observations and rigorous self-discipline—a task that we, even if we are often aware of our true state of being, are nevertheless reluctant to undertake.

As Jung (1955:93) noted, it demands departing the shelter and safety of the familiar:

The person must give himself to the new way completely, for it is only by means of his integrity that he can go farther, and only his integrity can guarantee that his way does not turn out to be an absurd adventure.

For most of us, though, the absurdity lies in the demand to become dead to what we have become in order to be resurrected into what we have the potential of being. But as Ouspensky (1949:118) noted, few people are willing to undergo this transformation:

People who *know* this (that we seldom remember ourselves) already know a great deal. The whole trouble is that nobody knows it. If you ask a man whether he can remember himself, he will, of course, answer that he can. If you tell him that he cannot remember himself, he will either be angry with you, or he will think you an utter fool. The whole of life is based on this, the whole of human existence, the whole of human blindness.

During the past 80 years, a number of teacher education programs have sought to include this component in the curriculum. For example, during the early sixties at Syracuse University a three-year program was organized around a series of seminar blocks beginning with a summer camp counseling experience. The immediate concern was "to help students explore their own current concepts about teaching, education, and school systems." (Corrigan, 1966:34). These initial experiences were designed to explore "self as a prospective teacher." Preservice teachers were given a variety of teaching activities with a *minimum* of prior observation. Analytic study consisting of two three-hour seminars each week followed these initial experiences. At the end of the program, students engaged in a full-semester internship coupled with a weekly seminar. The underlying philosophy of this curriculum component is well stated by Buchanan (1971:616), an IU curriculum innovator:

Love and understanding of others must begin with love and understanding of self. In preparing for the profession of teaching, a profession which demands that an individual be able to care for and nurture others, is the teacher-to-be taught or even given permission to understand and care for himself?

Similarly, Joyce (1984:13), in a recent article, calls on teacher education to include "self-as-teacher" as one element in the professional training program:

An intensive personal counseling component should be developed to help candidates obtain control over their behavior and to understand what is happening to them as people as they learn about their profession and how to perform effectively.

Teacher educators ought to enter into an ethical compact with their students. A felt presence ought to be exerted as their students inch across the perilous tightrope bridging the state of sleep to a level of consciousness. Quite understandably, few faculty feel comfortable in this role. "Once you abdicate your role as dispenser of knowledge," stated a tenured professor, "you have got to be prepared to deal with the student as a person. Frankly, I'm not sure that I am willing to undertake such responsibilities, or could fulfill them even if I made the choice."

Growth Through Work with Others. Echoing Che Guevara, Horton told correspondent Bill Moyers, "You can't be a revolutionary if you don't love people." Loving people means identifying clearly with people's interests and needs, encouraging two-way communication, and destroying barriers that preclude trust, rapport, and understanding. It means transcending conventional roles. It means that "the teacher and student have to feel as members of one group in matters involving their sense of values." (Cartwright, 1951:388).

A variety of educational programs have successfully forged *personal growth through solidarity with the community*. The effort of Hilda Smith at Bryn Mawr, in an eight-week "experiment in creative living" is a fine example

(Carter, 1932:374). On the basis of reading and language abilities, educational background, and interests, students at Bryn Mawr were broken into groups of 20 with two instructors. Groups were integrated through the use of participant observers recording discussions and reporting to other groups. Clapp viewed education dialogically (1939:124):

A community school is not provided—it grows by concurrence and consent. It is a function, never a system.

It is a joint production, the result of living and learning. An ethnographic study of two publicly supported alternative schools by Ann Swidler (1979) illustrates the process and problems associated with replacing an ideology of social control based on hierarchy with one based on community. Here, the ability of the group to weed out uncommitted members, to demand personal and psychological investment, to articulate private feelings publicly, to seek collective forums for discussion and criticism, and to employ successfully the symbols of collective life, become important.

Though students, particularly women, view the enhancement of personal growth through collective experiences as important, there are few opportunities in teacher training. Arthur Combs' work at Gainesville, Vito Perrone's program at the University of North Dakota, and Warren Kallenbach's efforts at San Jose State College have been notable exceptions. For example, preservice teachers entering the Florida Experimental Program are immediately assigned to one of three seminars. These seminars, composed of 30 students and two instructors, then split into two groups meeting formally two hours every week. Students remain in these groups throughout their course of study. During these seminars, students have opportunities to engage in lengthy dialogue. Administratively, the groups are used for counseling, guidance, and record keeping (Klassen, 1973).

Indiana University's Project INSITE, during the sixties, was organized similarly. This accelerated program allowed elementary and secondary majors to spend four years and three summers on campus and in an internship. Within this integrated and intimate program, students participated in

liberalizing seminars in the natural sciences, social studies, and humanities; a professional semester integrating educational psychology, methods, and student teaching; and, a one-semester resident teaching internship. A major aspect of this curriculum was the interpersonal relationships developed among students and instructors.

Politicizing: Dirtying One's Hands

To mention the economic characteristics of capitalism is not enough. There are questions one must ask of a different sort. Have you seen the mourners, the miserable widows and broods of orphans? Watched the scramble for money, felt the lack of it? Have you attended an overcrowded protest meeting and heard "Sacco and Vanzetti are dead?" Then only will you know what capitalism really means.

Raymond & Charlotte Koch (1972:93)
Worker-educators

We want to know the things the ordinary school does not tell us about. When I read ancient history and I was told that Nebuchadnezzar (or whatever that fellow's name was), built the hanging gardens for the mistress he liked, I thought he was a wonderful man, such a chivalrous man, but now when I think of the number of slaves that built those gardens, I want to know what was the price those slaves paid for the caprice of one man for the caprice of one woman...We want education, the real kind, not the taffy, not the sugar-coated stuff.

Jennie Matyos (1921:96)
Worker-student

Educational strategies which include a stress on humanistic values and personal growth, of course, are neither original nor revolutionary. Allowing children to "become" does not alter the conditions under which they must work. When self-consciousness dwarfs social-consciousness, when self-understanding for a few takes precedence over improving the standard of living for the many, then we have lost the

essence of education. Over-emphasizing the power of the individual, people are abandoned to lonely struggles with the forces of privilege, wealth, and power. Humanizing the curriculum "may sensitize us to the symptoms of our age, and thus must be continued...It does not enable us to go to the next step and commit ourselves to effective action to change them." (Apple, 1977:326).

Concerns for social ethics and economic justice are seldom included in the curricular brew of teacher training. The heroic and the revolutionary become aberrations as students pursue certification requirements and schools meet accreditation standards. Curricula which emphasize multiculturalism, affective education, and human dignity are the exceptions in this era of Mortimer Adler and Terrence Bell. Teacher Education programs which encourage students to transcend their world views, reconsider their relationships with others, and assume responsibility to act upon their convictions are not to be found in state mandated requirements.

The process of becoming personally involved in *social action* is essential in politicizing curriculum. This curriculum component may be the most difficult to implement:

The worlds of poverty and pain are worlds with which recently trained teachers often cannot or do not wish to cope. The nation's future teachers are 'interracially inexperienced'; they tend to prefer teaching the children of white-collar groups; and over 40% of them have spent 'most of their life (sic) in their present city, town or county.' They have, in very large proportion, been trained in small country towns or college towns and sent to work in model suburban schools. And when they become teachers, they are likely to support their church or their state educational association but unlikely to take much interest in civil liberties groups or even in political associations which ask that they do more than vote. They are, to turn Eliot's phrase backward, 'decent Godly people whose monument,' were they not teachers, would "be the asphalt road and

a few thousand lost golf balls.' (Olson, 1972:31).

Nevertheless, the politicization of preservice teachers is a task that cannot be shirked.

In an outline of a curriculum for a community secondary school, Horton (1938:291) advocated initiating social action at the local level:

Domestic ideals should be contrasted with infringement of civil liberties familiar to children of working people ...Studies could be made of segregation and inequality of opportunity...poverty and insecurity...the relationship of economics to imperialistic war...Such studies should lead to a critical attitude toward political democracy and the knowledge of its limitations without a basis in economic democracy.

Many progressive schools incorporated *community action* into their curriculum. At the Arthurdale experiment in West Virginia, Elsie Clapp strengthened the lives of people whose communities were economically and psychologically stranded. Activities were conducted in concert with the needs and interests of these people. The community was a laboratory within which children gained educational experiences. The history of the area, for example, was used in the study of social science. The problems of water and milk contamination were addressed by students at the biological laboratory. The diverse resources of the community were tapped through a monthly magazine.

At the Open School in St. Paul a course, "Protecting your rights and money," is offered. Students work with members of their neighborhood to resolve consumer problems. A sophomore, enrolled in this class, remarked:

When I was in Highland Park we read about cases or problems in social studies and discussed them. At this school we do it. We take the case, call the people, and get things done. (Nichols, 1976:19)

"Getting things done," of course, means protecting individual property rights, not expanding the economic rights of an entire socio-economic class.

A few teacher educators with whom I spoke discussed this issue:

Teachers I think have not been conscious of the fact that there are whole sets of ethical problems that are concerned with what they do. The right that they have to change people. The right that they have in terms of presenting their own values and their own viewpoints in learning situations...

These ethical issues must be a subject of inquiry. Ultimately, though, there needs to be a resurrection of the Teachers College standard of training teachers wherein social action and social reform become cornerstones of the curriculum (Cremin, 1954). Teacher training curricula which lack this politicizing element strengthen the existing social structure. Most teacher educators divorce learning from direct political action:

For the school to study the underlying causes of a local strike by every possible means is just good sense, for such a study is necessary if students are to become intelligent. For the school to promote the cause of the strikers by sending students to the picket lines to prevent workers from entering the plant is to turn the school into an agency for promoting propaganda. (Alberty, 1947:405)

What is ignored, of course, is that school, an institutional arm of the nation-state, is already a propagandizing agency. The fact that the curriculum may be more holistic, less depersonalizing, and less regimented, should not disguise its ultimate impact: the legitimization and maintenance of values compatible with advanced monopoly capitalism.⁹ Algernon Lee (1922:45), director of the Rand School, argued:

I don't think we should be ashamed of being propagandists. I don't know how we are going to get anywhere, how we are going to accomplish anything in the reorganization of society.....without the carrying over of ideas, or the awakening of ideas in the minds of great masses of people, and I take it that every effort to carry ideas over or to arouse ideas in other people's mind is propaganda.

The best, most humanistically oriented teacher training institutions awaken within preservice teachers humaneness and develop positive self-concepts. In another world where children do not starve, where the aged do not freeze or die in loneliness, where their governments do not subsidize vicious military regimes, and where economic policies are not geared toward the affluent, such institutions could be applauded. However, if children of the twenty-first century are to understand such injustices, then a sense of human decency and compassion must be activated. The teachers of these children must be politicized. Maslow without Marx is insufficient.

Generally, the actions of teacher trainers have been transformed into innocuous activities:

We in the colleges are not stimulating the students enough to make them evangelists of new ideas. Instead, we overload them with restrictive instructions during the orientation meetings and ask them to be very cautious, since public schools accept student teachers on a voluntary basis. Common instructions are:

-Don't forget that you are guests in the school to which you are going.

-Remember that you are there to learn.

-The class into which you are going belongs to Miss So and So. Do not upset her routine.

-Make sure you check with the teacher on everything you must do. (Kaltsounis & Nelson, 1968:279)

Sadly, this assessment of field experiences a decade and half ago remains valid. Speaking to faculty members responsible for overseeing teacher training at Indiana University, a field experience coordinator emphasized:

-We want students to serve the schools.

-Their role at the school is only to observe, not to bother people.

-They can't ask questions which generate unsafe information about the school system.

-It is most important that we sell our needs to the

public schools.

Experience overwhelms principle; passive acceptance supplants a critical stance; accommodation supercedes innovation. "No comprehensive *theoretical base* exists for teacher education in general, or for the laboratory phases of teacher preparation." (Bosley, 1969:164; emphasis in the original).

The solution is *not* to refuse to work with public schools. The issue is not whether preservice teachers ought to be sent into the field. Rather, it is the nature and quality of their experiences. Field work is a powerful professionalizing experience (Gibson, 1976; Salzillo & Van Fleet, 1977; Tabachnick, *et al.*, 1979-80). The question is, as it is presently organized, can field work empower, emancipate, politicize, and humanize teacher education students and those with whom they work? At present, in Indiana, the answer is no. Observed one teacher educator:

They're getting a heavy dose of realism, but they're not getting much in the way of what can we do about changing it.

Zeichner (1981-82:12) has outlined the components of a campus-based seminar that encourages reflective action rather than reinforces a utilitarian orientation. These are:

- 1) helping students to take a "critical" approach in the examination of educational issues or classroom problems; 2) helping students to see beyond the "paradigms" which circumscribe conventional thought about classroom practice; 3) helping students to develop a sense of the history of their own particular classroom and to examine the rationales underlying classroom and school regularities; 4) helping students to examine their own assumptions and biases and how these affect their classroom practice; and 5) helping students to examine critically the processes of their own socialization as teachers.

Teacher training curricula, promoting intellectual or psychological growth, without encouraging students to, in Sartre's phrase, "dirty one's hands," are effective instruments for reproducing the social order. Teacher training programs

permitting the specialization and development of skills through more individualized or personalized environments, without providing the learner opportunities to inquire into their reasons and consequences are political wastelands. At the minimum

in the present state of social, economic, and political affairs there is a peculiarly pressing demand that teachers of teachers be liberal and informed in these fields. The liberality should be the result of extensive information on all phases of the more important controversial issues in these fields. Solutions to these issues are now being demanded; but before solutions can be obtained, there must be frank discussion and constructive proposals based upon fundamental principles. (National Society, 1935:231)

One such teacher education program which existed during the late sixties was the University of Connecticut's "Educating Teachers for the City." Ninety percent of the educational environment was provided by the ghetto; 10% was provided by formal seminars. Preservice teachers were exposed to the ghetto's informal power structure and the realities of ghetto life. Participants engaged in discussion and analysis of in-the-street education with community leaders as they lived and worked in the inner-city. Nevertheless, fifteen years later, the need and desirability of such programs continued to be suggested:

Teacher education students must study the cultures of the children or youth they are to teach. 'Live-in' internships spaced periodically throughout a preparation program, are becoming one vehicle through which prospective teachers develop a more culturally pluralistic ideology. It is not enough to simply have a field experience in a school with an ethnic group different from the student teacher. (Branch, 1981:24)

A variety of techniques can be used to politicize teacher education. For example, long ago Tucker Smith, Muste's successor at Brookwood, recognized (1934:305) that plays... are tools for analyzing, describing, and teaching the

problems and methods of the class struggle. Indirectly they do much to free and to express the emotions of workers--on both sides of the footlights--and are usually quite entertaining.

Created out of the experience of working people, "On the Picket Line," "Job Huntin' ", "Scene in the Emergency Work Office," and "Until the Mortgage Is due" are titles of Worker dramatics¹⁰ which dealt with issues of importance to them and reflected their struggle, convictions, and the genuine drama of their experiences. Developed from the remembrances of preservice teachers' roles as students, and their anxiety over their future role as teachers, "Scenes from the Teachers Lounge," "Whither a Student Council?" and "When the Textbook Committee Comes Knock, Knock, Knockin' at Your Door" are fictional titles of dramatic productions I can envision in a teacher education program that deals substantively with professionalism, political power, bureaucratic skills, and organizational strategies.

In order for the politicizing component to be effectively implemented in the curriculum, teacher educators must be given institutional support. Charles Judd's (1938:22) admonition to administrators fifty years ago remains poignant:

Teacher-preparing institutions should realize that the discovery and preparation of new and inspiring curriculum materials...are important forms of productive scholarship and that the solution of problems of school administration by the invention and scientific testing of new devices is as intellectually challenging as any form of scholarly effort. They could then create an institutional atmosphere quite as stimulating as that of other institutions of higher education and far more appropriate to their peculiar mission as publicly supported institutions than the atmosphere which would result from the effort to carry on the type of research performed by university departments engrossed in investigations along purely academic lines.

A reconceptualized teacher education curriculum must challenge its students to investigate the locus of community power and demystify social relations. At present, teacher training institutions graduate few students who, like Faulkner's character Gavin Stephens, possess a vision of the common good and act out of that vision.

Conclusion

Whether a new social order, predicated on economic justice and human dignity, will be realized is problematic. Like Sisyphus, in the ancient legend, teacher educators have a moral imperative to push the rock up the mountain. Whether we will ever reach the summit, despite the apparent absurdity of our efforts, is for posterity to judge. We have, though, an ethical responsibility to act out of our convictions. We must be willing to "man the barricades," risking security, reputation, and advancement. We must, as Kozol (1983) admonishes us, have the courage and foresight to "fight battles big enough to matter, but small enough to win."

As teacher educators, we must not lose George Counts' (1932:4) admonition in the corridors of time:

Any individual or group that would aspire to lead society must be ready to pay the costs of leadership: to accept responsibility, to suffer calumny, to surrender security, to risk reputation and fortune.

However, unlike Counts, I do not expect educators to be the sole or the primary agents for social reconstruction. We are, like many other professional groups, impotent unless we collaborate with scholars from other disciplines and with practitioners within our own field.

In closing, as one among many advocating radical change, the words of James T. Adams (1933:312), in his critique of Counts, are worth contemplating:

One is staggered at the ease with which such a problem is stated for hard worked teachers to solve. It may be questioned whether any one, or any group, here and now in 1933 can solve these social problems.

Fifty years have passed since George Counts stirred the emotions and intellects of educators, many of whom talked through the night following his call for them to become the architects of a new social order. With a greater understanding of the history of social change, a deeper sense of humility in our role as educators and theoreticians, and a keener appreciation of the necessity to ground our theory in practice, I ask, "Dare we educate teachers to work toward a new social order?"

* * *

Endnotes

1. The concept of ideological hegemony was first articulated by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. Accordingly, through social institutions, a set of values and attitudes supportive of the social order and those dominating it are disseminated. "To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the broad masses, it becomes part of 'common sense'...For hegemony to assert itself successfully in any society, therefore, it must operate in a dualistic manner: as a general conception of life for the masses, and as a scholastic program or set of principles which is advanced by a sector of the intellectuals" (Boggs, 1976:39). The development of counter hegemonic programs is a central task of the radical educator (Lather, 1983; Shor, 1980; Wood, 1983).
2. Transplanted from Great Britain, worker-colleges were well established in the United States by the twenties. More than 300, ranging from the radical Jefferson School, the Rand School of Social Science, Brookwood Labor Institute, Commonwealth, and the Workers Schools

to more moderate schools such as Black Mountain College, the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin and the Hudson Shore Labor School were in existence (Brameld, 1941; Dweyer, 1977; Hansom, 1931). Mark Starr, a leading proponent of worker's education, noted that the goal unifying these programs was "not to raise yourself as an individual, but to raise the class to which you belong." (Dropkin & Tobier, 1976:22).

3. In this context, I refer to those schools, operating during the first two generations of the twentieth century, whose curricular, pedagogical, and evaluational strategies generally reflected the educational philosophies espoused by men such as Childs, Bode, and Kilpatrick; that is, (1) an unwavering faith in human rationality and in the capacity for intelligent choice and action, (2) an unwavering conviction that personal and social experiences ought to dominate the curriculum, and (3) the idealized conception of the learner as an information-seeking, meaning-making, creative organism.

4. It is, of course, the conceptualization and articulation of this concept that is central to Shor's (1980) work.

5. For example, Giroux, 1978; Norton & Ollman, 1978; Shor, 1980.

6. These experimental programs were as diverse as the Russian people. Isadora Duncan operated a school for the performing arts. In the Vyatskaya *gub'niya* an aesthetic curriculum, taught by educators of the old intelligentsia, developed. Marenko established his first children's colony in the Ukraine at Poltava. Schatzsky's "Colony of Cheerful Life" flourished in rural northern Russia. For excellent reviews of these and other experimental programs consult: Counts, 1928; Dewey, 1929; Fitzpatrick, 1970; Goode, 1929; King, 1937; Kirkpatrick, 1926; Nearing, 1926; Pinkevitch, 1929; Wilson, 1928; Woody, 1932;

7. Bryn Mawr summer school, established in 1921, provided women workers from all parts of the country the opportunity to participate in an intensive living-learning experience. This program permitted one hundred women to share experiences, develop skills, and build solidarity (Carter, 1932; Cook & Douty, 1958; Schneider, 1941).

8. The First Way, the Way of the Fakir, works primarily on the physical center; The Second Way, the Way of the Monk, is essentially work on the emotional center; The Third Way, the Way of the Yogi, focuses on the mental center. The Fourth Way encourages simul-

taneous work on all of these centers (Nichol, 1957). This concept of simultaneity is reflected in the homily of Abba Dorotheus, an abbot living several centuries before the great 11th century schism between East and West:

He who builds a house puts up walls on all four sides at once, and is not concerned with only one, for then his labour and expenses would be wasted. So it is with a man, who wants to build the house of the soul; he must not take care of only one side of his building, but must build it evenly and harmoniously (Kadlousousky & Palmer, 1976:173).

9. For example, Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Carnoy & Levin, 1976; Feinberg, 1977; Oliver, 1976; Popkewitz, 1979.

10. Some socialist Sunday Schools, too, made extensive use of drama in their curriculum:

"The Strike of Santa Claus." In it, Santa announces a shocking fact: he has gone on strike, so there will be no presents at Christmas. He explains to a few concerned children that before, all of the parents and relatives helped him bring goodies to all the children. Now, however, (Santa continues) "big business and the Trusts have got it fixed so that none but the rich can help me at all. The poor are so busy working long and hard to get enough to eat and wear that they have no time left to do a single thing about Christmas." To protest this situation, Santa had to strike. The only way to give Christmas back to the poor and end the strike was to vote for the Socialist ticket in future elections (Teitelbaum & Reese, 1980:25).

* * *

References

- Adams, F. (1975). Highland folk school: Getting information, going back and teaching it. In D. Oliver (Ed.), *Education and community* (pp. 320-345). Berkeley: McCutchan.
- Adams, J. T. (1933). Can Teachers Bring About the New Society? *Progressive Education*, 1933, 9-10 (Dec.-Jan.), 310-314.
- Alberty, H. (1947). *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*. New York: Macmillan.
- Apple, M. (1977). *Humanism and the Politics of Educational Argumen-*

- tation*. In R. Weller (Ed.), *Humanistic Education: Vision and Realities* (pp. 315-330). Berkeley: McCutchan.
- (1983). *Ideology and Practice in Education*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Argyris, C. (1971). *Management and Organizational Development*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Becker, H. (1962). The nature of the profession. In H. Becker (Ed.), *Education for the Profession* (pp. 27-46). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boggs, C. (1976). *Gramsci's Marxism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America*. New York: David McKay.
- Borrowman, M. (1956) *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education*. New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications.
- Brameld, T. (1941). *Workers' Education in the United States*. New York: Harper.
- Brookwood Labor College. (1932-33). *Brookwood Labor College: Twelfth Anniversary Review*. Katonah, NY: Brookwood Labor College.
- Buchanan, M. (1971). Preparing Teachers to be Persons. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 52 (10), 614-617.
- Carnoy, M. & Levin, H. (1976). *The Limits of Educational Reform*. New York: David McKay.
- Carter, J. (1932). Experimenting in Worker's Education. *Progressive Education*, 9 (May), 372-274.
- Cartwright, D. (1951). Achieving Change in People: Some Applications of Group Dynamics Theory. *Human Relations*, 4 (4), 381-393.
- Clapp, E. (1939). *Community Schools in Action*. New York: Viking.
- Clark, D. (1980) In consideration of goal-free planning: The failure of traditional planning systems in education. In M. Carrol, et al., *New perspectives on planning in educational organizations*. San Francisco, CA: Far West Laboratory.
- & Guba, E. (1976). Contextual factors affecting individual and institutional behavior in schools, colleges, and departments of education. Bloomington: Indiana University, Research on Institutions of Teacher Education.
- Clark, S. (1962). *Echo in My Soul*. New York: Dutton.

- Cook, A. & Douty, A. (1958). *Labor Education Outside the Unions*. Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial Relations.
- Corrigan, D. (1966). *Conference on Implications of Recent Research on Teaching for Teacher Education*. Washington, DC: Commission on the Implications of Recent Research in Teaching.
- Counts, G. (1928). *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade* (pp. 268-303). New York: John Day.
- (1932). *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* New York: John Day.
- Daly, K. (1977). *A Study of the 1976 Graduates of a School of Education's Teacher Education Program*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 150 104)
- Deem, R. (1980). *Schooling for Women's Work*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Dewey, J. (1929). *Impressions of Soviet Russia and the Revolutionary World, Mexico, China, Turkey*. New York: Teachers College.
- (1954). *The Public and its Problems*. Chicago: Swallow.
- Dinnerstein, D. (1976). *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise*. New York: Harper.
- Doyle, (1977-78). The Practicality Ethic in Teacher Decision-making. *Interchange*, 8 (3), 1-12.
- Dropkin, R. & Tobier, A. (1976). *Roots of Open Education in America*. New York: Workshop Center for Open Education.
- Dwyer, R. (1977). Worker's Education, Labor Education, Labor Studies: An Historical Delineation. *Review of Educational Research*, 47 (1), 179-207.
- Everden, S., & Butts, R. (1942). *Columbia University Cooperative Program for the Pre-service Education of Teachers*. New York: Teachers College.
- Farby, J. (1981). Logotherapy in Sharing Groups. In G. Gazda (Ed.), *Invitations to Group Psychotherapy*. (pp. 21-64). (2nd ed.) Springfield, IL: Thomas.
- Farr, R. et al. (1973). Reorganization of the Division of Teacher Education. *Teacher Education Forum*, 2 (1).
- Feinberg, W. (1977). A critical analysis of the social and economic limits to the humanizing of education. In R. Weller (Ed.), *Humanistic Education: Vision and Realities*. (pp. 249-86). Berkeley: McCutchan.

- Feistritzer, E. (1983). *Conditions of Teaching: A State by State Analysis*. New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
- Fitzpatrick, S. (1970). *The commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts Under Lunacharsky*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibb, J. (1968). Defensive communication. In W. Bennis, et al. (Eds.), *Interpersonal Dynamics* (pp. 606-612). Homewood, IL: Dorsey.
- Gibson, R. (1976). The effect of school practice: The development of student perspectives. *British Journal of Teacher Education*, (), 241-250.
- Ginsburg, M. (1981, April). *Socialization of Preservice Teachers and the Reproduction/Transformation of Society*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Los Angeles, CA.
- ; (1983, April). *Preservice Teachers' Conceptions of Curriculum: Implications for Reproduction/Transformation*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Canada.
- Giroux, H. (1978). Writing and Critical Thinking in Social Studies. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 8 (Winter), 291-310.
- ; (1981a). *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- (1980). Teacher Education and the Ideology of Social Control. *Journal of Education*, 162 (Winter), 5-27.
- Goode, W. (1929). *Schools, Teachers, and Scholars in Soviet Russia*. London: Williams & Norgate.
- Gregory, T. & Smith G. (1983, April). *Differences Between Alternative and Conventional Schools in Meeting Students' Needs*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association. Montreal, Canada.
- Grumet, M. (1978). Songs and Situations: The Figure/Ground Relation in a Case Study of Currere. In G. Willis (Ed.), *Qualitative Evaluation* (pp. 276-315). Berkeley: McCutchan.
- Gurjeff, G. I. (1950). *All and Everything*. New York: Harcourt/Brace.
- Hansome, M. (1931). *World Worker's Educational Movements*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hart, J. (1927). *Light From the North*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Help! Teachers Can't Teach! (1980, June 16). *Time*, pp. 54-60.
- Horton, M. (1938) The community folk school. In Samuel Everett (Ed.), *The community school* (pp. 265-297). New York: Appleton.

- Howe, F. (1976). Feminism and the Education of Women. In J. Stielm (Ed.), *The Frontiers of Knowledge* (pp. 79-93). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Jencks, C. (1979). *Who gets ahead? The Determinants of Economic Success in America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Joyce, B. & Clift, R. (1984). The Phoenix Agenda: Essential Reform in Teacher Education. *Educational Researcher*, 13 (April), 5-18.
- Judd, C. (1938) *Preparation of School Personnel*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Jung, C. (1955). *The Secret of the Golden Flower*. New York: Wehmar.
- Kadloubousky, E. & Palmer, G. (1976) *Early fathers From the Philokalia*. London: Farver & Farber.
- Kaltsounis, T. & Nelson, J. (1968). The Mythology of Student Teaching *Journal of Teacher Education*, 19 (Fall), 277-281.
- Kelly, G. & Nihlen, A. (1982). Schooling and the Reproduction of Patriarchy. In M. Apple (Ed.), *Cultural and Economic Reproduction* (pp. 162-180). Boston: Routledge & Kegan-Paul.
- Kimmel, E. (1980) On Empowering Women. *Monographs in Urban and Multicultural Education*, 1 (July), 17-26.
- King, B. (1937). *Changing Man: The Education System of the U.S.S.R.* New York: Viking Press.
- Kirkpatrick, J. (1926). Where Schools are Different. *School and Society*, 24 (October), 415-418.
- Klassen, F., et al. (1973). *Innovations in Teacher Education*. Washington, DC.
- Koch, R. & Rock, C. (1972). *Educational Commune: The Story of Commonwealth College*. New York: Schocken.
- Kozol, J. (1983, October). (Interview with James T. Sears).
- Larson, M. (1977). *The Rise of Professionalism*. Berkeley: McCutchan.
- Lather, P. (1983). *Feminism, Teacher Education and Curricular Change: Women's Studies as Counter-hegemonic work*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Lee, A. (1922). The Rand School of Social Sciences. *National Conference on Workers Education in the United States* (pp. 45-49). New York: Workers' Education Bureau of America.
- Lindeman, E. (1936). *Adult Education for Social Change*. Philadelphia: Swathmore College.
- Lunacharsky, A. (1981). *On Education: Selected Articles and Speeches* (R. English, Trans.). Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Lyons, G. (1980). Why Teachers Can't Teach. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 62 (October), 108-112.
- Marker, G., & Schuster, S. (1972). *Teacher Education at Indiana University: A Look Into The Future*. Bloomington: Indiana University, School of Education.
- Matyos, J. (1921). Working Girl and Labor Education. *National Conference on Workers Education in the United States* (pp. 95-96). New York: Workers' Education Bureau of America.
- Mitrano, B. (1981). Feminism and Curriculum Theory: Implications for Teacher Education. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 4 (Summer).
- National Society of College Teachers of Education. (1935). *Studies in Education: The Education of Teachers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nearing, Scott. (1926); *Education in Soviet Russia*. New York: International Publishers.
- Nicol, M. (1957). *Psychological Commentaries*. (Vol. 1). London: Vincent Stuart.
- Nichols, M. (1976). Students Lend Hand, Get Learning Interest. *Minneapolis Star*, (March 25, 2B).
- Norton, T. & Ollman, B. (1978). *Studies in Socialist Pedagogy*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- O'Brien, M. (1981). Feminist Theory and Dialectical Logic. *Signs*, 7 (1), 144-157.
- Oliver, D. (1976). Community and Educational Reform. In D. Oliver (Ed.), *Education and Community* (pp. 3-14). Berkeley: McCutchan.
- Olson, J. (1972). *The University Can't Train Teachers*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. 066 425)
- Ouspensky, P. D. (1949). *The Search for the Miraculous*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Paulson, R. (1980). On the Limits of Educational Alternatives: Seeking Individual and Social Change. In R. Paulston (Ed.), *Other Dreams, Other Schools* (pp. 256-269). Pittsburgh: University for International Studies.
- Pinar, W. (1975a). Currere: Toward reconceptualization. In W. Pinar (Ed.), *Curriculum Theorizing* (pp. 396-414). Berkeley: McCutchan.
- . Search for a Method. (1975b). In W. Pinar (Ed.), *Curric-*

- ulum Theorizing. (pp. 415-424). Berkeley: McCutchan.
- Reply to My Critics. (1980). *Curriculum Inquiry* 10 (July), 199-205.
- Pinar, W. & Grumet, M. (1976). *Toward a Poor Curriculum*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt.
- Pinkevitch, A. (1929). *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*. New York: John Day.
- Popkewitz, T. (1979). Schools and the Symbolic Uses of Community Participation. In C. Grant (Ed.), *Community Participation in Education* (pp. 202-221). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Rueschmeyer, D. (1973). *Lawyers and Their Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sarason, S., Davidson, K., & Blatt, B. (1962). *The Preparation of Teachers*. New York: Wiley.
- Sazillo, F., & Van Fleet, A., (1977). Student Teaching and the Teacher Educator: A Sociological Model of Change. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 18 (Dec.-Jan.), 27-31.
- Schneider, F. (1941). *Patterns of Workers' Education: The Story of the Bryn Mawr Summer School*. Washington, DC: American Council on Public Affairs.
- Sears, J. (1984A). *A Critical Ethnography of Teacher Education Programs at Indiana University: An Inquiry Into the Perceptions of Students and Faculty Regarding Quality and Effectiveness*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Bloomington, Indiana University.
- (1984B). *Everyday Life in a School of Education*. Paper presented at the Sixth Conference in Curriculum Theory and Practice, Dayton, OH.
- (1983). *The Problem of Form in Educational Reform: Learning From the Cuban Experience*. *Changing Schools*, 11 (Summer), 8-10;
- Sharp, R. & Green, A. (1975). *Education and Social Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan-Paul.
- Shor, I. (1980). *Critical Teaching and Everyday Life*. Boston: South End Press.
- Slessinger, Z. (1937). *Education and the Class Struggle*. New York: Couici-Friede.
- Smith, T. (1934). Workers Prepare for Power. *Progressive Education*, 11 (April-May), 303-306.

- Swidler, A. (1979). *Organization Without Authority: Dilemmas of Social Control In Free Schools*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- et al. (1979-80). Teacher Education and the Professional Perspectives of Student Teachers. *Interchange*, 10 (4), 12-29.
- Teitelbaum, K. & Reese, W. (1980, December). *American Socialist Pedagogy and Experimentation in the Progressive Era: The Socialist Sunday School*. Paper presented at the Conference on Beyond the System: New Research on the History of Urban Educators. New York.
- Trout, D. (1943). *The Education of Teachers*. Berrien Springs, MI: College Press.
- Tymitz-Wolf, B. (1984). The New Vocationalism and Teacher Education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 35 (Jan.-Feb.), 21-25.
- University High School. *Were We Guinea Pigs?* New York: Holt, 1938.
- Wallace, W. (1944). et al. *The Story of Holtville*. Nashville: Cullom & Ghertner.
- Waller, W. (1932). *The Sociology of Teaching*. New York: Wiley.
- Waxler, M. (1980), November. Do We Need Certification or Verification? In *Ethics in Teacher Education*. Symposium Conducted at the Indiana University School of Education, Bloomington.
- Willis, M. (1961). *The Guinea Pigs After 20 Years*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Westmead, England: Saxon House.
- Wilson, L. (1928). *The New Schools of New Russia*. New York: Vanguard.
- Wisniewski, R. (1983, April). *The Scholarly Ethos in Schools of Education*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Canada.
- Wood, G. (1983, October). *Education in Appalachia: Power, Powerlessness and the School Curriculum*. Paper presented at the Fifth Conference of Curriculum Theory and Practice. Dayton, OH.
- Woody, T. (1932) *New Minds: New Men?* New York: Macmillan.
- Zeichner, K. (1981-82). Reflective Teaching and Field-Based Experience in Teacher-education. *Interchange*, 12 (4).

DIALOGUE OR ANTI-DIALOGUE?
WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS AS SEEN THROUGH
PAULO FREIRE'S THEORY OF
DIALOGICAL AND ANTI-DIALOGICAL ACTION

Frances Bolin
Teachers College, Columbia University

William Torrey Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education in the 1890's, has been credited with having done more than any other educator to rationalize public school administration.¹ This paper examines the kind of change theory that informed Harris by making use of Paulo Freire's "Theory of Dialogical and Anti-dialogical Action." The first section identifies the major motif that appears in scholarly literature on changing the schools. Dialogical and Anti-dialogical Action is described. The story of William Torrey Harris is then discussed, with view to discovering how he understood school change. Finally, analysis is made of Harris's change theory in light of Freire's categories.

It almost goes without saying that perplexity and frustration await when one attempts to change the schools. Those who interest themselves in the history of curriculum and teaching in the United States will hasten to remind us that this is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, curriculum specialists have long been puzzled over the rigid stability of schools in a society where change seems to be the norm in almost every other facet of life.

A review of scholarly literature on school change over three decades reveals a transition from early hopefulness

in the possibility of changing the schools to a marked pessimism regarding the likelihood, if not the actual ability, of schools to be transformed at the structural level. While a great deal of optimism was generated by massive curriculum projects of the fifties and sixties, this optimism was short lived. Approaches to change in the seventies have generally been more respectful of the complexity of the process of change and have recognized that widely divergent opinions exist with regard to how to approach the problem of change. The viewpoint of the eighties, when seen in retrospect, may well be one *that has accepted* the fact that lasting change in the institution of schooling will not occur if those who are identified as the target of change efforts do not have a major responsibility in identifying the need for change and developing the process by which it will occur.²

Looking at the way William Torrey Harris dealt with the problem and process of change may be seen as an opportunity to better understand the structures of schooling that he helped to create. It may also shed light on how change efforts of today and tomorrow may be most productively directed. Dwayne Huebner pointed out that when one starts talking about *what ought to be*, the history of *what is* becomes important. To be aware of forms that exist in the present "is to be aware of their history, of their sources in human activity and intention, and continually subject them to empirical and social criticism..."³ Furthermore, if "target group" or "user" involvement is likely to be more accounted for in present studies of how to change the schools, it may be useful to look at the work of one who was instrumental in establishing these structures in a way that clearly delineates between maximum and minimum "target group" or "user" control of the change process.

Paulo Freire's theory is used because it focuses on leadership perspectives that are polar opposites. It is assumed that there are other leadership alternatives available to the individual wishing to bring about change; however, the use of polar opposites assumes that each of the array of alternatives between the two extremes is more likely to be reflective

of one extreme position than of the other. This forces one to make a choice. In doing so, one can speculate about whether or not there is tension between *dialogue* and *anti-dialogue* inherent in Harris's work or whether, instead, a clear leadership style emerges. Use of Freire's categories also establishes a means by which one can search for evidence of distortion in dialogue and how, if there is such distortion in Harris's work, it may have contributed to legitimization of particular trends or movements in the history of efforts to change the schools.

It is to be noted that there are limitations to the use of Freire's theory. In this paper focus is on leadership, not on how followers chose to respond to leadership. Freire's theory is applied to understanding of how adults may overcome oppressive leadership without succumbing to oppressive behavior. His work reflects a dialectical perspective that draws upon phenomenology, existentialism, and Christian theology. Use of Freire in the context of this paper removes his work from the reality which it describes. Hence wide application of the present work would distort Freire's work and the intent of this paper. It is hoped that the present work will question rather than define or describe.

A brief summary of Freire's "Theory of Dialogical and Anti-dialogical Action" suggests the kind of information that we might expect to glean from its application in the present context.

Paulo Freire called for historical awareness, urging people to "enter into the historical process as responsible Subjects" through critical, reflective thought and deliberate action.⁴ In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* he explained how oppressive leaders work and how those who are oppressed can overcome their situation through becoming critically aware of their reality, naming that reality together, and, as knowing Subjects, act to transform that reality. Freire identifies two basic leadership perspectives representing distinct and conflicting views of the nature and worth of human beings. These perspectives are the basis of his "Theory of Dialogical

and Anti-dialogical Action." *Dialogue* emphasizes intercommunication based on faith in persons and their possibilities. It suggests that one can become a unique self only to the extent that other persons are free to become themselves. *Anti-dialogue* emphasizes self-sufficiency. In anti-dialogical action the *communiqué* replaces communication. Other persons are seen as important to the extent that they can be manipulated to one's own advantage.⁵

Anti-dialogical Action

Freire characterized anti-dialogical action by use of the terms *conquest*, *divide and rule*, *manipulation*, and *cultural synthesis*. These are seen as tactics of the oppressor.

1) *Conquest* Of conquest Freire said, "The antidialogical man, in his relations with other men, aims at conquering them—increasingly and by every means, from the toughest to the most refined, from the most repressive to the most solicitous (paternalism)."⁶ Conquest reduces persons to the status of things. Leaders urge people to adapt to the world as it exists and view knowledge as something to be handed down to followers.

The implication for curriculum change is that the leader who uses tactics of conquest would be inclined to discover what is "best," perhaps through careful research, then provide materials and appropriate training in their use to teachers so that the "best" program would be implemented. The tough leader would be more exacting. The more paternalistic leader would justify his or her actions on grounds that time was being saved for the teacher or by enlisting the support of teachers to try and make the best of intolerable circumstances. In either case the interests of the leader are preserved. There is oppression and violence in this tactic whether the leader is tough or paternal. It does violence to the critical, reflective, and acting power of teachers and other school people.

2) *Divide and Rule* Freire said that "Dividing in order to preserve the status quo...is necessarily a fundamental of antidialogical action. In addition the dominators try to present themselves as saviors of the men they dehumanize

and divide."⁷ The oppressed are led to believe that they are being defended against outside forces. Activism and sloganizing are tools of this tactic. Applied to the school setting, the curriculum leader, administrator, or supervisor who portrays parents as the enemy or suggests that problems can be attributed to central office interference, difficult children, or trouble makers on the faculty, may be employing this tactic in order to strengthen his or her control. Teachers are rallied around a slogan such as "Back to the Basics" or "One Year's Growth for One Year's Instruction," encouraged that they are part of a significant movement, but deflected from critically examining its basis. The violence in this tactic is in the way it subverts organization by teachers to either resist change or to better understand and work with their own situation so that they may be in the position of proposing changes themselves. Attention is deflected from examining their own reality. Power is taken away from rather than given to teachers.

3) *Manipulation* As Freire described it, manipulation requires the cooperation of those who are being manipulated. It is usually presented in the guise of promoting better understanding between the dominated and dominating forces. The leader seeks to "understand" in order to control.⁸ Applied to curriculum change efforts, this tactic would be likely to surface in human relations models designed to help teachers feel better about implementing changes that are forced upon them.

4) *Cultural Invasion* "In this phenomenon, the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade by curbing their expression."⁹ Strategies of curriculum change that make use of a change agent to increase the likelihood of change are guilty of cultural invasion if the agent is assigned to move people to adopt a preconceived notion of change. The violence in this tactic is that it robs other persons of their own reality. It suggests that the only legitimate reality is the one held or represented by the agent. Again, teachers,

as knowing Subjects, are reduced to objects.

Dialogical Action

Freire described dialogical action as being based on cooperation rather than conquest, *unity for liberation* instead of divide and rule, *authentic organization* over against manipulation, and *cultural synthesis* rather than cultural invasion.

1) *Cooperation* Leaders meet with people in order to "focus their attention on the reality which mediates them and posed as a problem—challenges them." In this cooperative activity leaders do not save the people. No one can unveil the...world for another."¹⁰ Leaders believe in the people and their potential for critical, reflective action. Trust may have to follow action, however, particularly if there has been a history of oppression. In such situations leaders must act on the basis of trust, waiting for people to discover the authentic nature of their efforts.

Curriculum change characterized by cooperation would involve school people working as co-equals to discover the nature of a particular problem and how to go about solving it together.

2) *Unity for Liberation* Freire pointed out that dialogical leaders "dedicate themselves to an untiring effort for unity among the oppressed—and unity of the leaders with the oppressed."¹¹ Attention must be given to authentic understanding of myths that have served to explain situations in such a way as to manipulate people. The reality behind such myths must be identified so that it may be transformed. Slogans must be examined as well.

Taken to school, this tactic would have all school people—administrators, teachers, curriculum workers, supervisors, perhaps even students—working together to achieve an authentic understanding of each other and of their situation. School people would build unity in the face of opposing ideas, recognizing that every person is entitled to work critically and reflectively.

3) *Organization* Freire saw the need for an authentic organization that was possible through the "witness" of

dialogical leaders. This witness would displace manipulative tactics through

consistency between words and actions; *boldness* which urges the witness to confront existence as a permanent risk; *radicalization* (not sectarianism) leading both the witness and the ones receiving that witness to increasing action; *courage to love* (which far from being an accommodation to an unjust world, is rather the transformation of that world in behalf of the increasing liberation of men; and *faith* in people.¹²

In schools the witness would be manifest in actions of leaders who utilized knowledge about psychological needs to further group understanding rather than to control the group. Leaders would not see themselves as holding the solutions to problems but would be part of the solutions. All would share equally in coming to solutions.

4) *Cultural Synthesis* Contradictions between the world view of leaders and the people are to be resolved to the enrichment of both.

In cultural synthesis, the actors who come from "another world" to the world of the people do not come as invaders. They do not come to *teach* or to *transmit* or to give anything, but rather to learn, with the people, about the people's world:

....there are no imposed models. In their stead, there are actors who critically examine reality (never separating this analysis from action) and intervene as Subjects in the historical process.¹³

Educators whose actions could be described as promoting this kind of understanding would recognize that to teach is to be in a position of dependence upon the one being taught. Without a student the teacher does not express his or her vocation. Hence teaching is an act of sharing where giving and receiving are reciprocal. This approach to change would suppose that there are no pre-packaged deals to be implemented without question. Differences between individuals would be met as opportunities to expand in light of the shared reality of the group.

Paulo Freire's description of the "Theory of Dialogical and Anti-dialogical Action" makes clear the tension he sees as inherent in these polar extremes as *cooperation* opposes *conquest*, *unity for liberation* opposes *divided and rule*, *organization* opposes *manipulation*, and *cultural synthesis* opposes *cultural invasion*. It is through these opposites held in tension that we approach the work of William Torrey Harris in order to search for change theory and its possible effect on the curriculum movement.

William Torrey Harris (1835-1909)

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Americans witnessed an expanding industrial economy. Most greeted the application of science to the development of technology with unguarded enthusiasm. There were new jobs, new ways to save time, new ways to fight disease. But science is a two-edged sword. It became clear that the technology that promised hope of better living could destroy as well as heal. Industrial waste, crowding in urban areas, and unequal benefits from the new technology were among the unexpected realities of this new era. Old and complex problems remained while old solutions seemed impotent in the face of a science that challenged faith, morals, and values of the past.

The push for public schooling was on during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Advocates argued for the principle of publically financed and controlled, free elementary schools. Many Americans hoped that schools would have an impact on swelling social problems that the church and family seemed unable to forestall. Into this milieu William Torrey Harris was born, one who would be described as the leading educator of his era.¹⁴

Harris's early experiences were undoubtedly important to his later development as a philosopher and educator. He was born on a farm near North Killingly, Connecticut to an orthodox Congregationalist family. Within his family and church context he must have learned the principles of democratic church governance and the doctrine of "priesthood of the believer," which holds that the individual has

direct access to God through reading and reflection upon the Bible.¹⁵

His early schooling was pieced together like a patchwork quilt. Harris attended no less than six different preparatory schools. As a country boy he was unhappy in city schools. In 1854 he entered Yale where he was unhappy with school and his studies. His years at Yale were apparently a rebellious period for the young Harris. He was discontent. He repudiated much of his early Congregationalist upbringing. He experimented with spiritualism, mesmerism, and phrenology. Finally, Harris left Yale his junior year, declaring that he was "dissatisfied with the deficiency of modern science and literature in the curriculum."¹⁶

The rebellious young man went west, settling in St. Louis, Missouri where he was to make his home for two decades. In St. Louis Harris began the gradual process of reaffirming most of his intellectual and spiritual heritage. By 1857 he had accepted a position as public school teacher. He taught in public schools of St. Louis for eight years before he began moving through the administrative ranks of the system. He served as principal, assistant city superintendent, and superintendent of schools. In 1880 Harris left his post as superintendent and devoted his energies to establishing the Concord School of Philosophy in Massachusetts. After nine years with the Concord School he accepted an appointment as United States Commissioner of Education, a post he held from 1889 until 1906.¹⁷

Lawrence Cremin says of Harris's contribution to education:

To American educators he remains the great consolidator of pre-Civil War Victories, the man who ultimately rationalized the institution of public schools. When he began his work—almost the very year of Mann's death—universal education was a radical notion shared by a shaky alliance of farmers, workers, and businessmen; when he concluded it, universal education had been made the nub of an essentially conservative ideology.¹⁸

If one is to understand how Harris viewed educational leadership and the leader's role with regard to change, it is essential to attempt to understand the conservative ideology of which Cremin speaks. This ideology reflects Harris's philosophical and theological perspectives. Though his vocation was that of educator, his avocation—and very likely his greatest love—was philosophy, a philosophy informed, at least in part, by his Congregationalist upbringing.

Harris could hardly have found a location more nurturing of his philosophical inclinations than St. Louis. He began studying German literature and philosophy, leaving behind what Curti termed the "radical virus" of his youthful rebellion.¹⁹ Shortly after his arrival in St. Louis he met Henry Conrad Brokmeyer, a German Jewish immigrant from Prussia. Together they were instrumental in forming the Kant Club, an informal group that set as its purpose tracing the roots of Hegel's philosophical thought. Harris was to become a lifelong student of Hegelian thought.

Following the Civil War, members of the Kant Club joined with the St. Louis Philosophical Society which devoted itself to study and discussion of Hegel.²⁰ Hegel's philosophy seemed to be descriptive of the kind of progress and cultural synthesis that characterized their own circumstances and times. According to Steven Crites, the St. Louis Philosophical Society "carried the Hegelian theory of the westward movement of the Absolute Spirit to exalted conclusions regarding the destiny of the American frontier."²¹

The St. Louis Society's interpretation of westward expansion and the American destiny in terms of Hegelian dialectics was widely disseminated through *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, founded by Harris in 1867. The journal, which he edited until 1893, was inspired when *The North American Review* returned an article that Harris had submitted with the ignominious comment that it contained "the mere dry husk of Hegelianism."²² It may have been dry husks to the editor of the *Review*, but *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, prompted by its rejection,

published articles by some of America's leading thinkers, including Emerson, James, and Dewey. Emerson and James became auxiliary members of the St. Louis Philosophical Society, in fact.²³

In Hegelian philosophy Harris resolved both religious and idealistic impulses in such a way as to find for himself a place in the existing social and economic order. While he accepted Darwin's theory of evolution, perceiving the world in terms of evolution toward a more perfect order, Darwin's theory was in tension with creationist theory held by most Christian groups of the period. It was through the metaphysical concept of *final causality* that Harris could integrate Darwin's theory and his religious views. He held that both efficient and final causalities existed, with final causality as a higher form:

This second view is theistic and holds that the Absolute is a Personal Reason who creates the lower order of causality in order to nurture into being infinite human creatures—making time and space a cradle in which to develop the independent individuality of free, immortal souls, an act of infinite grace and loving kindness.²⁴

Merle Curti points out that it would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance Harris attached to spiritual values, both in terms of culture and religion.²⁵ Indeed, it may be that in order to understand William Torrey Harris's views on education and curriculum change, one would need to explore more in depth both Hegelian thought and the Congregationalist expression of Protestant Christian theology. Though there has been some attention given to the way in which Harris interpreted Hegel, there has been only passing reference in the literature to his religious views. Harris's religious beliefs are admittedly interlaced with Hegelian philosophy—it may be difficult, in fact, to ascertain whether his philosophical views were shaped by his religious perspective or whether his religious perspective was more

influenced by his philosophy. Some interpretations of Hegel see Christianity as the absolute religion, a notion with which Harris was sympathetic. Hegelian thought, however, is subject to interpretations that are not representative of orthodox Christian views and do not accept Christianity as the absolute religion. Hence one can postulate that Harris interpreted Hegel as he did because of his religious views, and further, that without accounting for the distinctive character of these religious views, one cannot understand the way in which Harris perceived Hegelian thought.²⁶

Harris's religious and philosophical views gave shape to his ideas about 1) what knowledge is of the most worth, 2) what it means to educate, and 3) the purpose of schooling—all of which have implications for the way in which he approached change in education.

His answer to the question, "What knowledge is of the most worth?" is illustrated by remarks made in an address before the Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions, meeting April 25, 1900 in New York. After affirming his belief in a personal God who loved humankind and whose Son died to secure salvation for all persons, Harris declared, "All of the good things which form the power and the glory of the most advanced nations of the world flow... from this doctrine."²⁷ He believed that it was impossible for one to understand the world's accumulated knowledge without understanding Christian doctrine. Hence missionaries to foreign shores should first teach the "true theology" followed by application of its theory to life.

The missionary will not leave his newly converted heathen in their manners and customs as he found them. He will change their form of eating and drinking, their forms of producing food, clothing, and shelter, their habits of life, their institutions of marriage and the family...all these things will be changed by the missionary with God's blessing.²⁸

The message from Harris does not explicitly tell missionaries

how to go about the details related to changing the "heathen," but it does make clear that change ought to proceed "top down" from those holding the knowledge deemed to be of most worth: the heritage of Western Christian industrializing nations.

To understand the way Harris would have answered questions regarding what it means to educate and the purpose of schooling, one must examine his ideas about the relationship between individual freedom and institutional authority. Individual freedom came from obedience to the authority of God vested in human institutions, in Harris's view. This relationship follows from a complex Hegelian idea about the historical development of humankind and the existence of God. Harris subscribed to the idea that through the philosophical conception of history, Absolute Mind was incarnated. That is, apart from the history of God at work in the world through humankind, God would be lifeless and lone. God was manifest in the "self-conscious achievements of man." Hence nature was secondary to human purposes:

God is not realized in nature. And the world is not for itself but a cradle for the development of individuality, through plant and animal. The divine purpose does not reach its end until it produces man who is an immortal individuality, free and responsible, in the image of his creator.³⁰

To Harris, there was no inconsistency in urging Christian missions, education, and world commerce in the same breath. He would have been familiar with the biblical account of creation in Genesis, part of the Jewish and Christian traditions. Christian missionary conquests and world trade could be seen as further affirmation of the "ascendency of a transcendental religion whose God is above all nature and who creates nature as a reflection of his grace and loving-kindness."³¹ It was this God who charged men and women to "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue

it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth." (Genesis 1:28, RSV). Harris urged missionaries to work to prepare all nations to engage in peaceful interchange of the products of industry and products of the mind. In this way converts could understand, and hopefully accept, historical efforts of advanced Western nations as these nations acted to conquer nature for human purposes and to establish human institutions.

They will get a more realizing sense of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit which unites and inspires the Christian church in all its various denominations, and through the church, the supreme earthly institution, makes possible the other—the secular institutions including the family, civil society, and the state. For all of these social combinations are possible through the surrender of mere individualism for the sake of the institutional personality of the whole.³²

Through institutions, which were to Harris a product of the Holy Spirit of God at work in the church and spilling over into the world, the individual could realize his or her ideal nature. The relationship of the individual to the social whole brought independence and freedom through obedience to authority.

The relation of the individual to this larger self in institutions is that of obedience to authority. The institution, which is a social whole in one of its forms, prescribes to the individual and he obeys. In all lower forms of civilization the punishment of death is most frequently awarded to the individual who deliberately disobeys this authority, vested in institutions in responsible officers or chiefs; in the family, in civil society, in the State, in the Church.³³

As an institution of society, the school would contribute

to individual freedom and responsibility.

Human institutions, which included schools, were to reflect purposes, ideal ends, and aims. Harris recognized that this was not always true of institutions. Such cases were seen as symptomatic of a civilization that was moving toward the Absolute Good. Conquest of nature and establishment of institutions might result in unequal distribution of capital in an expanding industrial economy, in an unjust civil order, aggressive government, or even in a church that was more reflective of society than redemptive of it—circumstances that were not condoned by Harris, but accepted. Harris was certain that as movement toward the Absolute Good continued and the nation grew, it would become what he believed that it ought to become—more just, more self-governing, more humane:

The more a nation can realize in each of its citizens what it secures for the whole, the better it is. The far-off ideal that hovers before the vision of history is the nation where each citizen consciously partakes in the observation and thought of all mankind, and lives in the perpetual view of the great process of world-history as it unfolds. Such a view sees the doings of Divine Providence.³⁴

Hence the present age did not have to be discouraging when it was not ideal. Harris could regard the sufferings of those less fortunate than himself as temporary. Theology as much as philosophy must have underwritten his explanation of "the enigmas of the world by means of a divine purpose which reveals itself in nature and history."³⁵ These enigmas could be seen as part of God's "permissive will." The Calvinist doctrine of predestination, adopted by early Congregationalists, suggested that God not only wills reprobation of those who are damned, but the sin which led to their damnation, "as he who wills the end must will the means."³⁶

Harris believed that the meaning of education was to be

found in the role that it played in humankind's progress toward the ideal. Through education it was possible to elevate the "individual into participation in the life of the species."³⁷ Self-development of the individual was mediated by the traditions of civilization through education. Harris subscribed to the Herbartian view that education should open the five windows of the soul, but he believed that there was more to it than that. Schools were the institutions through which a society educated—and Harris took a no-nonsense approach to schooling.

Schools were to teach students how to restrain animal impulses, purposeless chatter, and disruption of the work of others, teaching instead lessons of industry, perseverance, regularity, and punctuality. These virtues would lead to courtesy, social skills, and respect for truth. And, since schools carried out the mission of educating, they must develop in students more than vocational skills. Though Harris welcomed technology as part of the great movement of history toward the ideal, hoping that it would eventually make life easier and more meaningful for the working person, he urged that schools go beyond the teaching of vocational skills to educate the individual. People would not be content to serve as mere directors of the "machines and instrumentalities of industry."³⁸ Even the individual who performed the most routine tasks would need to be initiated into the wisdom of the race in order that he or she be able to participate intelligently and meaningfully in society.

Critical to the success of the institution of schooling was the teacher. Harris hoped for the kind of teacher who would nurture interest and excitement about learning.

Teaching must be inspired. Teachers must not treat their jobs as treadmills, keeping school or allowing the school to keep them, working at it in the manner of a half-learned trade. Two types of teaching are particularly to be avoided as deadly to pupil motivation: word for word, and second, dogmatism which crushes

all originality on the part of the pupil.³⁹

Since Harris was very specific about what he believed constituted knowledge itself, one might expect that he would be as prescriptive about the methods that teachers ought to follow. This was not the case. He encouraged originality.

Teachers should not be required to conform to any set pattern of methods or procedures. Rather, there should be an agreement upon principles and the details of working out the principles should be left to the teacher. Two teachers may use entirely different methods and yet both be right. The line of vitality leads us to principles. What we want to do is get the profession alive and vitalized by a complete appreciation of essential principle. If that can be done, the actual detail need not concern us.⁴⁰

Teachers would be more likely to be able to carry out their mission of educating students into "participation in the life of the species" if they taught them to master the printed word. The textbook was, in Harris's opinion, the most efficient instrument for educating because of the difficulty that schools had in securing teachers who had received adequate training. "If we are to be beset with poor teachers, the textbook renders the damage more endurable, while with good teachers the textbook is a means of the highest development of independent activity in the pupil."⁴¹ He was quick, however, to condemn methods that stressed memory and repetition of textbook material without explanation or understanding. Students should be supplied with more than one textbook when it was possible, taught to use reference works, and encouraged to form their own opinions. Not only that, but teachers were not to use the textbook to make up for their own lack of preparation. The textbook was never to provide the teacher with his or her sole source of information. So strong was Harris in this view that he requested that the St. Louis Board of

Directors adopt a regulation forbidding teachers to use textbooks to conduct classes if students were expected to recite without their textbooks.⁴²

Harris's idea about the use of the textbook as an instrument of the schools is directly tied to his ideas about what it means to educate and what knowledge is of the most worth. To Harris the textbook was to be respected as printed word, a source of continuing insight and self-knowledge to the student. Through reading of and reflecting upon the printed page, one could avail oneself of the sense-perceptions of others, removed by time and space, but immediate through the text. The thoughts and reflections of other people could be a source of guidance and inspiration. By reading "the story of their doing" as presented through their language "the individual is enabled to live vicariously for others."⁴³ One can see in his description of textbook use the influence of his religious heritage as well, for the scripture, or biblical text, is a means through which God is made known to persons. The respect which Jesus showed for the scriptures of Judaism is the basis of the Christian attitude toward the Bible. By the time Harris would have been introduced to biblical study, respect for the scriptural text was based on serious, critical study of the Bible in light of the historical context in which its various books were written and the meaning that they were likely to have held for those to whom they were addressed. Most Protestant groups accepted that scriptures were inspired by the Holy Spirit of God and that through reading and meditation on the biblical text, one could receive spiritual insight and divine guidance for living.⁴⁴ This is the kind of serious approach to written text that Harris seems to have had in mind when he spoke of the textbook as a source of insight and self-knowledge for the student.

Harris's Views on Change in Education

The respect which Harris held for the written text offers some insight into how he felt about the process of change in education. He believed that change could be unsettling.

Through encountering the words of past generations through study of text, one could develop a sense of history that would lift one above the finite and particular doubts of a world besieged by change. "By this we may more and more discover the permanent under what seems transient, and recognize the eternally true, recording its nature both in creating and in destroying the existences which seem to perish."⁴⁵ Change would occur as God called human beings, through their institutions, to the Absolute. Education, not mere skill development, was the mission of the schools. Through the schools individuals would be shaped to live lives of freedom and goodness. When change beset them, when it seemed difficult, or unfair, the educated individual could transcend the moment and live in hope.

Harris identified two sources of change that influenced the work of the teacher: those that were internal, prompted by personal growth, and those that were external. External sources were those that came from outside the profession itself. Harris felt that teachers resented interference from people who did not have anything to do with the direction of school as an institution. Such persons might feel free to put pressure on the schools to change, but they did not understand education as a vocation, were not familiar with either theory or practice in teaching, and lacked any sense of the history of schools. Without respect for the vocation itself or benefit of an historical perspective on education, persons outside the profession were wont to urge capricious changes. To grow progressively the teacher must know where he or she had been and where the profession had been, else it would not be possible to make consistent advancement toward the ideal. "Change in the course of study, in the methods of instruction, in the organization of the school, may be only change and no progress, or it may even be retrogression."⁴⁶ Harris delineated between change and progressive change.

In order to deal with external pressures on the school Harris invested a great deal of energy in professionalizing the art of school administration. One immediate and demanding

pressure that had to be dealt with in St. Louis was the influx of students in the schools. He hoped to be able to provide for students, develop an inspired teaching staff, and answer public demands for change in the schools in such a way as to make progress that would be of benefit for everyone and strengthen the institution of schooling. He argued that it was not the function of the superintendent to lobby for pat procedures or for new fads. When a change was proposed the superintendent should consider it in light of its possible consequences. "A blind process that moves from one condition to another without adequate reasons is to be avoided, if possible."⁴⁷ The role of the superintendent was to "determine what should be done for children as well as the best means to accomplish this."⁴⁸ It behooved the superintendent to work in frankness and honesty, no faster than wisdom suggested. If elements were to be added to the school system that would prove to be of "strength and perfection" change would be slow. But change was not unwelcome. In fact, the curriculum should be continually subject to analysis and refinement so that programs would have a vital curriculum and schools could be a dynamic social institution.⁴⁹

One means of promoting desirable change, Harris believed, was through supervision of teachers. Supervision was to be conducted in such a way that it would not stifle individual initiative of teachers. Harris called for agreement upon objectives, frequent consultation, and comparison of methods. Despite his desire for orderly classrooms, Harris did not find regimentation and uniformity acceptable. In fact he believed that a prescriptive course of study tended to mechanize instruction, interfering with the creativity of those who did not need it without improving the instruction of those who did. Details of supervision were left to the principal, who was to serve as a teacher in addition to being responsible for administrative duties. The principal was to serve as a teacher in order to maintain equal status with teachers while serving as a resource to them and a model.⁵⁰

Cremin describes Harris as a transitional figure in the

development of educational thought:

Ultimately, Harris's social philosophy became an apology for the new urban industrial order, while his pedagogy rendered service to its educational needs. But it is futile to contend that his pedagogy is wholly static. The doctrine of self-activity cannot but leave the way open to change, while the social analysis he deemed central to the determination of educational policy allows for reform as well as reaction.⁵¹

Harris believed that the knowledge of most worth was that knowledge that had given rise to the Western, Christian traditions. He saw the world as moving toward an ideal order, believing that it was the function of the schools to live within that order. He believed in science and the crucial role it should play in the evolution of society toward a more perfect order. He was willing to accept the social enigmas of a developing industrial nation in the name of social evolution. Given these beliefs, one might conclude that Harris is an ideal role model of the kind of oppressive, anti-dialogical leadership that Paulo Freire described in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

It is true that his philosophy was the rationale for the scientism that permeated the early curriculum movement. One can trace the influence of Harris through Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters, Ralph Tyler, and more recently, through the technical, systems approach to curriculum development. At the same time, one must be reminded that Harris directed John Dewey's interest toward Hegel, read Dewey's early writing, and urged him to return to university studies in the 1880's. His ideas about self-activity influenced the activities-based curriculum that is identified with some of those who were part of the Progressive movement in education. The way he described curriculum review and revision, allowing for teacher freedom in selection of methods, and his ideas about the principal as colleague and helper of the teacher, seem more akin to Freire's description of dia-

logical leadership than to oppression.

The fact that Harris and Freire drew their philosophical perspectives from the same ancestor, Hegel, adds to the confusion in looking at Harris's work through Freire's categories; one must ask if their use of similar words can be taken as evidence of similar meanings. A closer look at Harris's work in light of the "Theory of Dialogical and Anti-dialogical Action" is warranted before one can draw conclusions from the study.

In many respects William Torrey Harris's line of thought seems more in sympathy with ideas outlined in Freire's

work than not. Harris argued, for example, that knowledge of one's historical context and use of language are essential to understanding of one's self. He believed that if one did not feel one's own existence as containing both past and present, it was impossible to be fully, completely, and independently alive:

It is conscious communion with one's existence that makes it one's own existence. The more complete the consciousness, the higher and more personal the being. The man who does not know his own history nor the history of civilization does not possess himself. His existence, as involved in those presuppositions, is not *for* him, is hence unassimilated, and therefore exists as his fate and not his freedom. The first requisite for directive power is knowledge. Directive intelligence, as the will and intellect combined, may by successive acts forever approach the pure ideal and thus realize freedom.⁵²

Self reflection would enable the individual to "realize within himself *human* nature and transcend the limits of brute nature."⁵³

Paulo Freire suggested that knowing requires the actions of persons, not the docile acceptance of someone else's content. "Knowledge...necessitates the curious presence of Subjects confronted with the world. It requires their transforming action on reality...It implies invention and re-invention."⁵⁴ He spoke of persons coming to comprehend their own humanity and see themselves as Subjects. Through use of language to name their reality and through reflection and action, the individual could "create the realm of culture and history."

It is as transforming and creative beings that men, in their permanent relations with reality, produce not only material goods—tangible objects— but also social institutions, ideas, and concepts. Through their continuing praxis, men simultaneously create history and become historical-social beings.⁵⁵

Both Harris and Freire spoke of the importance of people reaching a level of commitment in their lives that would enable them to engage in acts of selfless giving on behalf of humankind. Freire believed that dialogue could not exist "in the absence of profound love for the world of men." To Freire, the ontological and historical vocation of humankind is to become more fully human. He wrote: "Fear of freedom, of which its possessor is not necessarily aware, makes him see ghosts. Such an individual is actually taking refuge in an attempt to achieve security, which he prefers to the risks of liberty."⁵⁶ Freire cites Hegel's *The Phenomenology of Mind*, quoting Hegel on risking life for freedom and understanding the truth of individual freedom through being willing to risk one's life.

Compare this with Harris's belief that through education

all people could be led to the kind of higher values that permit one to:

apply the highest and deepest of the principles of civilization, namely the principle that makes it the highest honor of each individual to sacrifice his individual life for the lifting up of the downtrodden, the giving of light to those who sit in darkness and the increase of self activity and directive power on the part of each, using the means and opportunities with which each one is endowed to extend these high privileges to all.⁵⁷

Harris was waiting for the ideal order to come to pass, believing that those who ought to act in wisdom and justice would as they were moved closer to the ideal order. He believed that private greed, industrial pollution, urban crowding, racism, hunger, and ignorance were the temporary symptoms of the movement of progress. His religious and philosophical views, which are not too distant from those held by Freire, enabled him to balance the tension between the world at the turn of the century and the world that he hoped to see. Freire, on the other hand, recognized that the enigmas of society were not temporary symptoms. His religious and philosophical views led him to identify with the oppressed and challenge the right of oppressors in his society to hold a privileged place at the expense of others. Whether or not Harris would have held onto his hopeful outlook had he lived in contemporary society is a moot point.

Analysis of Harris's work through each of the characteristics of dialogical and anti-dialogical action is revealing. One can find examples that illustrate why it is difficult to simply describe Harris as anti-dialogical. Analysis also brings to the surface examples of what Freire described as distorted dialogue which may have influenced the development of the curriculum movement and the way in which change has been managed in schools.

1) *Cooperation vs. Conquest* One is reminded here that, with respect to supervision and teacher improvement, Harris seemed to favor something akin to a cooperative approach. He spoke of agreement upon objectives, with the teacher exercising choice as to method. Yet he has the administrator acting for teachers in determining the direction change will take in the schools. Freire would describe this as a soft form of conquest. Harris acted in a kindly manner for teachers, but *for* them nonetheless. The dialogue implied here is distorted in that the action taken for teachers represents the imposition of Harris's choice on teachers "transforming the consciousness of the man prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber's consciousness."⁵⁸ True words, or authentic dialogue, would require an encounter between the administrator and teachers in order to name the reality to which they must attend and to mutually reflect and work in order to transform that reality. This "dialogue cannot be reduced to the acts of one person's 'depositing' ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be 'consumed' by the discussants."⁵⁹

2) *Unity for Liberation vs. Divide and Rule* Harris called upon teachers to respect established authorities and to be patient with inadequate salaries, just as he urged the poor to help themselves lest their self respect be weakened. He urged teachers to instill respect and patience in students. Merle Curti points out that while teachers may not have understood his application of Hegelian philosophy and rhetoric, they surely could not have "mistaken the assurance, the eloquence and the beautiful idealism with which he explicitly tried to refute, for their benefit, the 'subversive doctrines' of Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and Karl Marx."⁶⁰ Freire would have described these actions as myth building that served to divert teachers from the reality of their own situation.

3) *Organization vs. Manipulation* In describing organization, Freire speaks of leaders not being alone, but with the people. Harris's actions forbidding teachers' use of textbooks for recitation when students were not permitted to use them

could be seen as organization. His belief that the principal should be a teacher, equal in status, not above the teacher, is a dialogical action. There seems little evidence, in fact, of his use of overt manipulation. One might argue, however, that manipulation was so fundamental to the institutional structures of schooling that there was no need for overt tactics.

4) *Cultural Synthesis vs. Cultural Invasion* Harris was unquestionably guilty of cultural invasion if we interpret his words in the way they are used today. It is clear that he did not lack in respect for cultural differences. Yet he seemed to fail to imagine that anyone would desire anything other than the kind of life and benefits available in advancing, industrial nations. He believed that the influence that the "white man" had exerted over "lower" forms of civilization was proof in itself of the superiority of their way of life. He saw two ways of working with "lower civilizations":

One method is to take advantage of them, to use them selfishly for our advantage and against their own interest; in short to exterminate them or convert them into bond slaves. The other method is to take them and put them in such training that they can participate in our civilization and learn to do what we are doing—namely, to conquer nature by science and art.⁶¹

Harris elaborated on this theme in an address to the graduating class of the Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, March 2, 1899:

If we cannot come into contact with lower civilization without bringing extermination to them we are still far from the goal. It must be our great object to improve our institutions until we can bring blessings to lower peoples and set them on a road to rapid progress. We must take a hand in their education. We must emancipate them from tribal forms and usages

and train them into productive industry. We must take them out of the form of civilization that rests on tradition and mere external authority and substitute for it a civilization of the printed page which governs by public opinion and by insight rather than mere authority. Such a civilization we have a right to enforce on this earth. We have a right to work for the enlightenment of all peoples and to give our aid to lift them into local self-government. But local self-government can not exist where there is no basis of productive industry nor book learning.⁶¹

Perhaps his audience found comfort in the fact that Harris did not wish to exterminate "lower civilizations"—we can only guess as to how blessed they felt by his attitude toward their cultural heritage.

These words are to be contrasted with remarks delivered in his address to the Ecumenical Conference of World Missions. Harris suggested that nature and humankind were moving toward a higher form of civilization that would be comprised of a "compound product coming from all of the peoples that have lived and worked on this planet":

With this belief all men are of one blood and made by the same creator as brethren. Then only arises a spirit of toleration for all national peculiarities, accompanied by the missionary zeal to appeal to the intellects of the narrow faith in behalf of the wider faith. This proposes a conquest through freedom, a conquest through enlightenment instead of a conquest through brute force.⁶²

In the context of the 1900s these views seem quite liberal.⁶³ Yet Harris's ideal, cultural synthesis, was to be brought about by cultural invasion.

Conclusion

In the beginning it was proposed that the change theory

that guided William Torrey Harris be examined in light of Paulo Freire's "Theory of Dialogical and Anti-dialogical Action." It was hoped that such an activity might offer another perspective on making changes in the system of schooling that Harris helped to create and to rationalize.

When one is forced to place Harris's work in one of Freire's dialectical categories, it must be placed in the company of the oppressor. Use of Freire as a lens fleshes out the distinctive genius and frailty of Harris's work. As an educational leader, he employed a "soft" version of anti-dialogical action: paternalism. Harris recognized the infinite worth of every individual and the right of the individual to self-realization. But he acted for individuals on behalf of human goals.

Harris was willing to take courageous actions on behalf of schools in order to enhance opportunities for students. Risk accompanied his introduction to change in the curriculum, for example, the use of the textbook; of change in patterns of school administration, which included principal as colleague and helper of the teacher; and of change in the structures of schooling, among these, the graded classroom. These risks he deemed worthy that students and teachers might find individual freedom through obedience to the authority vested in society's institutions.

As other educators followed Harris, distorted dialogue, or inauthentic speech, was used to rationalize the invocations he introduced. That is, those who welcomed his ideas and made use of them did not share with Harris the set of meanings, drawn from a Hegelian-Christian philosophy, that guided his actions. For example, the role of the principal evolved from that of one who served the institution as the friend and liberator of teachers, to that of their superior and source of their constraint. The textbook, introduced by Harris to help students break out of the finite context of the classroom and explore meanings held by others separated from them by time and place, became the dictator of thought, meaning, and action in the class-

room. The graded classroom became not the social setting in which students could learn the power to be found in freedom and responsible action within society's institutions, but a series of lock-step hurdles that controlled exit and entry into other of society's institutions.

If there is a lesson to be learned from Harris's genius, it may be that to change the schools we must risk death and rebirth of the institution as we know it. If we are to learn a lesson from his frailty, it may be that courageous actions must be taken with school people on behalf of their human goals. Authentic change, as Freire described it, risks death and rebirth. This was not the kind of risk that Harris was willing for teachers to take. But he willingly took it on their behalf. In doing so he helped to establish a precedent of educational decision-making that is still with us today.

Freire reminds anyone seeking to bring about reform that dialogue is the only authentic pedagogy. It "starts with the conviction that it cannot present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people..."⁶⁴

* * *

FOOTNOTES

1. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 15.
2. See P. Berman and M. W. McLaughlin, *Implementing Innovations: Revisions for an Agenda for a Study of Change Agent Programs in Education* (A RAND Study of Change Agent Programs, NW-8450-1-HEW, November 1973), p. 20; Elliott W. Eisner, *Confronting Curriculum Reform* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971); Michael Fullan and Alan Pomfret, "Research on Curriculum and Instruction Implementation," *Review of Educational Research* 47 (Winter 1977): 336; Alan K. Gaynor, "The Study of Change in Educational Organizations: A Review of the Literature," in *Educational Administration: The Developing Decades*, Luvern L. Cunningham et al (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan

- Publishing Corp., 1977), pp. 234-60; John I. Goodlad, *The Dynamics of Educational Change: Towards Responsive Schools* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein and Associates, *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones, 1970); Kenneth Hawley, "Preconditions for Educational Renewal and Reform" *Journal of Teacher Education* 26 (Spring 1975): 6-8; Ernest R. House, "Technology versus Craft: a Ten Year Perspective on Innovation," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 11 (1979): 1-15; Dale Mann, "Making Change Happen?" *Teachers College Record* 77 (February 1976): 313; William Reid, "Schools, Teachers, and Curriculum Change: The Moral Dimension of Theory Building," *Educational Theory* 29 (Fall 1979): 325-36; Seymour Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971); Richard A. Schmuck and Matthew B. Miles, eds., *Organization Development in Schools* (Palo Alto, Calif.: National Press Books, 1971); Sam D. Sieber, "Images of the Practitioner and Strategies of Educational Change," *Sociology of Education* 45 (Fall 1972): 362; David B. Tyack, Michael W. Kirst, and Elizabeth Hansot, "Educational Reform: Retrospect and Prospect," *Teachers College Record* 81 (Spring 1980): 253-69.
3. Dwayne Huebner, "The Tasks of the Curricular Theorists," in *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists*, William Pinar, ed. (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1975), p. 269.
4. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Myra Bergman Ramos, trans. (New York: Seabury Press, 1970), p. 20.
5. *Ibid.* pp. 19-25; also see Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Continuum Publishing Corp., 1981), pp. 41-58.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 133-134.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-49.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
14. David Tyack, *The One Best System* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 66. For biographical information on Harris see Lawrence A. Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, pp. 14-20; Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York:

- Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), pp. 310-36; S. J. Curtis and M. E. A. Boulton, *A Short History of Educational Ideas* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1953), p. 570; Kurt Leidecker, *Yankee Teacher: The Life of William Torrey Harris* (New York: 1946); *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1972 ed., s. v. "Harris, William Torrey," by Loyd D. Easton.
15. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 332-33.
 16. *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1972 ed., s. v. "Harris," by Easton.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, p. 15.
 19. Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*, pp. 311-13.
 20. *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. "Harris," by Easton.
 21. *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1972 ed. s. v. "Hegelianism?" by Steven Crites. Crites points out that "Hegelian thought played a colorful role in German settlements in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century."
 22. *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s. v. "Harris," by Easton.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. William T. Harris, "The Difference Between Efficient and Final Causes in Controlling Human Freedom," reprint *The School Journal* (n.d.): 7.
 25. Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*, pp. 313-15.
 26. Among Christian adherents to the Hegelian left in theology was Moncure D. Conway, who pastored the First Congregational Church in Cincinnati from 1856-62. Cincinnati Hegelians were in contact with the St. Louis Society. Conway's liberal interpretation of religion was "founded on the rock of natural science." Hegelian ideas were accepted by some within Harris's own religious tradition. See *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s. v. "Hegelianism," by Crites.
 27. William T. Harris, "The Educative Work at Missions," *Ecumenical Conference of World Missions* (n.p., April 25, 1900), p. 1.
 28. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
 29. *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1972 ed., s.v. "Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich," by H. B. Acton.
 30. William T. Harris, "Beauty in Art vs. Beauty in Nature" (n.p., n.d.), p. 7.
 31. Harris, "Educative Work at Missions," p. 7.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
33. William T. Harris, "The Isolation of the School: Its Educational Function," *The Independent* reprint (August 1, 1901): 4.
34. Harris, "Efficient and Final Causes," p. 8.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
36. Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 224.
37. William T. Harris, "The National Education Association" (Dept. of Superintendence, NEA, 1891): 6. Harris identified three stages of knowing in his interpretation of Hegel. The first was related to the object on the surface as isolated and independent, the second identified relationships and dependence of things, the third independence and self-relation underneath dependence and relativity. Causality was grounded in "self-activity of the individual" and involved self-separation and relatedness. See *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. "Harris," by Easton.
38. William T. Harris, "How Far May the State Provide for the Education of Her Children at Public Cost? (N. p., August 23, 1871), p. 2.
39. William T. Harris, "How to Study and How to Teach," *Journal of Education*, 3 (January 1871): 7.
40. NEA, *Proceedings and Addresses of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting* (Chicago: University of Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 216.
41. William T. Harris, "Textbooks—Their Uses and Abuses," *Journal of Education* 2 (November 1869): 42.
42. St. Louis, Missouri. *Official Proceedings of the Board of Public Schools* (October 10, 1871): 98, quoted in Carl Lester Byerly, "Contributions of William Torrey Harris to Public School Administration," (Doctoral dissertation) University of Chicago.
43. Harris, *National Education Association*, pp. 6-7.
44. Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, pp. 166-68, 898.
45. William T. Harris, "The Place of the Study of Latin and Greek in Modern Education" (St. Louis: n.p., n.d.), p. 94.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
47. William T. Harris, "Revolution in the Course of Study," *American Journal of Education* (June 1874): 3.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Byerly, "Contributions of William Torrey Harris," p. 168.

50. Ibid., p. 138.
51. Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, p. 19.
52. Harris, "The Place of Latin and Greek," p. 111.
53. Ibid., p. 106.
54. Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness*, pp. 100-1.
55. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pp. 90-91.
56. Ibid., pp. 77-78.
57. William T. Harris, "Address Before the Graduates at the Commencement Exercises of the Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa. (n.p., March 2, 1899), p. 3.
58. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 31.
59. Ibid., p. 77.
60. Merle Curti, "Our Schools and the Good Society," *The Sewanee Review* reprint (July 1935):6.
61. Harris, "Address Before the Graduates," p. 3.
62. Harris, "Educative Work at Missions," p. 7.
63. No more than forty years before, David Livingstone had sent impassioned pleas to the Royal Geographical Society of England to open the interior of Africa to commerce in order to prevent the wholesale conscription of African men and boys into mine and work crews. Livingstone held that the only way to prevent European exploitation was through European development. He wrote, "As far as I am myself concerned, the opening of the new central country is a matter for congratulation only in so far as it opens up a prospect for the elevation of the inhabitants. As I have elsewhere remarked, I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise. I take the latter term in its most extended signification, and include every effort made for the amelioration of our race, the promotion of all those means by which God in His providence is working, and bringing all His dealings with man to a glorious consummation." David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858; New York Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971), p. 7189.

* * *

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Harris, William T. "Address Before the Graduates at the Commencement Exercises of the Indian Industrial School." Carlisle, Pa.:

- n.p., 1899.
- , *Art Education the True Industrial Education*. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen, Publ., 1889.
- , "Beauty in Art vs. Beauty in Nature." n.p.: n.d.
- , "Civilization and Higher Education," *Proceedings of the National Education Association*. reprint Washington, D. C.: NEA, 1901.
- , "How Far May the State Provide for the Education of Her Children at Public Cost?" n.p.: August 23, 1871.
- , "How to Study and How to Teach," *Journal of Education* 3 (January 1871).
- , "On the Function of the Study of Latin and Greek in Education." American Social Science Association, 1884.
- , "Revolution in the Course of Study," *American Journal of Education* 7 (June 1874).
- , "The Difference Between Efficient and Final Causes in Controlling Human Freedom," *The School Journal* (1902).
- , "The Educative Work at Missions." New York: Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions, 1900.
- , "The Isolation of the School: Its Educational Function," reprint *The Independent* (August 1, 1901.)
- , *The National Educational Association: Its Organization and Functions*. Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association, 1891.
- , "The Pedagogical Creed of William T. Harris." Ossian, H., ed. *Educational Creeds of the 19th Century*. New York: E. L. Kellogg, 1898.
- , "The Place of the Study of Latin and Greek in Modern Education." St. Louis: n.p., n.d.
- , *The Psychology of Manual Training*. Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, 1889.
- , "Textbooks--Their Uses and Abuses," *Journal of Education* 2 (November 1869).
- , *Two Papers on Manual Training*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1890.

General Works and References

Byerley, Carl Lester. "Contributions of William Torrey Harris to Public School Administration." Doctoral dissertation. University of Chicago, 1946;

- Cross, F. L. and Livingstone, E. A., eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Cunningham, Luvern L.; Hack, Walter G.; and Nystrand, Raphael O., eds. *Educational Administration: The Developing Decades*. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1977.
- Curti, Merle. *The Social Ideas of American Educators*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.
- , "Our Schools and the Good Society," *The Sewanee Review* reprint (July 1935.).
- Curtis, S. J. and Boultonwood, M. E. A. *A Short History of Educational Ideas*. London: University Tutorial Press, 1953.
- Freire, Paulo. *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: The Continuum Publishing Corp., 1981.
- , *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: The Seabury Press, 1960.
- , "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom," *Harvard Educational Review* 40 (May 1970): 205-27.
- Glanz, Jeffrey, "Bureaucracy and Professionalism." Doctoral dissertation. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1977.
- Seguel, Mary Louise. *The Curriculum Field: Its Formative Years*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966.
- Tyack, David B. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Works About Curriculum Change and Change Theory

- Argyris, Chris. *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness*. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962.
- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. *Action for Curriculum Improvement*. Washington, D. C.: ASCD, 1975.
- , *Considered Action for Curriculum Improvement*. Washington, D. C.: ASCD, 1980.
- , *Leadership for Improving Instruction*. Washington, D. C.: ASCD, 1960.
- , *Strategy for Change*. Washington, D. C.: ASCD, 1975.
- , *Strategy for Curriculum Change*. Washington, D. C.: ASCD, 1965.
- Barnhouse, Ruth Tiffany. "The Vicissitudes of Reform," *Union*

- Seminary Quarterly Review* 36 (Winter/Spring 1981): 131-40.
- Bellack, Arno A. and Kliebard, Herbert M., eds. *Curriculum and Evaluation*. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1977.
- Bhola, Harbans S. "Notes Toward a Theory-Cultural Action as Elite Initiatives in Affiliation/Exclusion" *Viewpoints* 48 (May 1972): 1-38.
- Centre for Educational Research and Innovation. *Handbook on Curriculum Development*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1975.
- Eggleston, John. *The Sociology of the School Curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977.
- Eisner, Elliot W., ed. *Confronting Curriculum Reform*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971.
- Etzioni, Amitai. *The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Processes*. New York: The Free Press, 1968.
- Fullan, Michael and Pomfret, Alan. "Research on Curriculum and Instruction Implementation," *Review of Educational Research* 47 (Winter 1977): 335-97.
- Goodlad, John I. *Catalyst Schools*. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona State University, 1970.
- , *The Dynamics of Educational Change Toward Responsive Schools*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975.
- and Klein, Frances M. *Behind the Classroom Door*. Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones, 1970.
- House, Ernest R. "Beyond Accountability," Rubin, Louis J. et al, eds. *Professional Supervision for Professional Teachers*. Washington, D. C.: ASCD, 1975.
- , "Technology versus Craft: A Ten Year Perspective on Innovation," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 11 (1979): 1-15.
- , *The Politics of Educational Innovation*. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1975.
- Iannaccone, Laurence. "Three Views of Change in Educational Politics," *The Politics of Education*. The Seventy-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Joint Committee on Curriculum. *The Changing Curriculum*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1937.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. "Career Growth and Organization Power:

- Issues for Educational Management in the 1980's," *Teachers College Record* 82 (Summer 1981): 553-66.
- McLaughlin, Milbrey Wallin. "Implementation as Mutual Adaptation: Change in Classroom Organization," *Teachers College Record* 77 (February 1976): 339-51.
- Mann, Dale. "Making Change Happen?" *Teachers College Record* 77 (February 1976): 313-22.
- , "The Politics of Training Teachers in Schools," *Teachers College Record* 77 (February 1976) 322-38.
- Nyberg, David. "A Concept of Power for Education," *Teachers College Record* 82 (Summer 1981): 535-52.
- Orlosky, Donald E. and Smith, B. Othanel. *Curriculum Development Issues and Insights*. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1978.
- Paulston, Rolland G. *Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change: A Typological Review*. Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, 1976.
- Reid, William A. "Schools, Teachers, and Curriculum Change: The Moral Dimension of Theory Building," *Educational Theory* 29 (1979): 325-26.
- and Walker, Decker F., eds. *Case Studies in Curriculum Change*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Reitman, Sanford W. "The Limitations of Consensus as a Model of Educational Reform," *Teachers College Record* 78 (February 1977): 337-43.
- Sarason, Seymour B. *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971.
- Schmuck, Richard A. and Miles, Matthew B. *Organization Development in Schools*. Palo Alto, Calif.: National Press Books, 1971.
- Stenhouse, Lawrence, ed. *Curriculum Research and Development in Action*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1974.
- Tyack, David B.; Kirst, Michael W.; and Hansot, Elisabeth. "Educational Reform: Retrospect and Prospect," *Teachers College Record* 81 (Spring 1980): 253-69.
- Unruh, Glenys G. *Responsive Curriculum Development: Theory and Action*. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1975.

WOMEN'S STUDIES TODAY: AN ASSESSMENT

Nancy Topping Bazin
Old Dominion University

Women's studies continues to flourish in the United States despite those predictors of doom who viewed it as a passing "fad," a clear choice in times of budget cuts, or surely the next to be hurt by declining enrollments. Moreover, it has survived and even been enriched by the political tensions from which it originated and within which it continues to exist. The balancing act upon which its survival has depended is symbolized by the way women's studies program directors, too readily viewed as radicals on their campuses, are too readily dismissed as the academic elite by radicals at the National Women's Studies Association conferences. Women's studies has always been too radical for some and not radical enough for others.

At conferences of the National Women's Studies Association, the atmosphere and programming are both scholarly and political. At the 1984 NWSA conference at Rutgers University, I found myself immersed in a democratic environment where the rights and interests of all groups--handicapped, lesbian, elderly, poor, black, ethnic, third world, and even the middleclass, heterosexual majority--were actively recognized and, to some extent, dealt with. The results are not yet perfect, but at least people are committed to the ideal of equality and struggling to achieve it. A great deal has been accomplished both in the scholarship produced, which is based upon this egalitarian philosophy, and the human relationships. Probably for that reason, tensions among the various groups were distinctly down, compared to four or five years ago, and coalition was a

- Issues for Educational Management in the 1980's," *Teachers College Record* 82 (Summer 1981): 553-66.
- McLaughlin, Milbrey Wallin. "Implementation as Mutual Adaptation: Change in Classroom Organization," *Teachers College Record* 77 (February 1976): 339-51.
- Mann, Dale. "Making Change Happen?" *Teachers College Record* 77 (February 1976): 313-22.
- , "The Politics of Training Teachers in Schools," *Teachers College Record* 77 (February 1976) 322-38.
- Nyberg, David. "A Concept of Power for Education," *Teachers College Record* 82 (Summer 1981): 535-52.
- Orlosky, Donald E. and Smith, B. Othanel. *Curriculum Development Issues and Insights*. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1978.
- Paulston, Rolland G. *Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change: A Typological Review*. Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, 1976.
- Reid, William A. "Schools, Teachers, and Curriculum Change: The Moral Dimension of Theory Building," *Educational Theory* 29 (1979): 325-26.
- and Walker, Decker F., eds. *Case Studies in Curriculum Change*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Reitman, Sanford W. "The Limitations of Consensus as a Model of Educational Reform," *Teachers College Record* 78 (February 1977): 337-43.
- Sarason, Seymour B. *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971.
- Schmuck, Richard A. and Miles, Matthew B. *Organization Development in Schools*. Palo Alto, Calif.: National Press Books, 1971.
- Stenhouse, Lawrence, ed. *Curriculum Research and Development in Action*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1974.
- Tyack, David B.; Kirst, Michael W.; and Hansot, Elisabeth. "Educational Reform: Retrospect and Prospect," *Teachers College Record* 81 (Spring 1980): 253-69.
- Unruh, Glenys G. *Responsive Curriculum Development: Theory and Action*. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1975.

WOMEN'S STUDIES TODAY: AN ASSESSMENT

Nancy Topping Bazin
Old Dominion University

Women's studies continues to flourish in the United States despite those predictors of doom who viewed it as a passing "fad," a clear choice in times of budget cuts, or surely the next to be hurt by declining enrollments. Moreover, it has survived and even been enriched by the political tensions from which it originated and within which it continues to exist. The balancing act upon which its survival has depended is symbolized by the way women's studies program directors, too readily viewed as radicals on their campuses, are too readily dismissed as the academic elite by radicals at the National Women's Studies Association conferences. Women's studies has always been too radical for some and not radical enough for others.

At conferences of the National Women's Studies Association, the atmosphere and programming are both scholarly and political. At the 1984 NWSA conference at Rutgers University, I found myself immersed in a democratic environment where the rights and interests of all groups--handicapped, lesbian, elderly, poor, black, ethnic, third world, and even the middleclass, heterosexual majority--were actively recognized and, to some extent, dealt with. The results are not yet perfect, but at least people are committed to the ideal of equality and struggling to achieve it. A great deal has been accomplished both in the scholarship produced, which is based upon this egalitarian philosophy, and the human relationships. Probably for that reason, tensions among the various groups were distinctly down, compared to four or five years ago, and coalition was a

key word being used even by the more militant women. Scholars spoke of the impact this truly democratic world view would have upon both theory and methodology. Increasingly, such scholars describe women's studies as a discipline with not only its own body of interdisciplinary scholarship but also its own philosophy, pedagogy, and inclusive perspective.

There are approximately four hundred fifty women's studies programs, sixty faculty and curriculum development projects, and forty research centers currently focusing on women in the United States. Significant advances have been made in transforming the curriculum to include the new scholarship on women with the help of grants awarded to such institutions as Wheaton College, the University of Arizona, Montana State University, the University of Maine at Orono, and Yale University. This recent emphasis upon integrating the new scholarship has provoked what is known as the "autonomy/integration debate." Many women's studies scholars are questioning the wisdom of diverting so much energy and funding away from the development of autonomous women's studies programs. They fear that integrationist efforts will be too accepting of existing structures and definitions of knowledge¹ and that this acceptance will impede true progress in redefining and reconceptualizing. According to Johnella Butler, the term mainstreaming, commonly used to describe attempts to integrate, "implies that nothing is wrong with what exists that additions or inclusion and minor revision will not correct."² Acknowledging the danger in suggesting that the traditional curriculum should be viewed as the "mainstream," two leading consultants for integration projects, Peggy McIntosh and Elizabeth Minnich, recently recommended dropping that word. They favor the concept of "many streams of knowledge and culture." Both emphasize that women's studies programs must be strong to ensure excellence in faculty development. McIntosh and Minnich clarify that we must think in terms of both/and, not either/or-both development of strong, autonomous

women's studies programs *and* increased faculty and curriculum development, because the two are interdependent.³

The field of women's studies continues to be richly multifaceted and to expand in new directions. Currently, the three areas of greatest development are probably black women's studies, "feminist science," and feminism as it relates to war and peace. There is also increased focus upon the "hidden curriculum," that is, what is subtly taught through the many ways in which both male and female teachers discriminate against female students in the classroom. At several institutions, women's studies is concentrating on the development of graduate courses and programs, such as a graduate minor at the University of Indiana-Bloomington, a graduate certificate and M.A. emphasis at Old Dominion University, and a Ph.D. program focusing on women's history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Most exciting in recent years is the recognition that the new knowledge accumulated and the new questions raised lead us to a new world view and to new truths. Women's studies scholars of all kinds, not just philosophers, are taking an interest in epistemology. This concern reinforces the growing desire to see women's studies as a new discipline. In the words of Deborah Rosenfelt: "much of the knowledge and ideas about women and gender that has emerged in the past decade is beginning to order itself into new groupings and categories, an order that has increasingly little reference to other disciplines' subjects and increasingly greater reference to other knowledge and ideas about women and gender."⁴ Even in the area of curriculum reform, how radical the change must be becomes increasingly obvious. Peggy McIntosh has articulated in these terms the five stages of awareness in faculty members transforming history courses: 1. Womanless history; 2. Women *in* history; 3. Women as a problem, anomaly, or absence in history; 4. Women *as* history; 5. History redefined and reconstructed to include us all.⁵

Women's studies is by now quite global in its perspective, and it has been increasingly inclusive of different groups

in its research and publications. It is surprising, therefore, to realize how slowly women's studies is moving into pre-K through twelve education. Too few materials for pre-K through twelve levels have been forthcoming. This is perhaps because of the schools' fears concerning conservative impulses in their communities and because of rigidly prescribed public school curricula. It may also stem from the fact that schools of education tend to emphasize methods rather than content to be taught. The need to expand in this pre-K through twelve direction, however, has been recognized; an entire day's programming at the 1984 NWSA conference focused upon this concern.

In short, women's studies continues today to deepen and expand its scope, largely in response to the political demand that it be truly democratic and inclusive of *all* women and of females of all ages. This political pressure, rooted in the fact that women are to be found in all categories of the oppressed, has meant that those gathering and articulating the lost facts and those creating the new theories based upon those facts are participating in nothing less than an epistemological revolution. As Peggy McIntosh has pointed out, our ultimate goal is an "inclusive curriculum," and such a curriculum "stands to benefit, and to change, men as well as women." Her central insight is highly important: "The time is past for the objection that women's studies is political. All curricula are political. A curriculum which leaves women out is highly politicized. Which *forms* of curricular politics (pre-K through twelve schools and) the colleges and universities will choose is now the question."⁶

* * *

Notes

1. Peggy McIntosh and Elizabeth Kamarck Minnich, "Varieties of Women's Studies," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 7, No. 3 (1984), 139.

2. Johnella Butler, "Minority Studies: Do We Want to Kill a Dream?" *Women's Studies International Forum*, 7, No. 3 (1984), 136.

3. McIntosh and Minnich, p. 144.

4. Deborah Rosenfelt, "What Women's Studies Programs Do that Mainstreaming Can't," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 7, No. 3 (1984), 171.

5. Peggy McIntosh, "The Study of Women: Processes of Personal and Curricular Revision," *The Forum for Liberal Education*, 6, No. 5 (April 1984), 3.

6. McIntosh, "The Study of Women," p. 4.

Pretexts

Madeleine R. Grumet, Editor
University of Rochester

Pretext: An Essay Review of Freema Elbaz's *Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge*. London: Croom Helm and New York: Nichols Publishing, 1983. 239 pp.

CASE STUDY AND PROBLEMS OF THE PRACTICAL

Lyn Yates
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria
Australia

I began this study with great sympathy for its starting point and intentions. As its author charges, it is still unfortunately true that the bulk of educational research does not treat teachers as subjects, and does not treat their actions with a theoretical complexity which such a recognition would require. It is also true that much of the interesting sociological and "ethnographic" work of recent years that has tried to look more closely at classrooms has embraced a critical perspective which fails to demonstrate any empathy, let alone sympathy, for what teachers are doing. So the prospect of a study which sought to explore in depth the knowledge which one teacher brought to bear on her work was an exciting one. It was a study moreover which sought to draw out of that case study a schema by which we

could understand some of the complex dimensions of "practical knowledge" and which would therefore be a starting point for a greater appreciation of what teachers do and an inspiration for a range of further research and theorizing by those whose work it is to study education.

When I had finished reading Freema Elbaz' book, I had been greatly stimulated along the way to reflect on many issues: methodology, teaching, the job of researchers, the qualities of individuals. Yet what I most felt about this book was frustration: irritation at its style of presentation, regret at its missed chances in methodological terms, disappointment about what it had to say.

Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge is a case study of one teacher, called 'Sarah'. On the basis of four lengthy interviews and a few periods of observation of Sarah at work, it attempts to report Sarah's orientation to various aspects of her work, to record some changes in her perspectives and actions in the course of teaching a particular course, to explore Sarah's reflections on the values, principles and rules by which she operates. The book is presented in three parts with an appendix. Part One explains how the study came to be undertaken and some of the concepts of practical knowledge with which the writer was working. It also gives a preview of the events which occurred in the course of the study. Part Two deals with the "content of practical knowledge," that is, Sarah's understandings of herself and her situation, of subject-matter and of curriculum and instruction. Part Three of the study is concerned with "how practical knowledge is held and used". This includes an attempt to reveal a structure within practical knowledge and some reflections on the meaning of the relationship between subject and author for the study. Finally, a 60-page appendix summarizes each of the interviews and gives some verbatim extracts from them. There is no index.

In the field of education in recent years there has in fact been considerable interest in "interpretative" and "quali-

tative" methodologies, in case-study approaches and in "illuminative" presentations of educational situations. In the review which follows I want first to consider a number of methodological issues relevant to the study which have been recognized and discussed by educational researchers who are broadly sympathetic to the type of approach Elbaz has taken.¹ Following this reflection on method I want to consider a few general questions which might be made of the approach as a whole.

From Elbaz's book it is clear that "Sarah" is a vigorous, creative and interesting teacher. However, to get some knowledge of this teacher, we are required to plough through 234 pages of rambling, repetitive, flat prose, and in a text which ranges back and forth between consciously interpretative judgements verbatim quotation and attempts at non-judgemental description. In the case of a study like this, I would argue, the style of presentation - both its quality of writing and the way in which it presents its evidence - is fundamental to what value the study has.

In attempting to explore the style and quality of one teacher's thought, two relationships are at issue. One is that of the researcher to the teacher who is the subject of the study (on what basis the writer's interpretations, selections, analysis is to be made). The other is that of the researcher to the readers of her study (what is to be proved or accomplished by the study and how).

Elbaz spends some time considering her relationship to the subject of her study: she devotes a chapter to this and occasionally comments on it elsewhere. Elbaz recounts how she came to know Sarah, the physical setting of the interviews and some professional and emotional points of engagement and conflict between them. As well, in the course of her interviews she comes to recognize a point which is often missed: that an apparently democratic arrangement between researcher and researched is often not what it appears, in that it is the researcher who will control what is to be followed up. But the discussion only covers part of what is at issue here. Yet the questions of what know-

ledge Sarah Elbaz has, and of what Elbaz is doing in presenting an account of Sarah are both passed over rather lightly. The "teacher thinking" that this research claims to witness is what Sarah *said* when she was *asked*. Elbaz's observations of Sarah at work are confined to a few brief occasions, and an attempt to sit with Sarah while she was planning a lesson fell through. Now in some respects this is a useful corrective to recent sociological studies interested only in revealing the false consciousnesses at work. However, as anyone who works with student teachers knows, what people say about their teaching and how they operate is by no means identical with what they do. Secondly, an extended period of asking a teacher to reflect on and verbalize what she was doing would be likely to have the effect of making someone who already seemed unusually reflective about her work even more so, and perhaps operating less like her fellow teachers (a point which is relevant to the meaning of the study as "case"). A third possible methodological issue here, that of the subject's response being "distorted" by what she thinks the researcher wants to hear, seems less of a problem than those previously mentioned. This is partly because this problem is canvassed in the study, and partly because it is clear that Sarah is a strong person who felt able to correct and re-state her concerns if the interviewer was misconstruing them.

The issue of what Elbaz is doing in producing her account of Sarah is raised only occasionally and in ways that seem confused. To begin with, in distancing herself from "critical" perspectives, Elbaz seems to be conflating two senses of critical, the judgemental and the interpretative. In seeking to avoid a position of moral superiority in relation to teachers, Elbaz backs off from recognizing some of the inevitable tasks in which a researcher is engaged. At times in the presentation she does make an attempt to check her interpretation, either through triangulation (for example, in allowing the classroom observation to check the interview statements) or "imagined alternatives"² (for example, regarding Sarah's attitudes to the organization of the instruc-

tion), and makes some interesting points in the process. However these approaches are not used consistently for reasons Elbaz explains when discussing triangulation:

This procedure of verification was not adopted wholesale in the study, however, because I felt that it involved looking at Sarah's knowledge in a fragmented way, as comprised of discrete bits of understanding reflected in discrete episodes of behaviour. (p. 161).

Yet the choice to present Sarah's "thinking" as a representation under various chapter headings, rather than having Sarah speak for herself, makes an analytic dismemberment inevitable. Not wanting to acknowledge this distortion results in the repetitiveness and messiness of the account: it has neither the narrative personal voice of Sarah nor the usual markers and signposts of an openly analytical piece.

Elbaz's blurring of what she is doing also results in some judgements by the writer whose basis is not made clear because they are unreflexively imposed. For example, Sarah's view of English teaching is shown to draw both on ideas of the value of literature and on ideas of the value of learning skills and student self-expression. Elbaz's presentation of this approach as one of "dichotomies" (as distinct, for example, from dialectical tensions which may be part of a coherent position) seems to arise as much from the writer's own views that these approaches belong to different camps as from what we are told of what Sarah said. Again, Elbaz's claim that Sarah's concern for students represents "an unarticulated but profoundly radical social critique" (p. 156) seems based on some assumptions by the writer that Thought has a life of its own. She goes on with the rather astounding comment that:

A theoretician with Sarah's knowledge would have all the ingredients necessary to construct a coherent argument; and having done so, she would become incapable of working within the system. (p. 157).

This assertion seems to me to indicate a certain blindness to the ways of academics, as well as some views of knowledge which appear inconsistent with an enterprise to value "practical" thinking.

It seems to me that Elbaz illustrates and is caught in some of the methodological binds that have dogged writers on educational evaluation in recent years. She is trying, on the one hand, to bring an educational situation or case to life for the readers, to portray it in its subtleties and complexities so that *we* may reflect on it. As well, she is trying to forge a territory in the theoretical discourse, in this case to extend the theorizing and evidence related to "the practical". However the two purposes are not easily combined. For the first purpose, a more literary presentation, even a fictional or semi-fictional account in the form of a novel, play or film might be better.³ For the second purpose, a more careful discussion of evidence, theories and methodological issues, and a more substantial relating of the work to the existing literature seems required.

It is difficult to say how much this study has contributed to an analysis of "practical knowledge." For a start, as has already been mentioned, relatively little study was done of the knowledge in use, and it is also questionable how far Sarah's style of operation is like that of other teachers. Secondly, the term "practical knowledge" seemed to be used very loosely. In relation to what Sarah did, the term functioned as something of a truism: because she was in a situation of practice, her knowledge must be practical. At times then "practical" seemed to mean "complex", "not disciplinarily pure"; at others, "practicable," "do-able"; at others again, "appropriate" (as in a comment on subject use); or yet again, "uniquely based in the actual situation" (to describe the derivation of Sarah's rejection of the spiral curriculum). Finally, in the chapter where Elbaz tries to analyze the "structure" of practical knowledge, she suggests Sarah works with three levels of guiding knowledge: "rules of practice" for immediate, unthinking directions, "practical principles" for more general and reasoned approaches, and "images" for yet more general but only partly conscious orientations. These ideas seem interesting, but I am not sure what a teacher or researcher would get from thinking about what teachers do in this way.

In some respects this analysis seems like the very traditional research enterprise of constructing typologies. If the model is used as a kicking-off point for discussion by teachers and others (as Elbaz recommends) then we may gain more insight into the various ways different teachers operate. Equally this type of analysis might spawn a whole literature of classification and derivation which contributes nothing, even indirectly, to the practice of teaching.

Finally it seems reasonable to ask what are the practical purposes addressed by a study of this sort. One explicit purpose of the study was to contribute to a valuing of the knowledge teachers have by showing its distinctive and complex form. It may be that my context of writing here - Australia, not North America - is significant, but it is my belief that neither teachers nor lay people generally hold a belief that teachers do not have their own particular knowledge; it is only academics of a certain type who presume its absence. (Submissions of teacher unions to inquiries into teacher education, for example, are full of claims of this knowledge and disdain for the knowledge the academic institutions hold about teaching). In relation to the non-specialist reader then, the book is likely to seem something like the common caricature of academic/sociological work, for it tells at length and in specialist language what we all already know. On the other hand, in relation to "academics" and "experts", I doubt that the book will achieve its purpose, in that for either philosophers or sociologists, as I suggested earlier, the arguments and evidence seem insufficient to convince non-sympathetic readers.

Another purpose of the book, presumably, is to contribute in some way to improving the practice of teaching. And here there are certainly elements in what the study presents that could be useful, in particular, the way in which a teacher and a sympathetic outsider with something to contribute could begin to reflect on what the teacher had been doing. At times in the course of this, Sarah began to become clearer about why she took certain paths and to develop them further in the light of this recognition. On

other occasions she saw a problem with her approach which she had never clearly recognized before. And Elbaz makes some useful comments about how this process of reflection might develop elsewhere - between fellow teachers, for example. But in Elbaz's case it is clear what terms will dominate the reflection on practice: it is an interest in the logic of a form of knowledge. For someone interested in the practical, it is a strangely detached inquiry, one in which issues of context (the issues of the day, for example), values and purposes at work and how these might be furthered are of less interest than the sort of model revealed. But this brings us back to the various purposes at work in a study such as this, and the difficulty of combining them.

It should be obvious from all this that the study of "Sarah" does raise many issues for both teachers and researchers to think about. In many ways it is an interesting and stimulating study. My misgivings about it add up to two main points. First, that the form of presentation of the study does not do justice to what it might have to offer. Secondly, in terms of the approach itself, my concern is that too much may have been lost in the decision to detach what the teacher said from sociological and other means of understanding her knowledge and action. Perhaps what is needed here is a study which combines the sympathy for teachers and attention to their purposes and values demonstrated by Elbaz with a critical attention to the lines of their action such as that presented by Sharp and Green.⁴ Then it might be possible for researchers and theorists to offer a help in improving practice which is tested more rigorously than by the feelings of one person, but which is able to use and not undercut what that person has to offer.

* * *

References

1. Some texts which represent a range of these discussions are: Deakin

University Case Study Methods (8 vols.) Deakin University, Victoria, 1983; Hamilton, D., Jenkins, D., King, C., MacDonald, B. and Parlett, M. (ed.) *Beyond the Numbers Game*. London: Macmillan, 1977; Norris, N. (ed.) *SAFARI: Theory in Practice*. University of East Anglia: Centre for Applied Research in Education, undated; Plummer, K. *Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1983; and Simon, H. (ed.) *Towards a Science of the Singular*. University of East Anglia, 1980.

2. I am using "imagined alternatives" in the sense analysed by Hugh Stretton in Stretton, H. *The Political Sciences*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

3. For some general discussion of this see Hamilton et. al., op. cit., Plummer, op. cit. and Deakin University, vol. 3, op. cit. An excellent example of a play which succeeded in portraying a teacher in this way is Blair, R. *The Christian Brothers*. Sydney: Currency Press and London: Eyre Methuen, 1976 - especially as acted by Peter Carroll.

4. Sharp R. and Green, A. *Education and Social Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.

Pretext: An Essay Review of Freema Elbaz's *Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge*. London: Croom Helm and New York: Nichols Publishing, 1983. 239 pp.

TERMS FOR INQUIRY INTO TEACHER THINKING: THE PLACE OF PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE ELBAZ CASE

D. Jean Clandinin
University of Calgary
Alberta, Canada

Introduction: Perspective and Teacher Thinking

In recent years, teacher thinking has become an increasingly important research topic (Clark and Peterson, in press). Journal articles, research papers and even an international research group (International Study Association on Teacher Thinking, 1983) are focussed on teacher thought processes. The books, journals and papers add up to a diverse and extensive literature in the area of teacher thought. The task of this paper is to offer a way of examining that diverse literature so that we may understand how new lines of inquiry, particularly the work on teacher practical knowledge, fit within the context of other work.

In another paper and for another purpose, a colleague and I (Connelly and Clandinin, 1984) developed a notion of inquiry perspective for examining inquiry into schooling. For that paper, we defined an inquiry perspective as "a characterization of inquiry consisting of a conception of schooling; the phenomena of inquiry, which yield telling data; and the method of inquiry." Our purpose was to illustrate that different perspectives yield different kinds of knowledge about schooling and that all the perspectives

University Case Study Methods (8 vols.) Deakin University, Victoria, 1983; Hamilton, D., Jenkins, D., King, C., MacDonald, B. and Parlett, M. (ed.) *Beyond the Numbers Game*. London: Macmillan, 1977; Norris, N. (ed.) *SAFARI: Theory in Practice*. University of East Anglia: Centre for Applied Research in Education, undated; Plummer, K. *Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1983; and Simon, H. (ed.) *Towards a Science of the Singular*. University of East Anglia, 1980.

2. I am using "imagined alternatives" in the sense analysed by Hugh Stretton in Stretton, H. *The Political Sciences*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

3. For some general discussion of this see Hamilton et. al., op. cit., Plummer, op. cit. and Deakin University, vol. 3, op. cit. An excellent example of a play which succeeded in portraying a teacher in this way is Blair, R. *The Christian Brothers*. Sydney: Currency Press and London: Eyre Methuen, 1976 - especially as acted by Peter Carroll.

4. Sharp R. and Green, A. *Education and Social Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.

Pretext: An Essay Review of Freema Elbaz's *Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge*. London: Croom Helm and New York: Nichols Publishing, 1983. 239 pp.

TERMS FOR INQUIRY INTO TEACHER THINKING: THE PLACE OF PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE ELBAZ CASE

D. Jean Clandinin
University of Calgary
Alberta, Canada

Introduction: Perspective and Teacher Thinking

In recent years, teacher thinking has become an increasingly important research topic (Clark and Peterson, in press). Journal articles, research papers and even an international research group (International Study Association on Teacher Thinking, 1983) are focussed on teacher thought processes. The books, journals and papers add up to a diverse and extensive literature in the area of teacher thought. The task of this paper is to offer a way of examining that diverse literature so that we may understand how new lines of inquiry, particularly the work on teacher practical knowledge, fit within the context of other work.

In another paper and for another purpose, a colleague and I (Connelly and Clandinin, 1984) developed a notion of inquiry perspective for examining inquiry into schooling. For that paper, we defined an inquiry perspective as "a characterization of inquiry consisting of a conception of schooling; the phenomena of inquiry, which yield telling data; and the method of inquiry." Our purpose was to illustrate that different perspectives yield different kinds of knowledge about schooling and that all the perspectives

contribute to our understanding of schooling. Adopting a framework of perspectives provides a way to examine research in an area and to see what each perspective offers to our understanding of the area. Using the notion of inquiry perspective as a tool for examining the literature permitted us to see research which fit within a particular tradition. It also permitted us to see research which broke from tradition, which emerged from a different conception of schooling, which viewed the phenomena of inquiry differently and which adopted a different method of inquiry. A perspective, thus, draws attention not only to the method of inquiry but also to how one conceptualizes schooling and how data may be rendered as telling within this conception.

In this paper I adopt a similar notion to provide a framework for examining the research on teacher thinking. I developed a set of five inquiry terms (Clandinin, 1983) which yielded a framework for placing research on teachers' practical knowledge in the context of ongoing work. In this assessment I pay special attention to Elbaz's book, *Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge*, because of its connection to my own research interests and because, as I will show, it is a book that breaks with tradition and opens up new lines of inquiry into teacher thinking. The inquiry terms in the framework are: "Role of the research agent", "research perspective", "view of the teacher", "teacher experience" and "teacher knowledge". Before we turn our attention to the analysis and to the task of placing the work of practical knowledge in the context of other research on teacher thinking, a brief descriptive account of the concept of practical knowledge and of Elbaz's work is necessary.

The Concept of Practical Knowledge

Elbaz begins her text by writing that the book is "concerned with the practical knowledge of teachers." (p. 3). She makes the assumption that "teachers hold a complex, practically-oriented set of understandings which

they use actively to shape and direct the work of teaching" (p. 3). Elbaz defines practical knowledge in the following way:

This knowledge encompasses firsthand experience of students' learning styles, interests, needs, strengths and difficulties, and a repertoire of instructional techniques and classroom management skills. The teacher knows the social structure of the school and what it requires, of teacher and student, for survival and for success; she knows the community of which the school is a part, and has a sense of what it will and will not accept. This experiential knowledge is informed by the teacher's theoretical knowledge of subject matter, and of areas such as child development, learning and social theory. All of these kinds of knowledge, as integrated by the individual teacher in terms of personal values and beliefs and as oriented to her practical situation, will be referred to here as 'practical knowledge.'

Her book is essentially a practical demonstration of this assumption and definition as she follows and conceptualizes one high school teacher's thinking about and practices in her classroom.

The data which Elbaz used to elaborate and develop her conception of practical knowledge were a series of open-ended interviews with Sarah, a high school teacher. The book, which is based on these interviews, is divided into three parts: Studying Practical Knowledge; The Content of Practical Knowledge; and How Practical Knowledge is Held and Used. In Part One, Elbaz establishes a context for her work and lays out the role of the teacher in curriculum development, the view of the teacher and the conception of practical knowledge which the book develops. We meet Sarah in Chapter One and in Chapter Two we come to know Sarah's experiential world as it revolves around a "learning" course and the school's reading centre.

The second part, The Content of Practical Knowledge,

has three chapters in which the content of Sarah's knowledge is described. Sarah's knowledge of herself as a teacher and her knowledge of the milieu in which she works is described in Chapter Three. Knowledge of subject matter is treated in Chapter Four. Chapter Five deals with Sarah's knowledge of instruction and of curriculum development.

The third part, *How Practical Knowledge is Held and Used*, has four chapters. In Chapter Six, Elbaz explores the orientations of Sarah's knowledge where the concept of orientation is used to indicate "the way that practical knowledge is held in active relation to the world of practice" (p. 101). She identifies five orientations of knowledge: orientation to situations, personal orientation, social orientation, experiential orientation and theoretical orientation. In Chapter Seven, Elbaz lays out a structure of practical knowledge and makes clear her assumption that "the teacher's knowledge would be organized in a somewhat hierarchial manner with varying levels of generality" (p. 22). Thus she writes about Sarah's knowledge in terms of "rules or practice" which are specific directives; "practical principles" which are at an intermediate level of generality; and "images" which are broad, metaphoric statements" (p. 22). In Chapter Eight, she develops the concept of cognitive style as an equivalent for the notion of "practical knowledge in use" (p. 147). In her final reflective chapter, Elbaz writes about the participants' (hers and Sarah's) practical knowledge as it was expressed in the interview process. In the book's appendix, Elbaz presents the interview data.

The philosopher, Mark Johnson, in his review of Elbaz's book (1985) highlights the philosophical importance of this book when he states "that it points up the need for a radically revised sense of curriculum inquiry." Johnson draws attention to two important insights into the educational process offered by the book: the first, "a renewed awareness of the incredible complexity of human experience and the second, the realization that such a meaning complex is not subject to reductionist models, linear analyses, or hierarchial structure." (p. 467).

Johnson has reviewed the book primarily from the point of view of the philosophy of the practical. My purpose, more specifically oriented to educational inquiry, is to place the book in the context of other research on teacher thinking. The novelty of Elbaz's research perspective is located in the philosophical characteristics identified by Johnson.

Terms for Inquiry into Teacher Thinking

The following section develops the framework using the inquiry terms and places the work on practical knowledge into the context of other research on teacher thinking.

Research Perspective. Research on teacher thinking can be roughly distinguished into two classes: research adopting a theoretical researcher's perspective and research adopting a teacher's practitioner perspective. In the former class, the teacher tends to be seen as playing out more or less well a particular theory, policy, planned curriculum or researcher's view of how teachers think about their classroom work. Consequently, teacher thought is divided into such practical categories as planning, interaction, reflection and evaluation. These categories tend to be pre-determined and embodied in surveys, questionnaires, observation instruments, and coding schemes. Because the theoretical perspective is set prior to data collection, teachers are seen to fit more or less well within the framework.

Morine's (1976) work is illustrative. She collected written plans for two experimenter-prescribed lessons taught by teachers to groups of their own students. She then analyzed these plans according to seven predetermined characteristics: 1) specificity of written plans, 2) general format of plans, 3) statement of goals, 4) source of goal statements, 5) attention to pupil background and preparation, 6) identification of evaluation procedures, and 7) indication of possible alternative procedures. Her conclusions were that teachers tended to be fairly specific (characteristic 1) and to use an outline form in their plans (characteristic 2) but paid

little attention to behavioral goals (characteristics 3 and 4), diagnosis of student needs (characteristic 5), evaluation procedures (characteristic 6), and alternative courses of action (characteristic 7). This account of teacher planning is given in Morine's research terms, for it was to Morine's perspective that the teachers responded. In their planning, teachers may well have been doing much that was not captured by the imposed research framework.

Other research on teacher thinking adopts a teacher practitioner perspective. The work of Bussis, Chittenden and Amarel (1976) is illustrative. They examined what they term "teachers' understandings," using in-depth, open-ended interviews to probe the constructs which teachers bring to their work and the relationships among these constructs. The teachers gave their accounts in their own terms, not in terms imposed by the researchers. Others (Clark & Yinger, 1980; Finch, 1981; Hayes, 1981; Janesick, 1982) also have adopted a teacher practitioner perspective in their research.

But studies which *claim* to adopt a teacher's perspective may, in their methodology, still be conducted from the researcher's theoretical perspective. Mireau's (1980) case study of one teacher is, at first glance, a study which adopts a teacher practitioner perspective. Mireau, using a variety of methodological techniques, did an intensive study of one teacher. While the study purported to give an account from the teacher's perspective, what it does is give an account of the teacher from a wide variety of theoretical terms imposed by the methodology. This study highlights the point that when the literature in the area of teacher thinking is reviewed, there are studies which claim to have a teacher practitioner perspective, but which, when the methodology and knowledge claims are examined more closely, are conducted in theoretical terms prescribed by the researcher. In Mireau's case the superficial appearance of a teacher perspective study results from the adoption of a case study methodology and from the eclectic use of a variety of theories to classify and explain the teacher's work.

The research perspective adopted in teacher thinking studies has significance for the resulting knowledge claims.

Knowledge derived from research adopting a theoretical researcher perspective is knowledge of the universal: of what things are and how they work in general. Hence Morine, noted above, can claim that teachers' written plans, in general, exhibit the characteristics noted. In studies adopting a teacher practitioner perspective, the knowledge claimed is knowledge of the individual case: of what things are and how they work in particular instances. Consequently, Busis et al. (1976) can claim knowledge of individual teachers in their work. The adoption of the latter perspective does not, of course, rule out the possibility of generating universal constructs, such as "image" or "practical principle", which are differentially expressed in individual cases.

Elbaz's work adopts the perspective of the teacher practitioner. Teachers are assumed to hold, use and develop practical knowledge. The intent of her work is to come to understand the practical knowledge of a teacher from the teacher's perspective and, in consequence, to elaborate a teacher-based conception of practical knowledge. The research claims made are, consequently, not claims about teachers in general but, rather, are claims about a particular teacher and her practical knowledge. The construct of practical knowledge developed is, of course, treated as a universal conception applicable to the study of teacher practitioners and others.

The Role of the Researcher. Studies on teacher thinking can also be distinguished into two classes based on the role adopted by the researcher: an agent-free role or an agent-central role. In research characterized by the adoption of an agent-free role, the researcher may not appear as an agent but, when the research is examined closely, the researcher's role becomes apparent.

I posit two classes of research based on the role of the researcher. However, it may be more appropriate to view the role of the researcher on a hierarchy of possible relationships to the phenomenon that make the researcher as agent more or less central to the research. For example, in fieldbased classroom studies, the researcher may videotape

the teacher at work (Marland, 1977), may observe the teacher using an observation scale (Hildyard, 1982), or may engage in participant observation with the teacher (Janesick, 1977). As one moves from the first to the third study, the researchers can be seen to more openly acknowledge their role as central to the research process. To fully explore the role of researchers as agents in the teacher thinking research would in itself constitute a study. Such is not my purpose here.

The agent-free role is characterized by a neutral, objective stance vis a vis teacher participants; by methods for retaining anonymity such as surveys and questionnaires; by statistical procedures for removing error variance; and by methods for removing researcher bias. This role conceptually separates the researcher from teacher participants. Yamamoto's (1969) study of teacher images of the ideal pupil is illustrative. Yamamoto tested sixty student teachers with three instruments to determine what kind of concepts teachers held of the ideal pupil. He administered the following three statistically reliable instruments to each participating teacher: an ideal pupil checklist, a self-esteem scale and a dogmatism scale. Techniques such as random order of administration of instruments and statistical techniques to remove researcher bias were included as part of the methodology. The accounts of teacher participants are given as statistical comparisons of instrument ratings. Yamamoto's role as researcher appears both neutral and objective in the enquiry.

The agent-central role is characterized by a caring, subjective stance vis a vis teacher participants and by methods which highlight the values and purposes of both researcher and teachers in the study. Elbaz's work is illustrative of this stance. She studied Sarah, a teacher, over a period of two years using an open-ended interview methodology. Elbaz acknowledged the centrality of Sarah, but she also acknowledged her own values and purposes as central to the inquiry. Her own purposes and values determined the course of the interviews and, in that way, she shaped what Sarah offered. The constructs of practical knowledge emerged from Elbaz's

interpretation of the interview data. Her role as agent was central to the enquiry.

The View of the Teacher in the Research. The research perspective and the role adopted by the researcher necessarily conditions, in part, how the teacher is viewed in the research process. When a theoretical researcher perspective is adopted, teachers are viewed as more or less representative of the theoretical stance. The nature of individual theories is such that when a theoretical perspective is adopted, only a partial view of the subject, in this case the teacher, emerges (Schwab 1971; Connelly, 1972). Any particular theory is only one of several possible starting points that could be used to give an account of a teacher. When the account is given in terms of the particular theory, it is at best a partial account of the teacher. Much is left unexplained.

Thus, in the research literature, teachers are seen as exemplifying one or another characteristic (Hunt, 1976). For example, depending on the theoretical starting point chosen, teachers have been investigated in terms of the sensitivity of their judgment to the reliability of information received (Shavelson, Cadwell & Uzu, 1977); in terms of their interactive decision-making (Clark & Peterson, 1976) and in terms of the types of decisions made in planning situations (Joyce & Harootunian, 1964).

In Morine's (1976) study noted above, teachers were presented in the researcher's terms and from that perspective, the account of the teachers was limited to the terms of theory, i.e. as reflecting a researcher's theory of how teachers plan. Nothing is revealed about the uniqueness of the individual teacher's planning. In short, the theory is deficient as a complete account of teachers' planning.

Beyond, this, however, and of more concern to my understanding of Elbaz's work, is the consequence these partial theoretically-determined accounts have for teachers and how they are seen. Deficiency is displaced from the theory to the teachers whose experience it describes. They, too, are seen as deficient and come to view themselves as deficient when participating in theoretical situations. Fox's

(1972) account of the biology teachers' deference to biological sciences researchers in curriculum planning settings is illustrative.

Gilligan (1982) makes a similar point about how women have been viewed in her analysis of Freud's conclusions that women showed "less sense of justice than men" following his observation of gender differences in what is considered "ethically normal". Gilligan states that, "thus a problem in theory became cast as a problem in women's development" (p. 7) and women, as a consequence, have both seen themselves *and* have been seen as deficient in moral development.

The habit of converting a deficiency in theory into a deficiency in the phenomenon is readily seen in how teachers are treated in the school change and implementation literature. The prevailing stance in implementation research views teachers as facilitators of curriculum developers' intentions. When programs fail, teachers are often viewed as the weak link in transmitting the innovation. Research then focuses on one or another of a teacher's characteristics to specify more accurately where the breakdown occurred. When an aspect of, for example, decision-making skills is specified, teachers are given inservice to bolster their deficient skills. This process feeds a negative, fragmented view of teachers and encourages further research to more precisely specify other teacher deficits noted in still other theories.

When a teacher practitioner perspective is adopted, teachers are viewed as persons, and their actions are seen to have meaning in their situations. Teachers are accepted as persons creating their own meaning. For example, Janesick (1982), in her case study of a teacher, adopted this view of the teacher and sought to describe the teacher's perspective. She described a teacher's perspective as "a reflective, socially derived interpretation of that which the teacher encounters that then serves as a basis for the actions he or she constructs. It is a combination of beliefs and behavior continually modified by social interaction" (P. 162). Janesick's work gives an account of a teacher as a person as he confronts the reality of his classroom. In part, her account of the

teacher is an account of how the teacher views and makes sense of his world.

Elbaz's research adopts a stance similar to Janesick's in terms of the view of the teacher. Teachers are viewed as persons in interaction with their milieu. However, the account of Sarah in Elbaz's book is not only an attempt to see the world through the eyes of the teacher. In part, Elbaz offers such an account, but she also offers a conceptualization of teacher's practical knowledge in which teacher practices are expressions of teacher practical knowledge. From the point of view of Sarah, the conceptualization is an interpretation of her perspective. It is a statement of her perspective. From the point of view of the conceptualization, Sarah's practical knowledge is the material basis for the idea of practical knowledge resulting from the research.

The Role of Experience in Teacher Thought. The experience teachers bring to their work is commonly acknowledged in teacher thinking research and the role assigned to experience is often an explanatory one. Teachers are said to do or think something in some particular way because of their "experience". Experience becomes, in these instances, almost a magical way to account for certain actions. Yinger's work (1977) is illustrative. He studied a grade 1-2 teacher over a five month period and explained the teacher's routines by appealing to experience. (Clark & Yinger, 1977, p. 284). Four types of teaching routines were described in his study: activity routines, instructional routines, management routines and executive planning routines. Functionally, routines were characterized as "methods used to reduce the complexity and increase the predictability of classroom activities, thus increasing flexibility and effectiveness" (p. 284). Just what was involved in experience is not made explicit.

Experience, used in a similar explanatory way, is seen by some researchers to penetrate all judgment and decision making. Clark and Yinger (1977) summarize the importance of work on teachers' implicit theories by writing, "Because much of the judgment and decision making that teachers

exercise follows from their interpretation of their experience, it is important to study how teachers make sense of their world" (p. 295). Research which follows this line focusses on characterizing teachers' conceptual bases as personal perspectives, implicit theories, conceptual systems or belief systems. Experience is assumed to enter into these conceptual bases. However, even in research of this kind, experience is used as a way of explaining the conceptual bases.

Experience is at the heart of studies on practical knowledge, and Elbaz examines ways of conceptualizing experience as it is encoded in rules of practice, practical principles and images. For her, experience is embodied within each of these three forms, particularly within image which she defines as "a brief, descriptive and sometimes metaphoric statement which seems to capture some essential aspect of Sarah's perception of herself, her teaching, her situation in the classroom or her subject matter, and which serves to organize her knowledge in the relevant area" (p. 137).

While Elbaz does not go far enough in making explicit the way in which experience is embodied in teacher knowledge, she offers ways for researchers to pursue the role of experience in teacher thought. Johnson (1985) refers to images as "embodied imaginative processes that give us coherent, meaningful experience" and suggests that Elbaz's conceptualization offers a useful starting point for examining the way experience becomes part of practical knowledge.

The Conceptualization of Teacher Knowledge. Research on teacher thinking which deals with knowledge and teachers can be distinguished into two types: research on what we know about teachers and research on what teachers know. For example, Lortie's (1975) study is a kind of research focussed on knowledge *about* teachers. He offered a sociological description of teachers in which he described the backgrounds, education, teaching histories and attitudes toward teaching of teachers in general and, through his study, offered insight into teachers and teaching in general. This kind of study is not dealt with in this paper.

Studies of the latter type, that is, research on what

teachers know can also be sorted into at least four categories. One kind of study focusses on what teachers know of theory. For example, such a study provides an account of all of the pieces of knowledge such as knowledge of philosophy, sociology and psychology that teachers in general or even a teacher in particular might be shown to hold. Such accounts might result from an evaluation of teacher education or professional development programs. Clandinin, Wahlstrom and Schermann's (1979) study of early childhood teachers is illustrative of such work. Teachers identified various philosophical, sociological and psychological theories which they knew from teacher education and/or professional development programs and, based on the responses, an account of early childhood teachers' knowledge of theory was given.

A second kind of study which looks at what teachers know focusses on what teachers know in practice. Butt's (1982) research is illustrative of this kind of study. He offered a catalogue of components of knowledge that teachers, in general, could be seen to hold. He noted knowledge of such things as timetables, curriculum guides and teaching strategies.

A third kind of study which focusses on what teachers know examines the kind of knowledge teachers hold. Young's (1981) study is illustrative of such work. He gave an account of teacher epistemologies in terms of existing philosophical categories and offered an account of teacher knowledge in theoretical terms. For instance, based on interview data, teachers were classified as having a scientific view of knowledge.

Research on practical knowledge is a fourth kind of study focussed on what teachers know. Elbaz, in her work, does some of what each of the other kinds of studies do *but* she does something else as well. She does, for example, in her account of the content of Sarah's practical knowledge, offer an account of some of the theoretical and practical components of Sarah's knowledge. In this way, the work does something similar to the studies of Butt and of

Clandinin et al.

Elbaz also offers a meta-level analysis of the kinds of knowledge teachers hold. But, in this, the work differs from work such as Young's noted above. While Young made use of categories derived from existing philosophical categories, Elbaz's work on practical knowledge is an attempt to define the form of practical knowledge in its own terms rather than in terms derived from theory.

But Elbaz does something else which marks the study as a study of a different kind. She develops the notion of practical knowledge not as knowledge which is just content nor knowledge which is just structure but knowledge which is, in Johnson's words, "a contextually relative exercise of capacities for imaginatively ordering our experience" (p. 467). Elbaz's work on practical knowledge opens the way for looking at knowledge as experiential, embodied and based on the narrative of experience. In this way, Elbaz's work is clearly a study of knowledge of another kind.

Summary

Why then should we read Elbaz? It is after all only one of a recent spate of books and research studies focussed on teachers and their thinking. Furthermore, it is a case study, an account of one teacher and, as one of my colleagues remarked in his dismissal of case studies, "I always want to know what the teacher down the hall is doing." In setting the work in context, my intent was to illustrate the place of research on teachers' practical knowledge in the literature on teacher thinking.

The work is an important and significant step in research on teacher thinking. It credits the knowledge of teachers and draws our attention to the teacher as the main practical agent of concern to the planning and teaching process. Methodologically, the work focusses on the research process as a collaborative process between researcher and teacher. The conception of practical knowledge provides a way of understanding the place of experience in teacher thought

and, in its analysis of what teachers know and how that knowledge is held and used, it points us in the direction of understanding the complexity of teachers' classroom and planning practices.

All of this adds up to what can be seen as the nucleus of a different inquiry perspective as the notion was defined in the introduction to the paper. It is a break from research within an established research perspective and constitutes enquiry which Schwab calls fluid enquiry. In fluid enquiry norms and methods are not well-established. Researchers cannot appeal to set methods and procedures established by the tradition. Another of the characteristics of fluid enquiry is that the researcher does not always recognize the implications of the work. The researcher is, in many ways, "feeling his or her way." Once again Johnson, in his review, draws our attention to Elbaz's failure to make explicit the philosophical implications of her work. It is left to the reader of her work to see the implications. Thus Elbaz's work may well draw criticism rather than praise, for it is easy to criticize using the assumptions and methodologies of established lines of research. We might expect that, as the line of research becomes more established, as the enquiry becomes stable rather than fluid, Elbaz's work will continue to be criticized. But the critique will be from a more defensible source of criticism as the line of research evolves. Indeed in our own work on practical knowledge (Clandinin, 1983; Connelly and Clandinin, in press) we have begun to write about the work on practical knowledge and to establish principles of inquiry for the work.

* * *

References

- Bussis, A. M., Chittenden, E. A. & Amarel, M. *Beyond surface curriculum*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976.

- Butt, R. Making sense of classroom reality. Annual meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Ottawa, Canada, June, 1982.
- Clandinin, D. Jean, Wahlstrom, M. W. and Schermann, A. **The young child in Ontario.** Unpublished research report prepared for the Commission of Inquiry into the Education of the Young Child, Toronto, Ontario, 1979.
- Clandinin, D. Jean. **A conceptualization of image as a component of teachers' personal practical knowledge.** Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983.
- Clark, C. & Peterson, P. **Teacher stimulated recall of interactive decisions.** Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, 1976.
- Clark, C. & Peterson, P. Teachers' thought processes. In Wittrock, M. C. (Ed.) **Handbook of Research on Teaching, Third Edition.** New York: MacMillan, in press.
- Clark, C. & Yinger, R. J. **The hidden world of teaching: Implications of research on teacher planning.** Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Boston 1977.
- Connelly, F. Michael. The functions of curriculum development. **Interchange**, 1972, 3, 2-3, 161-177.
- Connelly, F. Michael & Clandinin, D. Jean. Perspectives on inquiry into schooling. In **Curriculum VII. Proceedings of the 1984 Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies Invitational Conference.** Vancouver: University of British Columbia (in press).
- Elbaz, F. **Teacher thinking: A study of practical knowledge.** London: Croom Helm, 1983.
- Finch, M. E. **Behind the teacher's desk: A study of the teacher and the change process.** Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University, 1978.
- Fox, Seymour. A practical image of 'The Practical'. **Curriculum Theory Network**, 1972, 10, 45-57.
- Gilligan, Carol. **In a different voice.** Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.

- Hayes, H. **Teacher orientation: An interview study of teachers of English.** Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1980.
- Hildyard, A. **Preliminary findings from the Ontario English-speaking classroom environment study: Teaching for learning.** Paper presented at the meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Ottawa, Canada, June, 1982.
- Hunt, D. Teachers are psychologists too: On the application of psychology to education. **Canadian Psychological Review**, 1976, 17, 3, 210-218.
- Janesick, Valerie. **An ethnographic study of a teacher's classroom perspective.** Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977.
- Janesick, V. Of snakes and circles: Making sense of classroom group processes through a case study. **Curriculum Inquiry**, 1982, 12, 2, 161-190.
- Johnson, M. Review of Elbaz, Freema, **Teacher thinking: A study of practical knowledge.** **Curriculum Inquiry**, 1985, 14, 4, 465-468.
- Joyce, B. & Harootunian, B. Teaching as problem solving. **Journal of Teacher Education**, 1964, 15, 4, 420-427.
- Lortie, D. C. **School teacher: A sociological study.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Marland, P. W. **A study of teachers' interactive thoughts.** Doctoral dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1977.
- Mireau, L. **Teacher expectancy effects and student attributes.** Doctoral dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1980.
- Morine, Greta. **A study of teacher planning (BTES Technical Report 76-3-1).** San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1976.
- Schwab, J. J. What do scientists do? **Behavioral Science**, 1960, 5, 1-27.
- Schwab, J. J. The practical: Arts of eclectic. **School Review**, 1971, 79, 493-542.
- Shavelson, R., Cadwell, J., & Izu, T. Teachers' sensitivity to the reliability of information in making pedagogical decisions. **American Educational Research Journal**, 1977, 14, 2, 83-97.
- Yamamoto, K. Images of the ideal pupil held by teachers in preparation. **California Journal of Education Research** 1969, 20, 221-233.

- Yinger, R. J. A study of teacher planning: Description and theory development using ethnographic and information processing methods. Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977.
- Young, R. E. The epistemic discourse of teachers: An ethnographic study. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 1981, 12, 2, 122-144.

A question about your subscription?

Telephone Margaret Zaccone at 716-654-8010
(leave message)

Announcing A
MAGAZINE ABOUT SCHOOLS

Published Annually

Articles on Education in:
Public and Private
Elementary Schools
Jr. and Sr. High Schools
Colleges and Universities

The University of Dayton

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

Of Interest to:
Teachers
Administrators
Counselors
College Students and Professors

To receive the journal free of charge, write:

Joseph Watras, Editor
University of Dayton Journal of Education
Department of Teacher Education
University of Dayton
Dayton, OH 45469

The editors are also seeking articles of about 1,000 words that focus on an aspect of school life.

POLITICAL NOTES & NOTICES

150

Landon E. Beyer
University of Rochester

In reaffirming the commitment of *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* to provide a forum for the discussion of political activities, I want initially to lend support to many of the ideas stated in the initial entry in this section by Michael S. Littleford and Jim Whitt.¹ In particular, I share their commitment to that tradition of educational inquiry that is rooted in the work of people like George Counts, Harold Rugg, Ruth Benedict, and others. One of the pronounced failings of our field is rampant ahistoricism that often condemns us not only to a repetition of past mistakes, but to a future less inclined to alternative realities than might otherwise be the case.

Again, I concur with the previous editors' judgment that what is crucial, perhaps especially given the current political climate, is a rekindling of a more democratic social order, in part through committed acts of pedagogy and educational practice. There is no more important problem facing us currently, in my view, than how to reverse the tendency for technical/industrial rationality to be a dominant force in our thinking and acting, so that more democratic forms of participation may become practiced.²

Since this is the first installment of the "Political Notes & Notices" section for which I serve as Editor, I would like to express some of my own thinking about what this section might be, and what its importance is for the journal generally. First allow me to make some preliminary observations about what constitutes the political, and how this

151

might affect the ideas contained in this section.

In her portion of the introduction to *Feminism for Girls*, Angela McRobbie expresses what, in the context of this section, is an important reminder: "the personal is political."³ If democratic participation is to become effective, its meaning for our own social and personal environments must be clarified; more importantly, we must be willing to act on those ideas which provide the political with a sense of adventure and uncertainty, where our pursuits are "open ended, and there are no foregone conclusions."⁴ A central part of our political involvement must be the quality and value of our day to day interactions. In an important sense political action ought to be seen as involving the cultural qualities of everyday existence, for at least two reasons. First, it is in such non-glorified contexts that dominant forms of political and ideological persuasion are likely to be most entrenched; if our understanding of the dynamics of culture and ideology mean anything, it is that those activities "closest to home" are often the most politically charged and deeply felt aspects of social and personal life. At the same time, second, because of the nearness of such environments, they may be more directly amenable to change than more distant and removed landscapes. Part of the reason for the pessimism I sometimes hear in regard to social change stems, I believe, from a reluctance to consider how our own actions, and those of our closest associates, carry political meanings that may be susceptible to reformulation by more or less direct action.

Moreover, the importance of the political nature of our everyday life is being realized even in those intellectual traditions in which removed and abstracted analytic sophistication and theoretical elegance have been considered the apogee of intellectual respectability. The modern tendencies of philosophy toward ever more fine-grained linguistic analyses and forms of argument that are wondrous in their internal sophistication in the pursuit of Truth, are showing some sign of moving away from such "pure" forms of thought, to a view of reason as valuable in terms of the

actions it makes possible⁵ As a species of practical action that comes complete with a range of material, social, and historical contexts, education becomes central to such a revised view of reason and rationality.⁶

One of the ways I think about this section, hence, is in terms of sharing our attempts at reformulating daily interactions and experience in the workplace of teachers, administrators, professors, and others, in the larger community, and in cultural practices, for example—that constitute important sectors of our real lives. To reiterate, if democratic participation is to be effective, its meaning for our social and personal commitments must be clarified. My hope is that one of the ways this can be fostered is through sharing ideas, strategies, successes, and failures that are instructive for all of us. It seems to me that this is an especially important historical moment in which to work toward a more democratized, participatory personal arena. For given the forms of bureaucratic and corporate control that are affecting the workplace and cultural space of educators and others, at all levels, our support of each other becomes increasingly important. I therefore propose that we use this section, in part, as a way of communicating ways we find of making our own work and social lives more humane, democratic, and just. The parameters of possible subjects here is quite large, clearly.

At another level, one of the problems with the political left has been a tendency to speak exclusively to those, and within those social locations, that embody comfortable or compatible perspectives. In part this is due to an understandable commitment to furthering scholarly and political traditions that require intense and detailed investigations, often utilizing forms of language that are unfamiliar to those outside of our particular field. Yet when this tendency remains unchecked our political potency suffers. To the extent that our scholarly work is a political act, we must be prepared to reformulate our understandings in ways that make them more accessible. One of the reasons for the current power of those on the right, I believe, is their ability

to capture the popular imagination in their portrayal of current controversies. For instance, in presenting the issue of abortion as involving “the right to life,” or the guerrillas in Nicaragua as “freedom fighters” with a political lineage that is consistent with our own heritage, the right has cleverly sought to appropriate popular images in support of reactionary causes. Without reducing our own commitments to this kind of “sloganeering,” the left must become more sensitive to the ways in which its values and commitments can be made more understandable, and more powerful, for people outside of our usual circle of colleagues.⁷

This raises another problem that must be addressed. In discussing the current place of educational studies, Feinberg has recently commented that the erosion of certain kinds of dialogue and pedagogy has been accomplished through its cooptation by the process of commodification. As he puts this, “the major question for contemporary education is how the interpretive and value functions of general education can be reestablished at a time when the dominant knowledge code provides legitimacy to the idea that public participation is reducible to market participation,” is a constant peril. I think about the “Political Notes & Notices” section of *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* within the terms of Feinberg’s analysis, as an instance of incorporating an interpretive and value perspective using a particular communicative form that aims at public participation. Yet there is always the possibility that this venture, like so many others, will become simply another site for “the market place of ideas” to be furthered—that it will become merely an additional market for the distribution and consumption of cultural forms.

As a way of affirming the open-ended, non-commodified, and participatory nature of this section, I would like to encourage everyone to attend an open meeting to discuss ideas, actions, and involvements that would facilitate a truly participatory agenda for this section. A session entitled,

"The Politics of Educational Studies" will take place at the 1985 Bergamo conference on Thursday afternoon, October 17, 1985 (specific time and location to be announced in the conference bulletin). Since this will be an initial step in the furtherance of a more democratic form of communication within "Political Notes & Notices," there is no specific agenda for this session, nor will there be any formal presentation.

So far I have tried to delineate one general meaning of the political that has special salience for us as educators and cultural creators, emphasizing the importance of our own particular contexts in the movement toward genuinely democratic forms of participation. As important as this context is, we also must be able to see how larger struggles and issues coincidentally shape and form our daily interactions. Thus an additional purpose of this section is to serve as a forum for the discussion of political issues—on a local, national and international level—and what their consequences are for all of us. The remainder of this installment of "Political Notes & Notices" will briefly highlight some of these current issues.⁹

◆ In what we might regard as a hopeful sign of history repeating itself, students at several university campuses in this country have been voicing with greater force and clarity their objection to university investment in corporations doing business with South Africa. Campuses at Columbia, Cornell, California, and elsewhere have seen a resurgence of opposition to the racist policies and practices of the white South African government. Insisting that higher education disinvest in companies that profit from the apartheid practices of that government must be seen as both an attempt to oppose racism and the ability of capital to continue to profit from such acts of injustice. In expressing solidarity with those students who refused to be intimidated by corporate power, we also should keep in mind the

continual exploitation of numerous third world countries whose people provide a cheap labor supply for U.S. corporations.

◆ Still, other students are reacting differently to the politics of corporate power. For example, a recent story about student clubs that control a portion of their universities' investments has a much different orientation. For example, Lauri K. Penney, a director of the Bryn Mawr College Student Investment Committee said, "by actually playing the (stock) market, we have the opportunity to test some of the theories we learn in the classroom." One might hope that the "theories" such students receive would include analyses of "white collar" crime, the corporate abuses of power in this and third world countries, and the politics of domination. Yet, as the chair of the sociology department at Bryn Mawr observed, "students are more conservative and more career-oriented than ever before. They view student investment clubs as a preprofessional experience that will help them land a good job." And as John Zdanowicz, chair of the finance and economics department at the Rochester Institute of Technology put it, "the word profit is no longer a dirty word."¹⁰ In times of fiscal and ideological crisis such as the one we are now in, the contradictions between the South African protests and the "young investors" are understandable, though quite appalling.

◆ Another intriguing example of such contradictory tendencies occurred recently in a speech to Texas business leaders by H. Ross Perot, known for his efforts in releasing employees held hostage in Iran and for his reform efforts on behalf of Texas public education. In a recent talk, Perot reportedly urged a social policy of income redistribution, based on the realization that the accrual of wealth and power is as much a matter of luck as merit, and on the notion that to be a community requires the sharing of risks and benefits. He also advocated not only equalization of school district spending (in Texas) but also spending state monies "on special enrichment" programs in districts with economically and culturally deprived students." In talks such as this,

Perot combines a view of education as "good for business" with at least the trappings of populist sounding rhetoric. And while we rightfully may be skeptical of such liberal sounding proposals, against the policies of the current administration the views of Perot provide at least an opening for more legitimate forms of economic democracy.¹¹

◆ In South Korea, 78 students recently occupied the library of the U.S. Government Building in Seoul. The students were demanding that the United States apologize for its involvement in the May, 1980 uprising in Kwangju, during which the South Korean police killed several hundred people and wounded thousands more. While the U.S. has officially denied any complicity in the May, 1980 tragedy, the commander of the U.S. armed forces in South Korea is also the operational commander of a portion of the South Korean troops. Choi Tae Soo, a government spokesperson, said after the conclusion of the four day occupation, "I don't think the Government will tolerate this without taking any action. The question is how many students will be turned over to the prosecutor." One of the opposition leaders in South Korea, Kim Dae Jung, expressed the hopes of many: "the Korean Government must understand its failure to meet our people's aspirations for restoration of democracy and solving the Kwangju incident before blaming the students."¹² Whatever the direct involvement of U.S. agencies in particular events like the Kwangju incident, the support of such dictatorial regimes as that of South Korea serves to expose our government's support of democracy as, at best, a matter of convenience, and, at worst, deceptive or illusory.

◆ Events in this country are undermining the pursuit of democracy here as well. A recent survey conducted for the American Association of State Colleges and Universities indicates that aid to minority students attending public colleges was 12.4% lower in 1983-84 than in 1981-82. The study conducted by Professor Jacob O. Stampen of Wisconsin also indicated that the volume of aid overall during that period fell 7% from \$7.2 billion to \$6.7 billion.

Moreover, during the period from 1981 to 1984, minority recipients of financial aid fell from 32 to 29 percent of the total. In a report published earlier this year, the same group indicated that the number of black high school graduates going on to college fell 11% from 1975 to 1981.¹³

◆ Beyond such disturbing statistics as these,¹⁴ lies the disturbing reality that the disparities between the rich and poor in this country continue to grow. At one level the report mentioned above represents how the policies of the Reagan administration continue to have effects that exacerbate inequalities, in this case by race and ethnicity. The current social and educational proposals favored by Reagan, Bennett, and company, must be a central concern for all of us. Even more recently, there is evidence of further loss of power for those oppressed, in the President's newly announced "tax simplification" proposals. While these proposals were just recently announced as this issue of the journal was going to press, two things seem apparent at this early stage of Presidential tax reform. First, it appears that the biggest winner in the Reagan package will be the very wealthy, whose maximum tax burden will be reduced. Second, the tax plan is said to favor "the traditional family," i.e., that increasingly non-existent structure in which the man is paid a wage in the labor market and the woman works gratuitously in the home. What these proposals represent, again, is the cloaking of social class and gender inequalities within the rubric of the reactionary right. Together with the figures regarding financial aid for minority students in higher education, they illustrate the power of the state to promote policies that ensure continued domination and inequality. Clearly such policies prevent the realization of democratic principles and practices.

◆ Another study, completed by the Congressional Research Service and the Congressional Budget Office, provides further insight into the effects of poverty on children. According to this study, about 13.8 million children were from poor families in 1983; this means that 22.2% of people under the age of 18 in the U.S. were in poverty during that year.

This represents, according to the report, "the highest child poverty level since the mid-1960's." Causes of this increase are many, including the rise in single parent households headed by women and a decrease in food stamps and AFDC payments. Significantly, this report also indicates that "economic growth appears to have become less effective in reducing poverty," thereby undermining the Reagan administration's interpretation of poverty in America and its resolution. From 1968 to 1983, the number of poor children in this country increased by 3 million, even though the total number of children *decreased* during that same time period by 9 million. In 1983, almost half of the black children in the U.S. were poor, while more than one-third of Hispanic children were poor. Even more bleakly, poverty tends to last longer if you are black than it does if you are white.¹⁵

◆ In news more directly related to the workplace of teachers, the erosion of professional autonomy is being furthered in a number of ways. For example, a State of New York Supreme Court case currently involves a Long Island school district policy requiring all new teachers, and those seeking tenure, to submit to tests for drug use. Henry P. Read, Superintendent of the Patchogue-Medford School District, was reported as saying, "you can't have role models who use cocaine." Read initiated the tests after hearing of drug use by teachers outside of school. The attorney for the teacher's union, meanwhile, suggests that such tests violate the Constitutional rights of teachers, as well as defame and stigmatize them.¹⁶ Further insults to the integrity the teachers' union, meanwhile, suggests that such tests competency exams are being required for certified, practicing teachers. Texas and Georgia are reportedly developing similar examinations, and 31 states currently require some competency examination prior to receiving a credential. Karen Sullards, an Arkansas teacher with 14 years of experience who has recently been named a "master teacher," expressed the indignation of many toward the new tests: "I think the state picked the least responsible way to deal with incompetent teachers. I don't think we proved anything

by taking the test and, besides, I think it is possible for someone to be a good teacher and not to have passed that test." Not surprisingly, James Popham, the head of the California based company that constructed the Arkansas exam, sees things a bit differently. Said Popham, "the taxpayers have a reasonable right to expect educators to have proficiency in reading, writing and mathematics."¹⁷ Again we see what is a legitimate expectation—that teachers be capable, bright, committed people—turned into an instance of technical domination by the use of instruments that will do little to raise educational quality. Can we use our own understandings of the limitations of standardized testing within the complex world of schools to help resist such encroachments?

◆ One recent news story may promise more protection for the rights of students. The Chancellor of the New York City Schools recently announced the establishment of the Harvey Milk School for about 20 gay and lesbian youth who are currently school dropouts. Because of repeated harassment in regular public schools, these students have been effectively denied access to education within the city. In establishing an alternative program, the administration responded to the need to protect individual differences of students, in environments where those differences would be respected. One of the more general issues involved in this case is the institutional context and culture of the school, and its responsiveness to divergent points of view, lifestyles and perspectives. We should expect that the controversy surrounding the Harvey Milk School, and similar efforts, will raise the perennial question of "the school as melting pot" ideology. Given the previous stories illustrating the continued exploitation of women, minority students, the beleaguered profession of teaching, and so on, the notion that we are a country where social and cultural differences can somehow be avoided or overlooked must be seen as an example of continued political oppression.

The political issues noted above provide fertile ground for educational theorizing and political action. I hope that as the "Political Notes & Notices" section continues, we can

continue to provide such announcements and more elaborate strategies for intervention. I look forward to continuing our dialogue at Bergamo. In the meantime, please send ideas, news items, responses, manuscripts, etc., to me at University of Rochester, Graduate School of Education, 429 Lattimore Hall, Rochester, New York, 14627.

* * *

NOTES

1. Michael S. Littleford and Jim Whitt, "Political Notes & Notices," *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Vol. 6:1 No. 1, Spring 1985 pp. 184-204.
2. See Landon E. Beyer, "Aesthetic Theory, School Knowledge, and Moral Understanding," a presentation to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1985.
3. Angela McRobbie and Trish McCabe, *Feminism for Girls: An Adventure Story* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 4-5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
5. For example, see Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, translated and edited by Garrett Barden and John Cumming (New York: Seabury Press, 1975); and Richard J. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics, and Praxis* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).
6. Landon E. Beyer, "The Practice of Philosophy," *The Review of Education*, in press.
7. Ken Johnston, "How Does Ideology Mobilise?" unpublished paper, Macquarie University, School of Education, North Ryde, New South Wales, Australia.
8. Walter Feinberg, *Understanding Education* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 232.
9. I would like to thank Bill Pinar for his assistance in helping me put together the items for this section of "Political Notes & Notices."

10. *New York Times*, June 2, 1985.
11. *Wall Street Journal*, May 30, 1985.
12. *New York Times*, May 27, 1985.
13. *New York Times*, June 3, 1985.
14. See also *American Children in Poverty* (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, 1984).
15. *New York Times*, May 23, 1985.
16. *New York Times*, May 23, 1985.
17. *New York Times*, June 2, 1985.

CURRICULUM PROJECTS & REPORTS

162

Benjamin Troutman
Director, Curriculum and Staff Development
Virginia Beach City Public Schools

The Reflective Practitioner No. 1

The people with whom I work on a daily basis do not read *JCT*; like most teachers and principals they eschew theory for practice. The classic tension between theory and practice, real and ideal, still exists. I would like to use this section of the *Journal* to play on both sides of the court (theory and practice) and to draw connections and linkages that might go unnoticed. I would like to raise and explore issues and ideas from the perspective of the practitioner.

I will try to provide a forum for public and private school practitioners to articulate their concerns and to examine ideas. When possible, the flow across theory and practice will occur, but it should not be forced.

I will seek and recruit colleagues who are doing good things in American education and who have ideas and programs of merit that deserve a fuller hearing within the larger academic community. Certainly some connections at the deepest, personal, and most significant level can be made among people who care about curriculum theory and practice.

163

I believe one of the keys to lasting improvement in education is reflective practice. I invite journal readers to reflect, react, question, and suggest with me. Through this section, we may tap resources to revitalize and renew curriculum practice. I would especially welcome ideas on specific programs or practices of schooling at any level that might help illuminate practice and theory.

Issues to Explore

I wish to suggest certain issues that I feel should be explored. Among these are the following:

1. What has been the impact of the comprehensive national curriculum renewal thrust? How have local school districts responded? How does this movement fit with the efforts of the past and foreshadow the future? How will this movement affect curriculum at the college and university level?

2. What legitimate application can we make of the "excellence" thrust in business and industry? What implication does it have for leadership and practice? How do we define excellence in education? How does the "school effectiveness" literature fit? How do we account for or judge the success of curricular effort?

3. What kind of "knowing" are we talking about for the 21st century? How have visual and computer literacy changed traditional notions of the educated person? How are new forms of knowing reshaping us? How do we build into the education system the ways of knowing described by Howard Gardner in *Frames of Mind* that move beyond more traditional definitions of intelligence?

4. What are the strategic and pragmatic political issues

involved in contemporary curricular planning? Who controls the curriculum of schools? How is it controlled? What is the role of "vision" in school and educational planning? How can curriculum and staff development practices be strategically aligned?

I hope that some of these questions are important to you and that you will feel involved in exploring them. Every time a reporter or TV analyst raises educational questions, I realize how strong is the public urge to reduce the complexity and submerge the subtlety of our art. I would like this section of the journal to occupy the middle ground between theory and educational practice, to blend better practice with sound theory. I invite you to help bring our sometimes distant perspectives closer together.

Initial Reflections

There is an exciting new book which has relevance for our reflections titled *Playing Ball on Running Water*. It explores a Zen approach to life and self-understanding. I think in many ways being a practitioner today is like playing ball on running water. The conditions and circumstances, the crises and challenges differ from day to day but we still "play ball." The social, political, and technological transformation that society is encountering plays out in the educational arena in which we work.

We face extraordinary times in American education. It is being thoroughly questioned from every angle and perspective. Instant volumes of words rain down from on high with new injunctions almost daily. I still reel from the astounding array of conflicting, confusing, and confounding recommendations to right education.

A troubling aspect of doing school work today is that the field is so cluttered with charges, caveats, and cures.

Mortimer Adler would have us return to classical conformity through the *Paideia Proposal*. TedSizer is emphasizing less is more at the same time *A Nation at Risk*

is shouting more is better. Now that the academic program has been relatively restored, the backlash has begun; vocational education groups are clamoring for political power and recognition to balance the academic and vocational. They warn that the elitist notion of many of the curriculum renewal efforts will cause more dropouts and increased student alienation.

Indeed it is instructive to remember that current curriculum movement resulted from a reaction to the curricula reform of the 60's that focused on personal relevance and individual growth as a reaction to the regimentation, lack of choice, and student alienation of that era. Now as we implement more requirements and impose greater demands, we hear the early sounds of the same voices of the sixties crying out for more humane schools and programs.

Some pundits picture this movement in curricular direction as a pendulum swing; I think a circle is more perfect. Indeed, we in the field often feel as though we are running in circles, covering the same ground, in different places, with different people, at different times. To give you some sense of what I mean, let me quote the following:

Until we pay teachers at least as well as the middle echelon of executives, we cannot expect the profession to attract its full share of the available range of talents. Salaries must be raised immediately and substantially. Almost as important as the level of pay is the fact that the promotional policy for most school systems is routine and depends more on seniority than on merit. And the top salary is not sufficiently far above the bottom salary to constitute a meaningful incentive.

Sound familiar? This is not from President Reagan's 1984 Commission on Excellence Report; it is from the Rockefeller Report of 1958. You see that we return to the old safe ground of excellence. We wonder, among ourselves, who, between these two distinguished reports, crusaded for the mediocrity and low standards that we evidently have

endured? I argue for a sense of history, a sense of balance, a sense of perspective, a sense of purpose.

In 1957, American education was asked to respond to the Sputnik challenge posed by the Soviet Union and to launch us into a new technological era in space. Today, Governor Hunt and the Education Commission of the States, the National Commission report, and others clamor for using education to build a brighter technological tomorrow so that we can meet the recent Japanese challenge to American democracy. Again, we come to the same ground, just different places. The illusive search for balance continues, and we still "play ball on running water."

A question about your subscription?

Telephone Margaret Zaccone at 716-654-8010
(leave message)

Letters

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

INTRODUCTION

Various investigators of the "hidden" or implicit curriculum remind us that in transaction with the dynamics of biography and internal structure, the curricular form, as much as its content, exerts a strong influence on the meanings and opportunities participants experience within a particular educational context. In the interests of broadening the form within which significant perspectives on the curriculum can be shared, with this issue *JCT* embarks on an expansion of its Letters Section. Our purpose in doing so is to encourage expression and dialogue on important educational issues in a form unencumbered by the rigors and fine polish appropriately expected of a more scholarly article and evident on other pages of this Journal. As reactions to journal articles, conference presentations or proposed themes, as reflections on our daily involvement in educational theory and practice and/or as prelude to a more extended treatment of a particular set of issues (to cite but a few potential catalysts), letters afford a concentrated elixir of directness, immediacy and brevity which at its best can enlighten, provoke, indeed inspire the expression of our own distinct voices. As a form, we believe these letters can complement and enrich our common commitment to scholarly inquiry and honest dialogue.

Thus, as with the following letters of Alice Miel and Ellis Joseph on the theme of "Education in Reagan's Second Term," we invite you, whether university scholar, teacher

endured? I argue for a sense of history, a sense of balance, a sense of perspective, a sense of purpose.

In 1957, American education was asked to respond to the Sputnik challenge posed by the Soviet Union and to launch us into a new technological era in space. Today, Governor Hunt and the Education Commission of the States, the National Commission report, and others clamor for using education to build a brighter technological tomorrow so that we can meet the recent Japanese challenge to American democracy. Again, we come to the same ground, just different places. The illusive search for balance continues, and we still "play ball on running water."

A question about your subscription?

Telephone Margaret Zaccone at 716-654-8010
(leave message)

Letters

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

INTRODUCTION

Various investigators of the "hidden" or implicit curriculum remind us that in transaction with the dynamics of biography and internal structure, the curricular form, as much as its content, exerts a strong influence on the meanings and opportunities participants experience within a particular educational context. In the interests of broadening the form within which significant perspectives on the curriculum can be shared, with this issue *JCT* embarks on an expansion of its Letters Section. Our purpose in doing so is to encourage expression and dialogue on important educational issues in a form unencumbered by the rigors and fine polish appropriately expected of a more scholarly article and evident on other pages of this Journal. As reactions to journal articles, conference presentations or proposed themes, as reflections on our daily involvement in educational theory and practice and/or as prelude to a more extended treatment of a particular set of issues (to cite but a few potential catalysts), letters afford a concentrated elixir of directness, immediacy and brevity which at its best can enlighten, provoke, indeed inspire the expression of our own distinct voices. As a form, we believe these letters can complement and enrich our common commitment to scholarly inquiry and honest dialogue.

Thus, as with the following letters of Alice Miel and Ellis Joseph on the theme of "Education in Reagan's Second Term," we invite you, whether university scholar, teacher

educator, curriculum administrator and/or classroom teacher, to contribute to the shaping and success of our expanded section. In particular, for 6:4, we would like to solicit commentaries on the theme of "Excellence in Education." Possible foci might include its meaning, its misuses, examples of its existence or obstacles to its realization. Deadline for submission of letters for 6:4 is November 15th. Letters should be typed, double spaced and kept to 750 words. As authors and letters will be indexed at the end of each Volume, it is recommended that letters be entitled. Letters or inquiries should be sent to either:

Tom Kelly
Dept. of Education
John Carroll University
University Hts. Oh 44118

or
Jim Sears
Dept. of Educational
Leadership and Policy
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C. 19108

Dear Editors,

"Taxes are the price we pay for civilization." The person who said that in my hearing as an adolescent was an ordinary citizen in my small town, reacting to another citizen's complaint that his taxes were too high. The statement stayed with me but came to have fuller meaning years later when I heard a Columbia University professor discourse on the meaning of the word *commonwealth*. He explained that individuals in a democratic society need things they cannot afford to buy on their own -- the order and protection given by government and a system for providing justice; the security afforded by firefighters, police, a military establishment; education needed to produce a literate population

with a variety of skills. Long ago our ancestors learned that by pooling their funds to create a common wealth they could afford those and other necessities of civilized living.

When I hear supposedly intelligent citizens today join the chorus of "lower our taxes, get government off our backs" I wish they would be more discriminating. I wish they would sort out what may be wasteful use of tax dollars, in particular excessive military expenditures, from the many "penny wise but pound foolish" actions taken by the Reagan administration to cut government outlays. Farther down the road, I believe, we will pay a high price because today we have slashed funds for continuing important research already underway, maintaining adequate nutrition levels for children and pregnant mothers, helping our youth to have access to higher education, ensuring safety in the work place, protecting consumers and their environment, supporting the humanities. These are some of the aspects of civilization our common wealth can afford and which will cost more as we let them lapse and later have to use expensive remedial measures to restore them.

I fear that our schools have been remiss in the area of social education. We have failed to teach well enough that a democracy is the type of social order designed to keep the needs of the individual and the needs of the society in balance to the end that the welfare of all is enhanced. Democracy is neither a me-first nor a society-first political form. Unfortunately at present me-first thinking has gotten out of hand and the top leadership in the nation is encouraging that trend. An egregious example is tax cutting maneuvers that appeal to the more selfish side of us. Reagan had made *taxes* a dirty word.

Inconsistently the current administration advocates some actions that put government more firmly on the backs of the people. Examples are support of a school prayer amendment, opposition to the right of choice of an abortion, and build up of the military while the deficit, partly created by tax cutting, rises to heights that will make future generations pay through the nose.

Educators will be very busy analyzing actions being taken by state legislatures and local school boards and further proposals to put our nation less "at risk." Already, time of teachers and students is being commandeered in the cause of raising test scores at the expense of a richer curriculum. Educators will be busy also counteracting the Regan-approved scheme of tuition grants for attendance at private schools, an arrangement which would drain from the public schools both tax dollars and a segment of the student population needed for a true cross section of American youth as a medium for democratic education.

Busy as they will be defending public education from further blows, educators will be well advised to provide opportunities for young persons to equip themselves with appropriate knowledge and skills and enough caring for the common welfare to help make wise decisions about the direction of our society. More than ever schools and colleges should help students learn what democracy is meant to be, how hard it has been to earn it, and what it takes, including taxes, to maintain and further it. Students should come to understand the relationship of freedom and responsibility in every aspect of their lives. As never before they will need to read widely and critically, analyzing propaganda for what it is, good or bad. As they hear the question "Are you better off today?" with its ambiguous pronoun *you*, they must learn to be discriminating in their reply. The honest answer may well be, "Financially *I* am better off, but as a society, on the whole, *we* are not." Social education for a democracy is a large order for the curriculum of the future.

Alice Miel, Professor Emeritus
Teachers College, Columbia University

Dear Editors,

In anticipating Reagan's second term one may hypothesize the abyss between the social claim and the individual claim will become wider and even more misunderstood. Further, we will be urged to render to God what is God's and to Caesar what is Caesar's.

Ironically, while we will be urged to engage in prayer on Caesar's premises, we will fail to realize that a single human person is worth more than the whole universe of material goods. In the name of curing a sick economy we are advised that the good of the whole is superior to the private good (every segment must bear its share of the cuts!). We are not reminded, however, that *the good of the whole is superior to the private good only if it benefits individual persons, is redistributed to them and respects their dignity.*

Because we are not reminded we will find far too many human persons at the lowest degree of personality: naked, miserable, indigent, ignorant and full of wants. Unless the superabundance of the whole flows back upon these persons we may fail to see the correlation between the person as social unit and the notion of the common good as the end of the social whole. Bees perceive a public good which is the good functioning of the hive. They do not, however, perceive a common good, a good which is received and communicated. In social life the human person's aspiration is to be treated as a person in the whole, as a whole and not a part.

Jacques Maritain, a French philosopher, is the author of these ideas. (See *The Person and the Common Good*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947). He was the first to recognize the fecundity of these ideas for the curriculum when he came to our shores to deliver the Terry Lectures at Yale in 1943 which were published with the title, *Education at the Crossroads*. (New Haven, Yale University Press). He rightly implies we must not annex the curriculum to the abyss between the social claim and the individual claim. He rightly infers that nothing is more risky than prophylactic measures in the realm of the human mind.

Ellis A. Joseph, Dean
School of Education